

A G E N E R A L
HISTORY of the WORLD,
FROM THE
CREATION to the present Time.

I N C L U D I N G
All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVO-
LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with
Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By W I L L I A M G U T H R I E, Esq;
J O H N G R A Y, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

*cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.* H O R .

V O L U M E V.

L O N D O N :

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M D C C L X I V .

A
G E N E R A L H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
W O R L D.

B O O K XVI.

The Constantinopolitan History.

From the Removal of the Imperial Seat by
Constantine the Great, to the total Failure of
the Western Empire in *Augustulus*.

C H A P. I.

*From the Removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople,
to the Death of the Emperor Valens.*

HOW prevalent soever the reasons that induced *Constantine* to settle the imperial seat at *Byzantium* appeared then to him, experience has since shewn, that they were weak and impolitic. The *Roman* greatness received thereby a fatal stroke, of which it never recovered, but, like flowers transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length totally dwindled away. A.D. 330.

However, as he designed to fix his own court there for the future, and desired it might be honoured with the ordinary residence of the succeeding emperors, he spared no cost or labour to render the city beautiful and convenient. He divided it, as we observed before, into fourteen wards, or regions, and built a capitol, a *Circus Maximus*, an amphitheatre, several *fora*, porticos, and other public buildings, together with many fine churches. He then consecrated it

Constantine. with great solemnity, to *the god of the martyrs*; encouraged the inhabitants by many acts of grace, and secured them by many wholesome laws, and royal immunities. In this manner he spent the greatest part of the ensuing year 331.

Constantine gains a great victory over the Goths. The empire had now been at peace for near three years; but, in 332, the *Sarmatians* implored the assistance of *Constantine* against the *Goths*, who, upon his evacuating all the garrisons along the *Danube*, made irruptions into their country, where they committed unheard of cruelties. The emperor, or, more probably, his son *Constantine*, gained so complete a victory over them, that near an hundred thousand of the enemy were either cut in pieces or perished after the battle with hunger and cold. The *Goths* thereupon sued for peace, and gave hostages to the emperor; among whom was the son of their king *Araric*.

He receives ambassadors from the most distant nations.

The next year, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Thrace*, were grievously afflicted with a pestilence and famine, which swept off infinite numbers of people. A great many too were destroyed in *Cyprus* by an earthquake. *Constantine* generously relieved the afflicted with money and immense quantities of provisions. The churches, in particular, felt the effects of his bounty on this occasion. He conferred the dignity of *Cæsar* upon his youngest son *Constans*, this year, towards the end of which he received ambassadors from the *Blemyes*, the *Indians*, the *Ethiopians*, and the *Persians*, who brought him several rare and valuable presents, courted his friendship, and acknowledged him for their sovereign, says *Eusebius*. The *Persian* ambassadors renewed the ancient alliance between the two empires, and *Constantine*, rejoiced to hear that the *Christians* were very numerous in their country, and looking upon himself as the general protector of their religion, wrote a letter in their behalf to their king *Sapor*.

The *Sarmatians* driven out of their own country by their slaves.

The year after this, the *Sarmatians* were invaded again, and defeated in a great battle, in which they lost their king *Wifmar* and most of their chiefs, near the river *Marisus*, by the *Goths*, under the command of their king *Geberic*, who had succeeded *Araric*. In this extremity the *Sarmatians* armed their slaves, and, with their assistance, gained a complete victory over the *Goths*. The slaves, thereby made sensible of their strength, turned their arms against their masters, seized their possessions, and forced them, to the number of three hundred thousand, to fly for refuge to *Constantine*, who incorporated in his legions such of them as were fit for service, and gave settlements to the rest in *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedon*, and *Italy*. This example, being followed by several of the succeeding emperors, proved very pernicious to the empire; for these barbarians, growing too strong for the natural inhabitants among whom they were settled, by degrees dispossessed their landlords, and became masters of the country.

In

In the thirtieth year of *Constantine's* reign, a period which no emperor had attained since *Augustus*, *Calocerus*, a man of great authority in the island of *Cyprus*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Constantine's* nephew *Dalmatius* was sent against him, defeated him, took him prisoner, and, after settling matters in that island, carried him to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where he was burnt alive. For this service he was created *Cæsar*, and his brother *Annibalianus* was appointed king of *Pontus*. *Constantine.*
A.D. 335.

Shortly after this, *Constantine*, to prevent any differences between his children and his nephews, divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: *Constantine*, his eldest son, had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Constantius*, the second, all the East, that is, *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Constans*, the youngest, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. To his nephew *Dalmatius* he gave *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Achaia*; and to *Annibalianus*, his other nephew, besides the kingdom of *Pontus*, which he had already, *Armenia Minor* and *Cappadocia*, with the city of *Cæsarea*, which he desired might be the capital of his kingdom. Towards the close of the following year, he married his second son *Constantius*, to the daughter of his (the emperor's) brother *Julius Constantius*. His eldest son *Constantine* was married long before, but we know not to whom. He divides the empire between his children and nephews.
Constantius marries the daughter of *Julius Constantius*.

In the following year, being the sixty-fourth of his age, *Constantine*, soon after the feast of *Easter*, which he celebrated with great solemnity, was taken ill. He had recourse to the warm baths of *Constantinople*; but finding no benefit from them, he removed, for change of air, to *Helenopolis*, in *Bithynia*, and from thence to a castle near *Nicomedia*, where, finding his end approach, he desired to be baptized, adding, *That he designed to have received that seal of salvation in the waters of the Jordan*. The short remainder of his life was spent in pious meditations and edifying discourses with the bishops, concerning the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments of another life. He received the holy eucharist in the morning, and expired about noon, on the 22d of *May*, 337, after having reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-seven days. His death was lamented by persons of all ranks. The soldiers, who adored him, tore their cloaths, fell prostrate on the ground, and called him their *preserver*, *deliverer*, and *common parent*: the people of *Constantinople* regretted in him their greatest benefactor; and the churches, their protector, who had freed them from tyranny and persecution. His body, with his purple robes and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and carried to *Constantinople*, attended by all the troops quartered in that neighbourhood. There it was exposed to public view in the palace, with lights burning round it, attendants watching it, and all the chief officers of the state, together with the senate, paying the same devoirs to it, as if the emperor His death.
A.D. 337.

Constantine.



peror had still been alive. This ceremony, originally very ancient, seems to have been disused for some time, and to have been revived now in honour of *Constantine*.

His obsequies.

The emperor, as soon as he found himself past recovery, had dispatched expresses to his three sons, but they were all too far off to be able to arrive before he died, and then *Constantius* alone came. The corpse of the deceased emperor was deposited with great magnificence under a stately *mausoleum*, in the porch of the church of the apostles, which he himself had built close to the palace. The *Romans*, who were extremely desirous of having his body interred in their city, were so concerned for his death, that they shut up their shops and public baths, and intermitted all kinds of sports and recreations, as was usual in time of some great and general calamity.

His character.

The character of this emperor is variously described, some of the heathens representing him as a perfect tyrant, and the *Christians* extolling him as the best of princes. However, all agree in this, that he was endowed with extraordinary accomplishments both of body and mind, an excellent commander, an able statesman, a great encourager of learning, and himself much addicted to read, write, and meditate. If he was sometimes over-credulous, as in the case of his wife *Fausta*, and the *Eusebians*, by whose artful insinuations he was induced to discountenance the orthodox *Christians*, it proceeded more from the easiness of his temper, than from any vice of his mind, and was a fault in others, rather than in him. His imprudent removal to *Constantinople*, and fatal division of the empire at his death, are indeed errors not to be excused ; any more than his indolence, not to call it by any harsher name, though *Eusebius* is pleased to ascribe it to his excessive goodness, in suffering his ministers to pass unpunished for many enormous extortions, and horrid oppressions of the people.

CONSTANTINE, CONSTANTIUS, and CONSTANS.

Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, emperors.

UPON the death of *Constantine the Great*, the armies immediately agreed to acknowledge no other emperors but his sons, whom they accordingly proclaimed *Augusti* : and their example was soon after followed by the senate of *Rome* ; without taking any notice of their two cousins, *Dalmatius Caesar* and *Annibalianus*, though *Constantine* had allotted each of them a share in the empire.

Constantius, as we have observed, arrived at *Nicomedia*, before either of his brothers, and his first act of authority was his

his causing to be put to death his uncle *Julius Constantius*, *Constantius*, *Dalmatius Cæsar*, *Annibalianus*, king of *Pontus*, the patrician *Optatus*, who had married the late emperor's sister *Anastasia*, and five of his nephews, besides most of the great *Constantine's* ministers ; so that the numerous family of that prince was reduced to his three sons, and two nephews, *Gallus* and *Julian*, the sons of *Julius Constantius*. *Gallus* owed his life to a malady, from which it was thought he could not recover, and *Julian* to his infancy, being then but seven years old. Most of the great *Constantine's* family put It is agreed by all, that neither young *Constantine* nor *Constans* had any hand in this massacre. to death.

The three brothers met at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia* in the beginning of the next year, and agreed to the following division of the empire. *Constantine*, the eldest, had *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and part of *Proconsular Africa* ; *Constans*, the youngest, *Italy*, with the rest of *Africa*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, and those parts bordering upon the *Euxine* sea ; and *Constantius* had *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, with *Constantinople*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, and the eastern empire, from *Illyricum* to *Nisibis*. The empire divided between the three brothers. A.D. 338.

This partition, though founded upon their father's testament, was not made without some heat and dissatisfaction, which, though composed for some time by *Constantius*, proved in the end fatal to the eldest, who thinking his share too little for an elder brother, demanded of *Constans* the rest of *Africa* and all *Italy* ; and, to make good his claim, invaded his brother's territories with a powerful army, and was slain near *Aquileia*, in the third year of his reign. By his death *Constans* remained sole master of the western provinces, *Constantius* voluntarily yielding to him the whole share of the deceased prince. *Constantine* invades the dominions of *Constans*, and is killed.

In the mean time, while *Constantius* was absent in *Pannonia*, the *Persians* attacked *Mesopotamia*, and being joined by the *Armenians*, who had revolted and driven out their king, laid siege to *Nisibis*, but were obliged to retire, after having continued before it sixty-three days. *Constantius* assembled all his forces, with a design to relieve this city ; but finding the siege raised before he could arrive there, he turned his arms against the *Armenians*, forced them to receive again the king they had expelled, and engaged the robbers of *Arabia*, (the *Saracens*) to attack the *Persian* dominions, in order to make a diversion on that side, that he might have time to attend to the regulating of the state. This war, however, continued all his reign, with alternate success, the *Romans*, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* observes, having always the advantage when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants, and being constantly defeated when headed by the emperor himself. The *Persians* attack the *Roman* territories

In 341 *Constans* gained a victory over the *Franks*, who had invaded *Gaul*, and the year following he totally overthrew and quelled them. *Constantius* had, two years before, passed a law, by which he forbade all incestuous marriages, under

*Constan-
tius.*

*Magnen-
tius rebel.*

and causes
Constantius
to be
murdered.
A.D. 350.

His cha-
racter.

Battle of
Singarus.

pain of death ; and this year both emperors joined in strictly prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worship. From *Gaul*, *Constantius* passed over into *Britain* in 343, to oppose the *Scots*, who had attacked the *Roman* possessions in this island ; but the silence of *Libanius*, with respect to this expedition, is a proof that he performed no great exploits against that brave nation. *Constantius* returning to *Gaul*, gave himself up to indolence and intemperance, which ruined his health, rendered him unfit for business, and so regardless of the state, that he committed the management of it, not to such as were best qualified, but to those who could give most money for their employments, and who, in return, oppressed the people. The odium of this reflecting back upon the emperor, the troops having taken a dislike to him for his inactivity, and his brother *Constantius* being employed in the *Persian* war, *Magnentius*, who had the command of two legions, set up for himself, backed by *Marcellinus*, præfect of the treasury. This happened at *Autun*, the inhabitants of which place, together with the troops quartered thereabouts, immediately gave the title of *Augustus* to *Magnentius*, who thereupon sent *Gaiso*, a principal commander in the army, with a party of men to dispatch *Constantius*. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had passed, threw off his imperial robes, and fled towards *Spain* ; but *Gaiso* overtook him at a little village called *Helena*, at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, and there murdered him. Such was the end of *Constantius*, the great *Constantine*'s youngest son, in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was a zealous defender of the *Christian* religion, extremely liberal to the churches, and a declared enemy to the *Arians*, *Donatists*, and all sectaries. At his first entrance upon the government, his administration was just and vigorous ; but, after his brother's death, he abandoned himself to indolence, cruelty, and avarice.

In 341, *Constantius* built and fortified the city of *Amida*, (now *Hemî*, or *Ameth*,) upon the *Tigris* in *Mesopotamia*. In 344, the city of *Niceesarea* in *Pontus* was intirely destroyed by an earthquake, no one edifice escaping, except the church and the habitation of the bishop. The next year, the city of *Duras* on the coast of *Greece* was swallowed up with all its inhabitants, in an earthquake, and twelve cities in *Campania* were overturned. In 347, *Constantius* caused a harbour to be made at *Seleucia*, at an immense charge, for the convenience of the city of *Antioch*. The same year, *Nisibis* was besieged a second time by *Sapor* king of *Persia*, who was obliged to retire with disgrace, after having continued before it three months. The year 348 is remarkable for a great battle fought near *Singarus* in *Mesopotamia*, between the *Persians* and the *Romans*, in which the latter, after an obstinate dispute, defeated the former, took their king's son prisoner, and made themselves masters of their camp, baggage,

gage, and treasures : but whilst they were quenching their drought with the water they found in the camp, the *Persian* archers, rallying, fell upon them unexpectedly, and snatched the victory out of their hands. The city of *Berytus* was overthrown by an earthquake in 349 ; and in 350 the *Persians* again laid siege to *Nisibis*, and were again, through the bravery of the inhabitants, encouraged by their holy bishop *James*, forced to abandon the enterprize; at which *Sapor* was so enraged, that he put to death some of his chief commanders, and all those who had advised him to this war. *Constantius.*

By the death of *Constans*, *Magnentius* became master of all the countries beyond the *Alps*, and soon after of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*. He was of so barbarous a nature, that he not only caused all the magistrates of *Constans's* appointing to be murdered, but could not restrain his hands from the blood even of some of his own party. To strengthen his interest, he declared his two brothers *Decentius* and *Desiderius*, *Cæsars*, and sent them into *Gaul* and *Spain*, to secure those countries. His sovereignty was, however, frail and precarious ; for *Nepotianus*, the son of *Eutropia*, sister to *Constantine the Great*, at the head of a company of gladiators, and several others of desperate fortunes, assumed the title of emperor, took *Rome*, and filled it with desolation. *Nepotianus* enjoyed his new sovereignty twenty-eight days, at the end of which he was defeated by *Magnentius's* general *Marcellinus*, and killed in the battle. Another competitor likewise started up in the person of *Veteranio*, general of the foot in *Pannonia*, a man advanced in years, and very illiterate, but honest, humane, and a good soldier. Upon his assuming the title of *Augustus*, he is said to have sent notice of it to *Constantius*, with a promise to join him against *Magnentius*, who, going to *Rome*, oppressed the inhabitants of that city in a most tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death, to contribute half what they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Though the army he assembled by means of this money was extremely numerous, yet, dreading the uncertain event of war, he sent ambassadors with offers of accommodation to *Constantius*, who, upon the first news of his brother's death, which he received at *Antioch*, had caused himself to be acknowledged emperor of the West, assembled all the forces dispersed in the provinces of the East, and a fleet more powerful than that with which *Xerxes* had formerly invaded *Greece*. *Constantius* was upon his march against *Magnentius*, when the deputies of this last met him at *Heraclea*, where, instead of hearkening to their proposals, he ordered them to be committed to custody ; after which he advanced with all expedition to *Sardica* in *Dacia*. There *Veteranio* joined him, and was received with joy by *Constantius*, who was glad not to have two enemies to deal with at once. But, some time after, when they both ascended the tribunal to harangue the army, *Nepotianus* sets up for emperor. *Veteranio* assumes the title of *Augustus*. *Veteranio* joins *Constantius*, and

Constantius. and *Constantius*, from the dignity of his birth, speaking first, reminded the soldiers, in a very elegant and artful speech, of their obligations to his father, and exhorted them not to suffer the murder of his brother to pass unrevenge; the troops, incensed at the thought of *Veterano's* attempting to rival their lawful sovereign, pulled him down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple and diadem. *Veterano* thereupon threw himself at the feet of *Constantius*, who embraced him tenderly, called him *father*, and sent him to *Prusia* in *Bithynia*, with an allowance suitable to his quality. *Veterano* spent there the residue of his life, which was six years, in works of Christian piety without ever intermeddling with affairs of state. So far from it, that he is said to have returned *Constantius* thanks for procuring him the happiness he enjoyed in that retirement.

but is de-
posed by
the soldi-
ery.

Gallus
created
Cæsar.

Battle of
Mursa
A.D. 351.

Magnenti-
us over-
thrown.

After this, *Constantius*, finding the government of so many distant countries as he was now master of too great a burden for one man, and despairing of any male issue, married his sister *Constantina* to his cousin-german *Gallus*, created him *Cæsar*, allotted him for his share of the empire all the East, *Thrace*, and *Constantinople*, and sent him to *Antioch*, to watch the motions of the *Persians*, whilst he, with the additional strength of a prodigious number of foot, and twenty thousand horse, acquired by the deposition of *Veterano*, resolved to attack *Magnentius* in what this last called his own dominions. *Magnentius*, perceiving his design, chose rather to meet him at a distance, and with that view advanced into *Pannonia*, where he took *Sciscia* by assault, and laid it even with the ground. After this, he wasted all the country watered by the *Sava*, and sat down before *Sirmium*: but being repulsed from thence, he laid siege to *Mursa*, which *Constantius* resolved to relieve. The two armies met in the plains near this city, and a most bloody battle was fought, in which *Constantius* gained a complete victory, but with such a loss, some say thirty thousand men, besides a great number of his best officers, that the empire was greatly weakened by this blow, and the battle of *Mursa* is reckoned by the ancients one of the most dreadful calamities that ever happened to *Rome*. *Magnentius* is thought not to have lost so many men as *Constantius*; but his centre being put in disorder at the very first onset, he, totally ignorant of the art of war, fled, favoured by the darkness of the night; for the battle began in the evening, and lasted till morning. The return of day discovering the vast slaughter, for *Magnentius's* troops continued fighting obstinately after he had left them, *Constantius* could not refrain from tears, when he beheld, from an adjacent eminence, the plain covered, and the river on which *Mursa* stood, choked up with dead bodies. More grieved at this dreadful carnage, than rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the slain on both sides to be buried, the wounded to be taken care of, and a general pardon

pardon to be proclaimed for all who had borne arms against *Constantius*, except those who had been concerned in the death of his brother *Constans*. *Magnentius* fled to *Italy*, and from thence to *Gaul*, where, by the assistance of his two brothers; he raised a considerable army, with which he was enabled once more to try his fortune with the emperor. *Constantius* rested his troops the remainder of the year at *Sirmium*, and as soon as the next season would permit, marched against *Magnentius*, over whom he gained a complete victory, in the country now called the *Upper Dauphiny*, then the *Cottian Alps*. The tyrant then took shelter in *Lions*, where, to avoid being delivered up to the conqueror, he, transported with rage and despair, first slew, with his own hand, his mother, his brother *Desiderius*, whom he had created *Cæsar*, and such of his relations and friends as were with him, and then himself. His other brother *Decentius*, whom he had likewise created *Cæsar*, was marching to his assistance, and had already reached *Senô*, when he heard of his death; upon which, finding himself surrounded on all sides, he strangled himself. Thus the *Roman* empire, which *Constantine the Great* had divided among his three sons, became united in the person of *Constantius*, the second of them, in the seventeenth year of his reign; he himself being in his sixth, and his cousin *Gallus* in his second consulate. Writers differ greatly as to *Constantius's* behaviour after this victory. His panegyrists say, that he then sheathed the sword, and spared even the tyrant's greatest favourites and confidants. But *Zosimus* and other historians tell us, that, not being able to bear his good fortune, he grew proud, haughty, and imperious, and spared none who had, or were suspected to have, rendered the usurper any service; nay, that even many innocent persons were condemned and executed under that pretence, for the lucre of their estates.

Towards the end of the last, or the beginning of this year (353), *Constantius* married *Eusebia*, a native of *Thessalonica*, greatly commended by some writers for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, skill in polite learning, prudence, &c. but blamed by others for her love of money, and her zealously favouring the *Arrians*, to the prejudice of the Catholic church.

Constantius, having passed the winter at *Arles*, went early in the spring to *Valence*, with a design to march against *Gondomadus* and *Vandomerus*, two brothers, and kings of the *Extravagant Germans*, who had made frequent incursions into that part of *Gaul*, which lay next to their territories. Here he first learnt the unwelcome news of *Gallus Cæsar's* extravagant deportment in the East, where he behaved more like a tyrant and madman, than a prince. His unexpected advancement, and some slight advantages gained over the *Jews*, *Persians*, and *Isaurians*, together with the flatteries of those about him, filled him with such pride and arrogance, that he

Constantius.

he abandoned himself to every act of tyranny and oppression and even thought of revolting from *Constantius*. His natural cruelty was greatly heightened by the wicked counsels of his wife *Constantina*, the *Megara* of her sex, whose turbulent spirit could never be at rest. Some were murdered upon bare suspicions; others deprived of their estates, and reduced to beggary, without the least shew of proceedings against them; and every informer was listened to and believed. Even *Gallus* himself used to walk the streets in the night-time in disguise, and mix with the populace in public houses, to make discoveries to gratify his thirst after blood. All the cities and provinces were filled with slaughter, and no man, howsoever innocent, was sure to live, or enjoy his estate, a whole day. *Thalassius*, then præfect of the East, was greatly concerned at this conduct of *Gallus*, and might probably have corrected it with ease, had he been a man of prudence; but being of an haughty and imperious temper, instead of admonishing *Gallus* of his faults privately, and with the respect due to his rank, he opposed him so publicly, and with such heat, as made the young *Cæsar* (for *Gallus* was not then above four or five and twenty years old), proceed to still greater excesses, that he might not seem to yield to his inferior.

Deplo-
rable state
of the
eastern
provinces

While the eastern provinces were thus oppressed at home, they were harassed by their enemies abroad; the *Issuri*, a vagabond people, who lived by plundering their neighbours, and the *Persians*, making frequent inroads into them. The former laid siege to *Seleucia*, but were driven back to their mountains by *Gallus's* general *Neoridius*. *Nobodares*, whom he sent against the latter, with orders to attack *Mesopotamia*, miscarried in that, and in an attempt to besiege *Batrac*, a town famous for its commerce with *India*. The *Saracens*, who likewise invaded the *Roman* territories in the East at the same time, were more successful in their irruptions, roving up and down, and destroying all they met, and then on a sudden retiring, before the enemy could come up with them.

Constantius's
march-
es against
the Ger-
mans.

Constantius's troops designed for the expedition against the *Germans*, were ordered to rendezvous at *Chalons* on the *Saone*. There they mutinied for want of provisions, the heavy rains that had fallen having prevented the arrival of the corn that was expected from *Aquitaine*: but the emperor's chamberlain, *Eusibius*, appeased them, by privately giving them money. The convoys arrived soon after, and the army marched cheerfully towards *Raccracum* on the *Rhine*, a little above the present city of *Basle*, where *Constantius* endeavoured to lay a bridge over that river, but found it impracticable, by reason of the incessant showers of darts and arrows from the enemy on the other side. He then prepared to ford it, at a place where the water was not deep: but just as he was putting this design in execution, deputies arrived from the

Germans,

Germans, to sue for peace, which *Constantius* readily granted them, that he might be at leisure to consult what measures to take with his cousin *Gallus*, of whom new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view he repaired to *Milan*, the usual place of his residence, and there passed the winter.

Gallus's enormities were now grown to such a height, that every day being marked with new cruelties, and strong information being given of his aspiring to the sovereignty, *Constantius*, after having tried all possible means to reclaim him, at length resolved upon his ruin. To this end, he drew the flower of his troops into the West, under various pretences; and *Thalassius*, præfect of the East, dying about this time, the emperor sent in his room one *Domitian*; to whom he said at his departure, *That he had been informed Gallus wanted to come to Italy; and pay him a visit: adding, If you think it proper, you may conduct him to my presence; but let it be done with all the duty and respect owing to his station.* *Domitian* understood his meaning; but, through a defect in his education, being but the son of a tradesman, he wanted address to execute these tacit orders properly: for, instead of proceeding with prudence and seeming mildness and respect, he behaved with arrogance and indiscretion; telling the prince abruptly, *That he must go to Italy; that the emperor commanded it; and that, if he refused to comply, he would stop the payment of his revenues.* This usage exasperated *Gallus* to such a degree, that he complained of it to his guards, who thereupon immediately seized *Domitian*, and *Montius*, the quæstor, who had taken his part, and, after murdering them, dragged their bodies through the streets of *Antioch*, to the river, into which they cast them. *Theophilus*, governor of *Syria*, was torn in pieces by the mob of *Antioch*, upon *Gallus's* telling them it was his fault if they were not supplied with corn, of which they were then in great want, owing, in reality, to *Gallus's* own mismanagement and neglect. *Epigonius*, *Eusebius*, *Apollinaris*, the father and the son, and numbers of the chief men in the city, and throughout all the provinces of the East, were murdered with equal cruelty, some at the instigation of *Gallus*, and others at that of his wife *Constantina*.

Constantius, fearing lest *Gallus*, who had shewn himself capable of every violence, should proceed to an open revolt; the better to conceal his design of bringing him to justice, wrote him a very friendly letter, inviting him to *Italy*, to advise with him, said he, on certain affairs of great importance. At the same time he also sent letters to *Constantina*, expressing, in the most affectionate terms, a great desire to see her at court; for he thought that the surest way to draw *Gallus* thither. And lest any disturbances should be raised in the East during *Gallus's* absence, by *Ursicinus*, who was his general of the horse, *Constantius* ordered him to come with all speed

A GENERAL HISTORY

Constantius. speed to *Milan*, under pretence of consulting him about war with the *Persians*. *Ursicinus*, to the emperor's great joy obeyed immediately. *Gallus* and *Constantina*, conscious of their guilt, were less ready to obey. However, the last knowing her brother's temper, and hoping by her artifice to disarm his rage, after some deliberation, set out on her journey, leaving *Gallus* at *Antioch*; but she had scarce entered the province of *Bitbynia*, when she was seized with a fever, of which she died. *Gallus*, having lost in her his only advocate, and with the emperor, grew more unwilling than ever to depart; and would have revolted openly, had he met with the least encouragement from his friends; but most of them deserted him on account of his inconstant temper; and the rest either hated him for cruelty, or dreaded the power of *Constantius*.

Constantina dies on her journey.

Gallus sets out from *Antioch*.

In this perplexity, heightend by frequent letters and messages from *Constantius*, one *Scudilo*, a crafty insinuating man, who had been sent to him on purpose to that end, by giving him all imaginable assurances on the emperor's part, prevailed upon him to leave *Antioch*, and set out for *Italy*. In the mean time, all the garrisons were removed out of the towns thro' which he was to pass, lest he should corrupt them; and several officers were privately ordered, under pretence of attending him, to keep a watchful eye over him; which they did with such strictness, that, though the *Theban* legions quartered in *Thrace* sent deputies to him upon his arrival at *Adrianople*, with offers of their utmost assistance, they could not possibly find means of speaking to him during the twelve days that he staid in that city. He there received fresh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haste he could; and public carriages were provided for his equipage; but all his court was ordered to remain where it then was.

Gallus is arrested at *Petavium*.

Upon his arrival at *Petavium*, in *Noricum*, he was met by *Barbatio*, who, entering the house where he lodged with a company of soldiers, stript him of all the ensigns of his dignity, and, putting him in a close litter, hurried him away to *Fianona* in *Dalmatia*, protesting all the time, with repeated oaths, that nothing farther was intended against him. Thither the emperor sent some of his most inveterate enemies, to examine him concerning those he had put to death at *Antioch*. He owned most of the crimes laid to his charge, and endeavoured to excuse himself by imputing them to the evil counsels of his wife *Constantina*. *Constantius*, provoked at this plea, which reflected so highly upon his sister, and consequently upon himself; and persuaded by the enemies of *Gallus*, that his safety depended upon the destruction of so dangerous a rival, signed a warrant for his death, in consequence of which he was beheaded. All who had partaken in his crimes were punished. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought out of the East in chains to *Aquileia*, where they were tried by *Eusebius*, and one *Arbora*; men destitute of

of all mercy and compassion, and on that very account charged *Constantius* with that commission. The merciless judges made no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, but condemned to death, slavery, or banishment, such as could not redeem themselves with large sums. *Luscus*, the chief magistrate of *Antioch*, was burnt alive; but *Gorgonius*, *Gallus*'s great chamberlain, the most guilty of all, escaped by bribing his judges and the eunuchs of the court, who were now become a powerful set of beings.

What with the late treasons of *Magnentius*, and the insolent behaviour of *Gallus*, the emperor was grown so jealous and distrustful, that his ears were open to all accusations, even against the best and bravest of his subjects, numbers of whom fell victims either to the malice of their enemies, or to the groundless suspicions of their prince. No sort of regard was paid by him to the act of indemnity which he had passed after his victory over *Magnentius*; but very many were first shackled like wild beasts, and then put to death, deprived of their estates, or banished, without so much as even the appearance of an accuser against them: proceedings which cast upon the reign of *Constantius* an indelible blot, that is not a little heightened by the excessive vanity with which, upon seeing himself now sole master of the whole empire, he assumed the titles of *Eternal*, and *Lord of the Universe*.

Before the emperor left *Milan*, his groundless jealousies exposed him to new troubles, which had like to have ended in his ruin. *Sylvanus*, by birth a *Frank*, then commanded in *Gaul*, whither he had been sent by the procurement of *Arbetio*, who, fearing lest he should rival him in the emperor's favour, had, in hopes of his perishing in the expedition, persuaded *Constantius* to send him against the *Franks*, *Alemans*, and *Saxons*, who were then making dreadful inroads into that country. *Sylvanus* escaped this first snare of *Arbetio*'s, by repelling the barbarians and restoring peace. His enemy, who was consul this year with *Lollianus*, had then recourse to another scheme, in which he succeeded. One *Dynames*, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving *Gaul*, begged of *Sylvanus* letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor, by *Arbetio*'s direction, erased all but the subscription; and, having inserted directions to the friends of *Sylvanus* for carrying on a conspiracy, delivered the letters to the præfect *Lampridius*, who, being privy to the contrivance, shewed them to the emperor. Orders were immediately issued for apprehending the persons named in the letters; and one *Apodemus*, a declared enemy to all men of probity, was sent into *Gaul*, to inquire into the affair, and arrest *Sylvanus*, who was then at *Cologne*. In effect, *Apodemus* seized on his estate, and caused as many as he could of his friends in *Gaul* to be apprehended and put to the torture. Upon this, *Sylvanus*, being well acquainted with

A.D.355.

Sylvanus,
falsely ac-
cused of
aspiring to
the empire

Constantius. with the emperor's suspicious temper, and the ascendant his enemies at court had over him ; rather than suffer himself to be arrested, the consequence of which he knew would be certain death, resolved at first to take shelter among his countrymen the *Franks* : but being persuaded by his friends not to trust a people so remarkable for their fickleness and treachery, he was forced, in his own defence, to cause himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command.

is forced
to it in his
own de-
fence,

In the mean time, the treachery of *Sylvanus's* enemies was discovered, and his innocence proved, even by the confession of some of his accusers ; upon which he was acquitted : but just as this was done, tidings came of his having actually assumed the purple. *Constantius*, alarmed thereat, immediately assembled a council ; the result of which was, that *Ursicinus* was sent directly into *Gaul* ; where, treacherously pretending that he had deserted *Constantius*, and was come to join him, and share his fate ; he secretly gained over some of *Sylvanus's* guards, and with their assistance murdered him, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor only twenty-eight days. In him fell one of the bravest and most deserving officers of the empire.

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His death was no sooner known to the barbarians, whom he had lately driven out of *Gaul*, than they again broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and, among the rest, *Cologne*, which they levelled with the ground. At the same time, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* laid waste *Pannonia*, and the *Persians* overran *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*.

Julian
created
Cæsar,
and mar-
ried to *He-
lena*.

To avert these dangers, which threatened the empire with destruction if not checked in time, *Constantius*, with the approbation of his whole army, and also at the request of the empress *Eusebia*, raised his cousin *Julian*, the brother of *Gal-
lus*, to the dignity of *Cæsar* ; and a few days after gave him his sister *Helena* in marriage : but at the same time, the emperor was so extremely jealous of him, that he set spies over him to watch all his actions ; placed guards at his apartment ; ordered all his letters to be opened ; would not suffer him to give the usual largesses to the army ; and, upon his departure for *Gaul*, gave him instructions, under his own hand, regulating his whole conduct, and even the expences of his table, as if he had been a child. *Ursicinus* was ordered to continue in *Gaul*, though the chief command of the army was given to one *Marcellus* ; and both these generals had strict orders to keep a watchful eye over *Julian*.

A.D 356.

The next year, *Constantius* took upon him his eighth consulship, and chose for his colleague *Julian* ; who, after relieving the city of *Autun*, to which the barbarians had laid siege, marched against the *Germans*, who were ravaging *Lorraine* ; and, after suffering some loss by their falling unexpectedly upon the rear of his army, in his turn defeated them. This advantage opened him a way to *Cologne*, which he re-took, re-built,

re-built, and fortified a-new. From *Cologne* he removed to *Constanti-Basle*; as well to be in readiness to assist the emperor, if there should be occasion, in his war upon the *Germans*, as to prevent their escaping from him into *Gaul*. The enemies were soon obliged to sue for peace, which *Constantius* granted them. He then returned to *Milan*, his usual place of residence, and enacted two remarkable laws: the one, forbidding, under pain of death, the worshipping of idols; and the other, declaring the effects of condemned persons, except in cases of magic or treason, to belong to their children, and relations within the third degree. But this last law he repealed two years after.

Julian, after dispersing his troops about the country, for the convenience of subsistence, keeping with him only a small number, took up his winter-quarters at *Sens*; to which city the barbarians laid siege, hoping to take him prisoner: but they were repulsed, and forced to retire, notwithstanding their vast superiority of numbers. *Marcellus*, though quartered in the neighbourhood, never offered to assist him: upon which the emperor deprived him of his rank, and made *Julian* commander in chief of all the forces in *Gaul*. *Severus*, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command under him.

This year *Constantius* went to *Rome*, which he had never yet seen, with the empress *Eusebia*, and his sister *Helena*, the wife of *Julian*. He made his entry into that city with great triumphal pomp, attended by the senate, and the whole nobility, in their robes; and was exceedingly taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the place, the multitude of the people, and the beauty of the buildings; particularly the temple of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the public baths, the amphitheatre, *Pompey's* theatre, and the square of *Trajan*. Desiring to add something of his own to the ornaments of the city, he gave orders for bringing from *Alexandria* a fine obelisk which his father *Constantine* had caused to be sent thither from *Heliopolis* in *Egypt* with the same design; and ordered it to be set up in the *Circus Maximus*. This is the obelisk which was re-erected in *Rome* in the pontificate of *Sixtus V.*

Constantius had not been above a month at *Rome*, when, upon advice that the *Suevians* had entered *Rhætia*, the *Quadi Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians* Lower *Pannonia* and Upper *Mæsia*, he thought proper to return to *Milan*, from whence he went into *Illyricum*, where the *Quadi*, and other neighbouring nations submitted to him, and assured him of their friendship. At the same time, he sent *Ursicinus* into the East, to try to bring about an advantageous treaty with the *Persians*, who were engaged in a war with the *Chioniscæ*, in which they had suffered great losses. Determining also to put an end to the dreadful devastations committed in *Gaul*, chiefly by the *Alemans*, he wrote to *Julian*, to march

Constantius with all his forces against them; and at the same time sent *Barbatio* into that country with twenty-five or thirty thousand men, in order to surprize and inclose the enemy between the two armies. *Barbatio*, the same who had betrayed *Gal-*
and Bar- *lus*, instead of assisting, studied how to check the progress of
ratic into *Julian*; who no sooner heard of his arrival at *Basle*, than he
Gaul; took the field with only thirteen thousand men. The *Leti*, a German nation, passing between the two armies, made an attempt upon *Liens*, in hopes of surprizing and plundering that wealthy city; but being repulsed, they ravaged the country round it. *Julian*, upon the first notice of this, detached parties to guard the passes through which he knew they must return; and by this means they were all cut off, except those who marched near the camp of *Barbatio*; who was so far from cutting off their retreat, that he complained by letter to *Constantius* of some officers who attempted it, and who were thereupon cashiered. One of these was *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor. The other barbarians either fortified themselves in the countries they had seized, by stopping up all the avenues with large trees, or took shelter in the islands in the *Rhine*. *Julian*, resolving first to attack the latter, demanded some boats of *Barbatio*; who, instead of complying with this request, immediately burnt all his boats; as he did, on another occasion, the provisions which had been sent for both armies, after he had plentifully supplied his own. Whether he behaved thus out of pique to *Julian*, or in compliance with private instructions from the emperor, is uncertain. Be that as it may, *Julian*, not in the least disheartened by this ill treatment, persuaded some of his men to wade over to one of the islands, where they killed all the *Germans* in it, seized their boats, and with their help drove the enemies from the other islands, and forced them to retire to their own countries. This done, *Julian* rebuilt, stored with provisions for a year, and left a strong garrison in, the fort now called *Saverne*, near *Strasbourg*, in *Alsace*; it being so situated as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*. Whilst he was busied in this, *Barbatio* attempted to lay a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*; but the enemy destroyed his works, fell unexpectedly upon him, killed great numbers of his men, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned laden with booty. *Barbatio* thereupon put his troops into winter-quarters, though it was then but harvest-time, and repaired to court, to make war upon *Julian*.

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 the barba-
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The bat-
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Strasbourg

Thirty-five thousand of the barbarians, elated with this success, assembled under the banners of *Chrodomarius* and six other kings, ten princes, and many lords of great distinction, and encamped near *Strasbourg*. *Julian*, with only thirteen thousand men, marched against them and gave them battle. The victory continued long doubtful; but, at last, the *Germans* were put to flight and pursued with great slaughter.

ter. Numbers of them threw themselves into the *Rhine*, and were drowned. *Chnodomarius* was taken, and presented to *Julian* in the sight of the whole army, who thereupon saluted him with the title of *Augustus*; which he rejected with great indignation; telling his soldiers, *That the glory of the action was chiefly owing to Constantius, under whose auspices they had fought*. This victory restored *Gaul* to its ancient liberty, and proved the ruin of the *Germans*, who, upon *Julian's* crossing the *Rhine*, and entering their country, sent deputies to him to sue for peace: but this he absolutely refused, and granted them only a truce for ten months, upon their promising to store with provisions a fort which he ordered to be built in their country to curb and awe them. His first care after the battle, was, to cause all the dead to be buried, without distinction of friend or enemy. He then sent his royal captive *Chnodomarius* to *Constantius*, who sent him to *Rome*, where he died soon after. *Constantius* was not ashamed to assume the whole glory of this memorable action, as appears from an edict of his published about this time; wherein he speaks of himself as if he had fought at the head of his army, without so much as mentioning the name of *Julian*, whose merit all the sycophants at court strove to depreciate as much as possible. Some *Franks* ravaging the country about *Rheims*, *Julian* marched next against them; and after subduing them, he took up his winter-quarters in *Paris*, which we find about this time first mentioned in history. It was then only a castle situated on an island in the river *Seine*. Among the laws which *Constantius* enacted this year, was one whereby the estates of those who should renounce the *Christian* to embrace the *Jewish* religion, were ordered to be confiscated; and by another, all merchandizing ecclesiastics, their wives, children, and domestics, were freed from all sorts of taxes and imposts.

Constantius.

Constantius's vanity.

The *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*; and the *Juthingo*, a German nation, into *Rhætia*. The latter was defeated and driven back by *Barbario*: but *Constantius* marched in person against the former, and entered the territories of the *Sarmatians*; who thereupon, with the *Quadi*, came in great numbers, pretending to sue for peace, but in reality, with a design to surprize the *Romans*, who, suspecting it, fell upon them, and cut every man of them into pieces. He then marched against the *Limigantes*; that is, those slaves, who, in 334, had driven the *Sarmatians* out of their country, and seized it for themselves, as we mentioned before. They too came in great numbers to meet the emperor, under the same pretence and with the same design as the others; and their fate was the same, every one of them being cut in pieces. The *Romans* then entered their country, which *Constantius*, after driving out of it all the remaining *Limigantes*, restored to the *Sarmatians*, declaring them a free people,

Early the next year, while the emperor was at *Sirmium*, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*; and the *Juthingo*, a German nation, into *Rhætia*. The latter was defeated and driven back by *Barbario*: but *Constantius* marched in person against the former, and entered the territories of the *Sarmatians*; who thereupon, with the *Quadi*, came in great numbers, pretending to sue for peace, but in reality, with a design to surprize the *Romans*, who, suspecting it, fell upon them, and cut every man of them into pieces. He then marched against the *Limigantes*; that is, those slaves, who, in 334, had driven the *Sarmatians* out of their country, and seized it for themselves, as we mentioned before. They too came in great numbers to meet the emperor, under the same pretence and with the same design as the others; and their fate was the same, every one of them being cut in pieces. The *Romans* then entered their country, which *Constantius*, after driving out of it all the remaining *Limigantes*, restored to the *Sarmatians*, declaring them a free people,

Constantinus. people, and appointing one *Zizais* to govern them with the title of king.

Julian *Julian*, during his stay at *Paris*, regulated the taxes paid by the province, so as to find the necessary supplies without laying any new burdens on the people, already quite exhausted. After this, to make the most of the leisure which the truce lately granted to the *Germans* left him, he marched against the *Franks*, who were at this time divided into several tribes, the most considerable of which were the *Salii* and *Chamavi*, who inhabited the islands in the *Rhine*, and the country round about the present cities of *Maastricht*, *Boisleduc*, *Breda*, and *Antwerp*. He soon reduced them, and built three forts upon the *Meuse*, to keep that district in awe. Then, the truce with the *Germans* being now expired, he and obliged the *Franks* to cross the *Rhine*, and entered the country of these last, whom he obliged once more to sue for peace; which at length he granted, upon their promising to deliver up the prisoners they had taken, who amounted to upwards of twenty thousand; and to supply a certain quantity of corn; and furnish, when required, wood, iron, and carriages, for repairing the cities they had ruined. He again took up his winter-quarters this year at *Paris*.

About this time the emperor enacted a law by which all magicians, astrologers, and pretenders to the art of divination, were declared enemies to mankind, and guilty of treason if found in the prince's court. This year also, *Constantius*, having intercepted a letter to *Barbatio*, from his wife *Assyria*, giving him some hopes of being one day raised to the sovereignty, ordered them both to be put to death; and with them suffered many innocent persons, unjustly suspected of being privy to their designs. *Constantius* returned to *Constantinople* in the summer of the year 359, and there spent the remainder of that year.

The *Persians* begin hostilities. In the mean time, the *Persians*, encouraged by one *Antoninus*, an officer, who, having been oppressed by *Constantinus's* ministers, had gone over to the enemy, renewed their claim to *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, crossed the *Tygris*, and began to commit hostilities. *Ursicinus* then commanded in the East, and was the fittest man in the empire for that post, in case of a war. But the eunuch *Eusebius*, a proud, factious, intriguing courtier, who governed the emperor as he pleased, having long resolved the ruin of *Ursicinus*, because he never would truckle to him, laid hold of this opportunity to persuade *Constantius* to recall him, as a person who was not to be trusted; and to appoint in his stead *Sabinianus*, a decrepit old man, immensely rich, but every way unfit for that employment. The pretence alledged for recalling *Ursicinus*, was, that the emperor intended to give him the post of general of the foot, vacant by the death of *Barbatio*. The moment *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, was informed of this change, he ordered his troops to assemble from all quarters, with a design

design to cross the *Euphrates*, and enter *Syria*, whilst this province was governed by so weak a commander as *Sabinianus*. *Constantius*, alarmed at this, immediately sent orders to *Ursicinus*, who was come as far as *Thrace*, in his way back to *Italy*, to hasten instantly into *Syria*, with the character of general of the foot, but without any authority; or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of *Eusebius*, that, if the *Persians* miscarried, *Sabinianus* might have the honour of it; but, if they succeeded, the blame might fall upon *Ursicinus*.

Constantius
us.

Discouraging as these circumstances were, the brave *Ursicinus* immediately obeyed his orders. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he was informed that the enemies, to the number of at least an hundred thousand, were advancing with great speed; whereupon he hastened into *Mesopotamia*, to give the necessary orders for the defence of *Nisibis* and *Amida*, in case either of those cities should be attacked. What he apprehended, happened; *Amida* being, a few days after, invested by the whole *Persian* army. *Ursicinus* sued in vain to *Sabinianus*, either to take the field himself, and oblige the enemy to raise the siege; or to lend him men to do it. His answer was, *That his instructions were, not to expose the army to any danger*. Thus was *Ursicinus*, with the utmost grief, forced to continue inactive, and see one of the strongest cities in the East reduced. Never was place assaulted with more fury, nor defended with greater resolution and intrepidity: but at length, most of the garrison being killed, the rest quite spent, and the walls beat down in several places, the *Persians*, after having lain seventy-five days before it, and lost upwards of thirty thousand men, provoked by this resistance, made a last effort, and carried it by storm. The city was razed, the chief officers crucified, and all the soldiers and inhabitants, either put to the sword or carried away into captivity. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the historian, who was shut up in the town during this memorable siege, of which he gives a very full account, made his escape, with two or three more, in the dead of the night, and joined *Ursicinus*, whose secretary he was, at *Melitene*, in the Lesser *Armenia*; from whence he followed him to *Antioch*. From *Antioch*, *Ursicinus* repaired to court, where, to his great surprize, he was charged with the loss of *Amida*, and all the miscarriages of the campaign. Though his greatest enemies were appointed to be his judges, they could not prove any thing against him; but yet the weak emperor, unjustly suffering himself to be ruled by them, divested him of his employment, and ordered him directly to retire to his native country.

Amida
razed by
the *Persians*.

Ursicinus
falsely ac-
cused, and
disgraced.

Early the next year, the *Persians* made themselves masters of *Singara*, which they demolished; *Bezabde*, on the *Tigris*; and several other places in *Mesopotamia*. *Constantius*, who was still at *Constantinople*, raising new troops, and soliciting the *Goths* and other barbarians to join him, at length set out

Constantius
us goes in-
to *Mesopo-*
tamia.

Constantinus. for Syria, when the spring was far advanced, in order to march in person against *Sapor*. He passed the *Euphrates* at *Samosata* in Syria, and arrived at *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*; from whence, after waiting there till autumn for the coming of his troops and engines of war, he marched to *Bezabde*, with a design to retake that place: but the vigorous resistance of the *Persian* garrison, and the heavy rains which fell, obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire to *Antioch*, where he staid this winter.

Sends for part of *Julian's* army. Resolving to prosecute the war against the *Persians* the next year, at the head of a mighty army, he sent *Decentius*, one of his secretaries, into *Gaul*, to bring from thence all the *Batavians*, and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men chosen out of each corps serving under *Julian*, together with all his best officers. This he did, rather with a design to weaken *Julian*, than to strengthen himself; for he began to be very jealous of that prince's glory, and apprehensive of his power. *Julian*, though reduced by this order to the unhappy dilemma, either of falling a sacrifice to the emperor's resentment, if he refused to comply with it; or of perishing by the arms of the barbarians, if he obeyed it, instantly submitted: but at the same time he abdicated the dignity of *Cæsar*, that he might not be charged with the loss of *Gaul*; and informed *Decentius*, that the auxiliaries raised in *Gaul* and *Germany* had entered into the service upon express condition of their not being obliged to pass the *Alps*; and that the violation of this article would prevent their inlisting for the future. But all this had no weight with him. When the troops were ready to depart, *Julian* advised him not to suffer them to approach *Paris*, where he was still in his winter-quarters: but *Decentius*, fearing they might mutiny if they left *Gaul* without seeing their general, led them thither to take their leave of him. *Julian* received them in a most obliging manner, and exhorted them cheerfully to obey the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. They heard him with attention, withdrew in silence, and continued quiet till about sun-set, when, on a sudden, they flew to arms, surrounded the palace, and with a tumultuous noise proclaimed *Julian* emperor. *Julian*, who protests that in *Gaul* he had not even the least suspicion of this design, rejected the proffered title, reminded the soldiery of their duty to the *Julian* emperor, and promised to prevail upon him to countermand the orders which they disliked. All this was to no purpose: they still insisted, and even threatened him with immediate death, if he any longer declined the honour they intended him: upon which he was obliged to yield.

A.D. 360.

Julian, well knowing how much the emperor would be alarmed and provoked at what had passed; to appease his wrath, and allay his fears, sent him, by two of his chief officers, an obliging letter; in which he contented himself with the title of *Cæsar*, and told him how that of *Augustus* had

had been forced upon him. The deputies met the emperor at *Constanti-*
Cæsarea, who, upon reading the letter, flew into a violent *us.*
 rage, drove them from his presence, and was some time in
 suspense whether he should proceed in his expedition against
 the *Persians*, or turn his arms against his new rival: but at
 length he resolved upon the former, and sent his quæstor to
Julian, with a letter, ordering him, upon his peril, to be
 content with the title of *Cæsar*, and absolutely refusing to
 acknowledge him for emperor. *Julian* received this letter in
 the presence of the soldiery and people; who, upon its be-
 ing read to them, confirmed to him, with repeated acclama-
 tions, the title of *Augustus*, which they had given him; in-
 sisted on his keeping it; and declared, that they were deter-
 mined to stand by him to the last drop of their blood. *Ju-*
lian, in his answer to the emperor, related what had hap-
 pened; assuring him of his good intentions for his service;
 but adding, *That he could not think of abandoning to his resent-*
ment men who had given such proofs of their zeal for him.

Many fruitless messages passed between *Constantius* and *Ju-*
lian; till at length the latter, finding that his antagonist
 would not hearken to any terms, but was preparing for war,
 threw off the mask, made his soldiers swear allegiance to him, *Julian*
 and marched them directly into *Illyricum*, of which he soon declares
 made himself master; *Florentius*, whom *Constantius* had ap- openly
 pointed præfect of that country, running away upon the first against
 news of *Julian*'s approach; and *Taurus*, præfect of *Italy*, doing *Constanti-*
 the same: so that *Julian* became master of this last country, *us,*
 and of *Sicily*, without so much as striking a blow. From *Il-*
lyricum, *Julian* was preparing to enter *Thrace*, when he
 learnt the news of *Constantius*'s death. This emperor, having
 left *Antioch*, with a design to march against *Julian*, was seized
 with a fever at *Tarsus*, in *Cilicia*; of which he died at *Mep-* who dies
uene, at the foot of Mount *Taurus*, in the forty-fifth year on his
 of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning march
 from the time he was created *Cæsar*; but only the twenty- against
 fifth since the death of his father. His corpse was conveyed *Julian.*
 to *Constantinople* by *Jovian*, afterwards emperor; and *Julian*
 himself, repairing immediately thither, assisted at his funeral,
 which was performed with great solemnity in the church of
 the Apostles in that city.

All writers agree that he was a weak and vain prince; in- His cha-
 tirely governed by the eunuchs and flatterers of his court; racter.
 distrustful, and, in consequence thereof, extremely cruel;
 very ignorant, and therefore an enemy to all learning; but
 a great promoter of the *Christian* religion: though in this he
 bestowed his favours, not on the orthodox, for them he per-
 secuted, but on the *Arians*. He built a great number of
 churches; endowed them, and several others, with consider-
 able revenues; and expressed, on all occasions, an extraor-
 dinary respect and esteem for the clergy.

J U L I A N.

Birth, education &c. of the emperor *Julian*. THE emperor *Julian* was the son of *Julius Constantius*, brother to *Constantine* the Great; and of *Basilina*, a lady of an illustrious family, being the daughter of one *Julian*, who was præfect, and the sister of another, who was count of the East. They were both of the *Anician* family, one of the most illustrious in *Rome*. *Julian*, who was born in the year 331, was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity, learning with surprizing quickness, and never forgetting what he had once known. He excelled in the *Greek* tongue, but was less perfect in the *Latin*. His eloquence was easy and flowing, accompanied with a graceful delivery; his temper mild and sweet; his penetration quick; his presence of mind always ready; and his courage undaunted, even in the greatest dangers. He was brought up at *Constantinople*, till the death of his uncle *Constantine*, when he and his brother *Gallus* were the only ones that escaped the general massacre of all his relations. At seven years old, he was put under the tuition of the eunuch *Mardonius*; who discharged his trust with great care, inculcating in him the principles of virtue. The emperor afterwards committed his education to *Eusebius*, bishop of *Nicomedia*, a zealous favourer of the *Arians*. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he and his brother *Gallus* were removed to a castle called *Macella*, near *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*; where they were maintained like princes, and allowed the best of masters to instruct them in all sciences; but at the same time kept in a manner as prisoners, no one being allowed to visit them. Above all, particular directions were given to their preceptors, to inspire them with sentiments of piety, and instruct them in the duties of the *Christian* religion. In this exile, if we may so call it, they continued six years; viz. till the year 351, when *Gallus* was created *Cæsar*; spending their time in reading, meditating, visiting churches and the tombs of the holy martyrs; and were even admitted to the office of reading the holy scriptures in public. Soon after *Gallus's* promotion, *Julian* was permitted to come to *Constantinople*, where he studied oratory under a sophist of no great eloquence, but chosen by *Constantius* for his preceptor, because he used to inveigh bitterly against the idolatry of the pagans.

Julian's modest and obliging behaviour at *Constantinople* soon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city; which the jealous emperor was no sooner informed of, than he ordered him to retire to *Nicomedia*. Here he became acquainted with one *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, a pagan philosopher of great reputation, but much addicted to the study of magic; and giving ear to his insinuations, he not only suffered

suffered himself to be instructed in the abominable mysteries of that pretended art, but conceived an aversion to the *Christian* religion, though he still continued outwardly to practise it. Upon the ruin of his brother *Gallus*, he was arrested by the emperor's order, and kept prisoner seven months, on a groundless suspicion of his aspiring to the sovereignty: but his innocence being at last made known, by means of the empress *Eusebia*, he was set at liberty, and permitted to go into *Greece*, which he preferred to all other places, being desirous, as he pretended, to perfect himself in the sciences; but his true design was, to confer with the magicians at *Athens*, with the most famous of whom he contracted a great intimacy. At the same time he became acquainted there with those two great luminaries of the church, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, and *St. Basil*; with the latter of whom he studied the holy scriptures, carefully concealing, through fear of *Constantius*, though he told it to his confidants, his desire of seeing paganism restored to its former lustre.

Julian.

The emperor soon recalled him from *Athens*, created him *Cæsar*, appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and married him to his sister *Helena*; as we have related above, in the reign of *Constantius*; where we have also spoken of his conduct and military exploits; altogether surprising in a youth who had then been conversant only with books, and who was obliged to learn the first rudiments of war while he was leading his army to battle. To those exploits we are to add, that, after the emperor had taken from him his best troops; to keep the remainder of his men in action, he fell upon the *Atthuarii*, the inhabitants of the present countries of *Cleves* and *Munster*, who had made frequent inroads into *Gaul*, laid waste their country, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he thought proper to prescribe them. Afterwards he recovered several places that were still held by the enemy, and, advancing toward *Basle*, reduced the *Alemans* to the necessity of suing for peace.

On the eleventh of *December*, 361, *Julian* made his public entry into *Constantinople*; where he was received with great joy, and declared emperor by the senate of that city; every one expressing the utmost satisfaction at seeing so promising a prince become their head without the least expence of blood or treasure to the republic. His first care, after the interment of *Constantius*, was to erect a court of justice at *Chalcedon*, to inquire into the conduct of the late emperor's ministers, and to hear the complaints of such as had been injured by them. Several of them were justly condemned and executed; of which number were, the eunuch *Eusebius*, *Paulus Catena*, who had behaved with great cruelty in *Britain*, and one *Apodemus*, a notorious informer. The two last were burnt alive. The rest of *Constantius's* ministers were deprived of their employments, without distinction, though several of

Julian
makes his
entry into
Constanti-
nople.

Several of
Constanti-
us's mini-
sters con-
demned
and exe-
cuted.

them were men of unblemished characters. Some innocent persons too were put to death ; particularly *Ursulus*, a man of great integrity, who had supplied *Julian* with money unknown to the emperor, when he was sent into *Gaul* with the title of *Cæsar*, but without the necessary appointments to support that dignity. This deed, the motives of which we are no where told, leaves, as historians have represented it, an indelible stain upon the memory of *Julian*, who, add they, to palliate the atrociousness of the crime, pretended, that *Ursulus* had been condemned and executed without his knowledge : nor did his ordering great part of his estate, which had been confiscated, to be restored to his daughter, his only child, atone for this black ingratitude. We cannot, however, but suspect that this action, so little of a piece with the rest of *Julian*'s conduct, must have had some cause which has been industriously hid from us, perhaps by the pious ecclesiastics of those days.

Julian re-
forms the
court, and
eases the
people. *Julian*'s next care was to reform the court, by dismissing from it all useless officers, and other persons, who devoured the substance of the people, and exhausted the Exchequer. This reform, by saving the great salaries of those vermin, enabled him to ease the people of the heavy taxes they groaned under ; which he did, by suppressing one fifth part of them throughout the whole empire ; preferring the modesty of a philosopher to the vain magnificence of a prince.

Professes
himself a
Pagan. He now began no longer to dissemble his religious sentiments, but openly professed himself a pagan ; ordered the heathen worship to be restored ; and invited to his court, philosophers, magicians, astrologers, diviners, and such like people, from all parts ; particularly *Maximus*, who first inspired him with an aversion to the *Christian* religion. At the same time he recalled all the *Christian* bishops, whether orthodox or heretics, whom *Constantius* had banished ; advised them to lay aside their dissensions, and gave them free liberty to live and believe as they pleased. This, we are told, was a piece of craft in him, to prevent their uniting, for he knew by experience, says *Ammianus*, that wild beasts are not so enraged against men, as *Christians* dissenting upon points of faith are enraged against each other.

Julian was no sooner seated upon the throne, than deputies were sent from the chief cities of the empire, to present him with crowns of gold, and congratulate him upon his happy accession. Ambassadors likewise waited on him with the compliments of several foreign nations ; among whom he was renowned for his fortitude, sobriety, military skill, and other eminent virtues. He now formed to himself many great designs, one of which was the humbling of the *Persians*. But before he set out upon that expedition, he enriched *Constantinople*, the place of his nativity, with many privileges, a large harbour, and a fine library.

In

In *May*, 362, *Julian* set out for *Antioch*, where he arrived about the latter end of *July*. In his way thither he was met in many places by crowds of people, who came to lay their complaints before him; which he heard with patience, and decided their differences with great equity. The inhabitants of a small village accusing one of their countrymen of aspiring to the empire, alledging, *That he had ordered himself a purple habit*; *Julian* very calmly answered, *That, if they pleased, they might also supply their new prince with purple shoes*: and, when one *Theodotus*, of *Hierapolis*, threw himself at his feet, begging him to forgive an injury he had formerly done him; *Julian*, who did not know him, without inquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderness, saying, *In what have you disobliged me? I know not, nor do I care to know; but, be it what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince, whose greatest ambition is to lessen the number of his enemies, and increase that of his friends*. Passing through *Nicomedia*, he could not behold, without shedding tears, the ruin of that once famous city, overthrown by an earthquake: but he ordered considerable sums for rebuilding it. During his stay at *Antioch*, where he remained all the next winter, he employed himself chiefly in hearing and deciding causes; in protecting the innocent, without distinction of Christian or Pagan; and punishing the guilty, without forgetting his usual lenity and moderation.

Julian.

A.D 362.
Julian sets out on his expedition against the Persians.

Instances of his moderation and justice

All these things made the *Antiochians* extremely fond of him at first; but they soon altered both their sentiments and behaviour on the following accounts. *Julian*, observing the vast multitudes of people that flocked thither, either to attend or pay their court to him, concluded that so great a concourse must soon occasion a dearth of provisions: to guard against which, he fixed the prices of corn and other necessaries at so low a price, that the merchants, finding they must be losers if they sold their goods at *Antioch*, either sent them to other markets, or locked them up in their warehouses. This, as the magistrates of *Antioch* had represented to him would be the case, occasioned such a want of the necessaries of life, that the enraged people, who were mostly Christians, imputed to his idolatry the famine, and other calamities, with which they and the whole empire were afflicted; loaded him with the bitterest invectives, calling him *butcher*, by reason of the many victims he daily sacrificed, frequently not less than an hundred bullocks at a time; and ridiculing the smallness of his stature, the meanness of his look, the oddity of his port and gestures, and his long piqued beard, in which he took great delight. *Julian*, incensed at these sarcasms, which were sung publicly in the streets, wrote, in return, an ironical invective against the *Antiochians*, intitled *Misopogon*, or the *Beard-bater*; in which he exposed all their vices with great acrimony. The other circumstance which incensed the people of *Antioch* against him,

The *Antiochians* first like, and then hate him.

was

Julian. was his visiting the temple of *Jupiter* in that city, and there performing, upon the first of *January*, the pagan sacrifices, which had been long omitted, for the safety of the empire.

He sacrifices in the temple of *Jupiter.* The ecclesiastic writers are full of terrible accounts of unheard of cruelties, and innumerable murders, committed by *Julian* during his stay at *Antioch*: but, as we have no other voucher for these things, than the relation of persons who were his sworn enemies, on account of his having left their religion, we must beg leave to suspend our belief of what they say. Certain it is, that his administration of justice was, in general, very impartial; and that he readily hearkened to those who were better acquainted with the laws than himself; constantly advising with them before he gave sentence. From this rule we must, however, except *Gaudentius* and *Julian*, whom he put to death for their fidelity to *Constantius*; and the son of one *Marcellus*, who had disoblged him while he commanded in *Gaul*. This last was accused of aspiring to the empire; as were also *Romanus* and *Vincentius*, two officers of distinction, whom, though convicted of the crime laid to their charge, *Julian* only banished.

Julian, continuing his preparations for the *Persian* war, assembled his forces from all parts, made new levies, and, above all, consulted the oracles, the aruspices, magicians, &c. The former, in their usual ambiguous manner, assured him of victory: but the aruspices, and most of his courtiers and officers, endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from his design; and their advice is said to have been confirmed by several sinister presages; such as, the burning down of the temple of *Apello* at *Daphne*, the suburb of *Antioch*, towards the end of this year, and several others which happened upon his march.

The temple of *Apello* burnt. Many nations sent deputies to him with offers of their assistance, which he refused, saying, *The Romans assist their allies, but want not their assistance.* Of this number were the *Saracens*, who, at the same time that they offered their services, complained of *Julian's* stopping the pension which had been paid to their nation by other emperors; to which he unadvisedly answered, that *A warlike prince had steel, but not gold*: whereupon they joined the *Persians*, and continued faithful to them to the last. Some say, that the *Persians* commenced hostilities by making inroads into *Mesopotamia*; but others, perhaps with more probability, tell us, that *Julian* himself was the aggressor, out of a desire to revenge the many affronts which *Sapor* had offered to the *Romans*. Be that as it may; *Julian*, before he left *Antioch*, appointed one *Alexander*, a cruel and passionate man, governor of that city, saying, *The citizens deserve no better*: and when the magistrates took their leave of him, after attending him the first day's journey, he told them, in a great passion, that he would never visit them again.

He

He set out from *Antioch* on the 5th of *March*, 363. His *Julian.*
 infantry was commanded by *Victor*, and his cavalry by *Hormisdas*, who was the elder brother of *Sapor* king of *Persia*, but *Julian*
 having been excluded from the crown, had taken shelter in the court of *Constantine* in 323. *Julian* reached *Litarba* the sets out
 first day; from thence he proceeded to *Beræa*, and from *Antioch.*
 thence to *Batne* in *Syria*, where he was greatly pleased at finding, that the people had already restored the worship of A.D.363,
 the idol gods, to whom he there sacrificed a great number of victims. From *Batne* he pursued his journey to *Hierapolis*, the capital of the province of *Euphratesiana*, which he
 reached on the 9th of *March*. As he entered this city, fifty
 of his soldiers were killed, and a great many more hurt, by
 the fall of a great building. Leaving *Hierapolis* on the 13th
 of *March*, he crossed the *Euphrates*, on a bridge of boats,
 with his army, and arrived at *Batne* in *Osroene*, where fifty
 more of his men were killed by the fall of a stack of straw. Arrives at
 From *Batne* he went to *Charræ*, a frontier town on the *Charrae.*
 borders of *Assyria*, famous for the death of *Crassus*, and the
 total overthrow of the *Roman* army under his command.
 Here he rested a while to furnish his army with provisions,
 and sacrificed to the moon, the great goddess of the country,
 at whose altar he is said secretly to have delivered his purple
 robe to his kinsman *Procopius*, bidding him resolutely to
 seize on the empire, in case he should miscarry in his expe-
 dition. Leaving thirty thousand men in *Mesopotamia*, to
 guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, under the
 command of *Procopius* and *Sebastian*, with orders, if possible,
 to join *Arfaces*, king of *Armenia*, to lay waste the fruitful
 plains of *Media*, and then to meet him in *Assyria*, he march-
 ed on, with a design to penetrate into the heart of *Persia*,
 with an army of sixty-three thousand men. He set out
 from *Charrae* on the 24th of *March*, and arrived the second
 day at *Calinicum*, where he celebrated the feast of the mo-
 ther of the gods on the 27th. The next day he pursued his
 march along the banks of the *Euphrates*, where he was met
 by his fleet, consisting of seven hundred gallies, and four
 hundred ships of burthen, laden with provisions, arms, and
 engines, and commanded by *Lucilianus* and *Constantianus*.
 From *Calinicum* he went to *Cercusium*, situated on the con-
 flux of the *Euphrates* and the *Abora*, which last river he passed
 with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be
 broken down, that his soldiers might not be tempted to de-
 sert, seeing they could not return home.

Having now entered the *Persian* dominions, he encoura- Enters the
 ged his men with a proper speech, and distributed an hun- *Persian*
 dred and thirty pieces of silver to every one of them. He territories
 then proceeded on his march with the greatest order and
 precaution imaginable, extending his ranks, to strike the
 greater terror into the enemy, in such a manner, that his
 army

Julian. army occupied a space of near ten miles, and seemed at distance far more numerous than it really was. In six or seven days he came to a fort called *Annathan*, which capitulated upon the first summons. He afterwards, with much difficulty, passed an arm of the *Euphrates*, which was swelled to an unusual height by the melting of the snow, and laid siege to *Bersebora*, which he reduced in two days, though vigorously defended, and in itself the strongest place in *Assyria*, next to *Ctesiphon*. Here his soldiers began to mutiny, but he pacified them with money. He then entered a country which the enemy had laid under water, to prevent his passing that way ; but his soldiers, animated by his example, waded through it, and took *Maiozamalcha*, a place of great strength, which they plundered. *Maiozamalcha* was but seven miles from *Ctesiphon*, the great metropolis of the *Persian* empire, towards which *Julian* advanced next. Here he narrowly escaped being killed by an arrow, in the attack of a fort, which he took and demolished ; after which, causing the canal to be cleansed, which had been dug by *Trajan* between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, he conveyed his fleet by that means from the former to the latter river, and led his army to *Cocher*, a place of great strength, standing on the *Tigris* over against *Ctesiphon*. From this place, with no less rashness than courage, he made his army pass the *Tigris*, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, who defended the opposite shore, and whom he forced to retire within the walls of *Ctesiphon*, with the loss of their camp and several thousand of their men. He continued some days before *Ctesiphon*, but would not venture to attack it ; and at length, after rejecting proposals of peace that were made to him by the king of *Persia*, he decamped, taking his route along the banks of the *Tigris*, to which he kept pretty close for some time. At last, however, his guides, who were natives of *Persia*, persuaded him, in spite of the remonstrances of all his officers, to take a quite different route. At the same time, lest the enemy should become masters of his fleet, he ordered it all to be burnt, except twelve small vessels, which were to be conveyed over land in waggons, to make bridges, if there should be occasion. The moment the ships were set on fire, the whole army began to mutiny, and cry out, that the emperor was betrayed by his guides. To appease the soldiery, the guides were put to death, when they confessed, that their design in advising him to burn his fleet was, in reality to ruin him and his army. Orders were thereupon given to extinguish the fire ; but it was too late, every ship, except the twelve abovementioned small vessels, being reduced to ashes.

Though the country was naturally very fruitful, yet, the enemy having purposely ravaged and laid it waste, *Julian's* army was soon reduced to the last extremity. In this distress a council

OF THE WORLD.

a council was held, wherein it was resolved to march to-
wards *Cordouene*, which lay south of *Armenia*, and belonged
to the *Romans*. Accordingly, they set forward on the 16th of
June, but had not marched far, when they discovered a ve-
ry numerous army advancing against them. These were
the *Persians*, commanded by their king in person, attended
by his two sons, and all the nobility of his kingdom. *Ju-*
lian's troops thereupon returned to their camp, where they
were in a manner besieged the next day by the enemy. Se-
veral skirmishes happened for ten days, in which the *Persians*
were constantly worsted, and on the eleventh, in an almost
general engagement of both armies, they were routed with
great slaughter. However, they rallied, and still resolved to
oppose *Julian*, who, though master of the field, was redu-
ced to the greatest streights for want of provisions, the *Per-*
sians having destroyed every thing that they could not use
themselves. At length, necessity forcing him to move, he
began his march in the best order he could, but was attacked
on all sides by the enemy, who, after discharging their
showers of arrows, which never failed to do great execu-
tion, retired immediately, without giving him time to come
up with them. In one of these sudden onsets, *Julian*, haf-
tening without his armour to repulse the enemy, was mor-
tally wounded by a dart, which pierced through his arm and
side. He was carried to his tent, where, as soon as the first
anguish of his wound was a little abated, he called for his
arms and horse, and, if his strength had permitted it,
would have returned to the battle, to animate his men, who
made dreadful havock of the enemy, till night put an end
to the slaughter. Fifty *Persian* lords of great distinction
were killed, and an incredible number of other officers and
common soldiers. The loss of the *Romans* was also great,
especially in the right wing, where the emperor commanded.

The fight was not yet ended, when *Julian*, finding his
end approach, addressed those about him in the following
terms. *I am now, my fellow-soldiers, called upon to pay the last*
debt of nature, which I do with a willing and chearful mind; be-
ing taught by philosophy, that the state of the soul is infinitely more
happy than that of the body. Upon this consideration, I embrace
death as the greatest blessing: it exempts me from the many dan-
gers to which my virtue and reputation were daily exposed. I
have lived, first in a private, and afterwards in an exalted station,
and so behaved in both, as not to be conscious to myself of any ac-
tion that gives me now the least remorse. I have studied to go-
vern with moderation, and, being well apprised, that the end of
all government is the happiness of the people, I have, both in
peace and war, endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to acquit myself
of that duty. I have great reason to thank divine providence for
not having suffered me to fall by the hands of conspirators; to
languish under a long and troublesome disease; or to die like a
criminal, as many innocent and deserving persons have done. I
submit

Julian.

Beats the
Persians,
but is re-
duced to
great
streights.

Is harassed
by the
Persians,
and mor-
tally
wounded.

His speech
before his
death.

submit

Julian. submit with joy to the eternal and immutable decrees of the gods, though in the bloom of my age; being sensible, that he who is fond of life when he ought to die, is as great a coward, as he who desires to die when he ought to live. As for my successor, I decline naming any, lest, through ignorance, I should pass by a worthy person, or, by naming one equal to so great a trust, expose him to those dangers which would inevitably attend his promotion, if he were not universally approved of. I therefore leave the choice to the commonwealth, and, like a dutiful son, wish her a worthy governor to succeed me. He then disposed of his private estate, which he divided among his relations and friends, and after some discourse with the philosophers *Maximus* and *Priscus*, concerning the sublime nature of the soul, he called for a glass of cold water, drank it, and expired about midnight, on the 26th of *June*, in the thirty-second year of his age, about three years after he had assumed the title of *Augustus*, and seven years and an half from the time of his being created *Cæsar*. *Theodoret*, *Sozomen*, and most of the *Christian* writers, who have spoken of him, relate his death very differently, making him utter horrid blasphemies. But when we consider how much they were prejudiced against him, we cannot but prefer the above account, which is given by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who served under him in this very expedition, and was an eye-witness of his actions.

Julian
dies.

His cha-
racter.

Few characters have been more differently represented, than that of this emperor. Both *Christians* and *Pagans* agree, that he was endowed with many excellent qualities; that he was valiant, generous, especially to the distressed, benevolent to all, temperate, patient of labour, a great lover of learned men, being himself both learned and eloquent, an enemy to all vain ostentation, and very tender of his subjects. But with these virtues he had his faults; for even his admirers allow him to have been superstitious to the highest degree, fickle in his temper, excessively ambitious of popular applause, extremely talkative, often inconsiderate, and, in many things, guided more by his own humour, than the advice of his ablest counsellors. Upon the whole, we cannot but think, that he neither deserved the bitter reproaches with which he has been traduced, as the worst of princes, by the *Christians*; nor the mighty encomiums bestowed upon him, as the best of princes, by the *pagans*. These last, however, own, that his conduct towards the *Christians*, whom he endeavoured to stigmatise with the name of *Galileans*, debarring them from all honours and employments, and forbidding them either to teach or learn the sciences, was repugnant to the laws of humanity. It was out of spite to them, that, supposing Christianity to be founded on the ruins of Judaism, and thinking, that if he could once restore the ceremonies and sacrifices of this last religion, he should raise a great argument against the truth and progress of the former, he attempted to rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*,

Jerusalem, in which he is said to have been miraculously defeated *Julian*.
by balls of fire issuing out of the earth, and destroying both the work and the workmen.

During the short reign of this prince, the empire was Dreadful constantly afflicted with dreadful calamities. Earthquakes calamities were felt in every province, which overthrew most of the during his cities of *Palestine*, *Lybia*, *Sicily*, and *Greece*. *Libanius* writes, reign. that not one city was left standing in all *Libya*, and but one in *Greece*; that *Nice* was utterly ruined, and *Constantinople* greatly damaged; and, about the same time, the temple of *Apollo Palatinus* at *Rome*, and that of the same god at *Daphne*, were consumed by fire. The remaining ruins of the temple of *Jerusalem* were likewise overturned by an earthquake. The sea, in several places, broke in upon the land, and destroyed whole cities, with their inhabitants. To these calamities was added a general drought, which produced an universal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of *Julian*, whose body was conveyed by *Procopius* to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where it was interred with the usual solemnity. He had but one son by his wife *Helena*, whom the empress *Eusebia* bribed the midwife to destroy as soon as it was born.

Among the writers of this time we must reckon *Julian* Writers in himself, His *Misopogon* is a continued satire, not without his reign, humour, but, in many places, low and insipid. His famous work, intitled *The Cæsars*, is a satire on all the emperors from *Julius Cæsar* to *Constantine* and his children. He likewise wrote several letters and discourses, some of which have reached us: but his history of his own wars in *Gaul* has been long since lost, as have also his writings against the Christians. Under this emperor flourished, besides *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Eunapius*, who out-lived him, *Callistus*, one of *Julian's* officers, who wrote the life of his master in verse; but this work has not reached our times; *Procles*, a Christian sophist, esteemed for his learning and eloquence, and *Oribasius*, a famous physician, who abridged the works of *Galen*, and of all the most able physicians down to his time. This work consisted of seventy books, but only the first fifteen, and the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, printed at *Paris* in 1555, have reached our times. He wrote another abridgment of the same nature in four books, which is still extant. Of the great *Basil*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, who lived at this time, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

J O V I A N.

J O V I A N.

Jovian
elected
emperor.

THE death of *Julian* threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They were in a strange country, far from home, with a provoked enemy round them, without a head to direct, command, and provide for them, quite destitute of provisions, and consequently in the greatest danger of perishing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incensed *Persians*. The common soldiers were ready to mutiny, and the officers at variance about a successor to the throne. In this critical situation they pitched upon the præfect *Sallust*, a man of great worth, and long experience in military affairs : but he excusing himself on account of his age, the next choice fell upon *Jovian*, the son of *Verronian*, a native of *Singidunum* in *Pannonia*, or rather in *Mæsia*, and one who had held great employments in the state ; and he was accordingly proclaimed emperor, the day after the death of *Julian*.

A peace
concluded

The *Persians*, being soon informed of the death of *Julian*, renewed their attacks upon the *Romans*, and *Jovian* as often repulsed them with considerable slaughter. But his valour was not proof against the famine which raged in his camp, and with which all his men must have perished, had not *Sapor*, either dreading the resolution of *Romans* driven to despair ; or, as *Ammianus* says, moved unexpectedly by Heaven, offered conditions of peace. The negotiations lasted four days ; during which the miseries of the *Romans* were so great, that, added to the apprehensions *Jovian* was under, and not without reason, of the designs of *Julian*'s kinsman *Procopius* ; it was resolved to accept of the proffered terms, dishonourable as they were. A peace was accordingly agreed on for thirty years, upon *Jovian*'s promising to give up to the *Persians* the five provinces in the *Tigris* which had been taken from them in the reign of *Dioclesian*, together with several castles, and the cities of *Nisibis* and *Singara* ; and engaging, to his no less shame, never to assist *Arfaces*, king of *Armenia*, against the *Persians*, though *Arfaces* was a faithful friend and ally of the empire.

Jovian
sets out
for the
Romano-
mitions.

The peace being confirmed on both sides, and hostages exchanged for performance of conditions, *Jovian* and his army passed the *Tigris*, and, after a painful march of six days, arrived at *Ur*, a *Persian* fortress between the *Tigris* and the city of *Nisibis* ; where he was met by *Cassianus*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, and *Mauritius*, a tribune, with such provisions as the army of *Procopius* and *Sebastian* could spare. Continuing his march from thence, he arrived at *Thisalphata*, in the *Roman* territories, where he was met by *Procopius* and *Sebastian*, who commanded the army which *Julian* had left in *Mesopotamia*.

tamia. The emperor received them in an obliging manner, *Jovian.* and soon after sent *Procopius* to attend the corpse of *Julian* to *Tarsus*, in the suburbs of which city he was buried, pursuant to his own desire a little before his death. As soon as the funeral was over, *Procopius* withdrew privately, and never could be heard of, though all possible enquiry was made after him, till he assumed the purple in 365. From *Thisapata Jovian* proceeded to *Nisibis*, and the next day that bulwark of the empire was delivered up to *Bineses*, a *Persian Nisibis* lord, who attended *Jovian* in the quality of an hostage, and delivered who took possession of it in his master's name. All the inhabitants were ordered to depart immediately, which, notwithstanding all their intreaties and offers to defend the place at all events, they were obliged to do, *Jovian* insisting upon the faith of the treaty, and the obligation of his oath. Never, says *Ammianus*, who was in this expedition, did the sun behold a more melancholy sight, than these unhappy people bemoaning their hard fate, and cursing a peace which had proved more fatal to them than the most bloody wars. The city was evacuated in three days, and all the roads were crowded with these forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry, but grieving for the loss of many valuable things which they had been forced to leave behind them for want of carriages. Most of them retired to *Amida*, which thereby repaired the losses it had sustained in the time of *Constantine*, and, by degrees, became the metropolis of what remained to the *Romans* in *Mesopotamia*. *Persians.*

From *Nisibis Jovian* went directly to *Antioch*, where he *Jovian* revoked all the laws which *Julian* had enacted against the Christians, and made it his chief study to re-establish their religion, giving strict orders that they should not be disturbed in their worship, and restoring to the churches and ecclesiastics all the privileges and immunities which had been granted them by *Constantine* and his children, but lately cancelled by *Julian*. In particular, he espoused the cause of the orthodox Christians against the *Arrians*, and recalled all the bishops who had been banished on that score. It was at his request that *Athanasius* drew up the creed which still passes under his name, and was approved of and subscribed by all the bishops of *Egypt*. *protects the Christians.* *The Athanasian Creed* drawn up at his request.

After a short stay at *Antioch*, *Jovian* set out for *Constantinople*, though the winter was far advanced, to prevent some disturbances which had happened in the West. In his way through *Tarsus* he added some ornaments to the tomb of *Julian*; and from thence he proceeded to *Ancyra*, where, with what solemnity the hurry he was in would admit of, he entered upon his first consulship, for his colleague in which, he took his son *Veronianus*, though then but an infant. Hastening to reach *Constantinople*, though the weather was so intensely cold that some of his retinue died on the road, he arrived at *Bandastana*, or *Dardastana*, a town on the borders

Jovian. of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, where he was found dead in his bed, on the 16th or 17th of *February* of the year 364, after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned seven months and twenty days. Some say he was killed by the dampness of his chamber, which had been newly plaistered; others, that he was choaked by the vapours of charcoal, placed there to dry the room; and others, of which opinion *Ammianus* himself seems to be, that he was poisoned. He is greatly commended by all the ecclesiastic writers, as a pious and zealous Christian; and even the Pagans allow him to have been mild, affable, and generous, naturally inclined to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himself pretty well acquainted with the sciences. On the other hand, he was timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women. His body was sent to *Constantinople*, and there interred with his predecessors.

V A L E N T I N I A N.

Valentinian chosen emperor. AFTER an *inter-regnum* of about ten days, all the officers, both civil and military, unanimously chose for emperor *Valentinian*, the son of *Gratian*, a native of *Cibale* in *Pannonia*, who, though of low extraction, had raised himself to very high employments in the state. *Gratian* had two sons, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both of whom are said to have been altogether illiterate. *Valentinian* was baptized in his youth, and proved a very zealous Christian. He betook himself early to the profession of arms, in which he was remarkable for his courage and prudence. At the time of the emperor *Jovian's* death, he commanded the second company of the shieldmen of the guards then at *Ancyra*, to which place messengers were immediately dispatched, to acquaint him with his promotion; whereupon he set out for *Nice*, where the army then was, and where, after hesitating for two days, whether or no he should accept the empire, he at last ascended a tribunal erected on purpose in a plain near that city, and was crowned, in the sight of the whole army, who, with loud shouts, saluted him *Augustus*. This happened on the 26th of *February*, 364. *Valentinian* set out for *Constantinople* two days after his coronation, and having been already much pressed by the troops to take a colleague in the sovereignty, upon his arrival there, he declared his brother *Valens* his partner in the empire.

He makes his brother *Valens* his associate in the empire. The two princes had been but a few months upon the throne, when the empire was threatened with a general invasion from the barbarous nations that surrounded it. The

Germans

Germans were cruelly wasting *Gaul* and *Rhætia*; the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, *Pannonia*; the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Saxons* infested *Britain*; the *Moors* were outrageous in *Afric*; the *Goths* behaved cruelly in *Thrace*; and the king of *Persia* again laid claim to *Armenia*, pretending that the late truce made with *Jovian* was ended by his death, and he was therefore at liberty to recover what he could of the territories which, said he, had formerly been wrested from his predecessors.

The better to defend the empire against these numerous enemies, the two brothers agreed to divide the provinces between them. The partition was made at a castle called *Mediana*, about three miles from *Naissus*, a city of *Dacia*. *Valens* had the East, that is, all *Asia*, with *Egypt* and *Thrace*; and *Valentinian* reserved to himself all the West, namely, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa*. They then repaired to *Sirmium*, from whence they set out, *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Constantinople*, upon their arrival at which cities they both took the consular ornaments.

All this year the empire was grievously burdened and insulted. The *Germans*, incensed at the disobliging reception their ambassadors had met with from *Ursacius*, then *magister officiorum*, who had sent them away with far less presents than had been usually given them, broke into *Gaul*, and laid waste the country bordering upon the *Rhine*. *Valentinian* advanced against them as far as *Rheims*, but they retired at his approach, and thereupon went to *Paris*, and took up their winter quarters there. In the mean time, he was informed that *Procopius* had appeared again, and set up for himself in the East; but whether his brother *Valens* was dead, and *Procopius* had for that reason assumed the imperial title, or whether he had rebelled against him, his information said not. However, desiring, if possible, to crush him in the beginning, he was for marching directly into *Illyricum* against him; but his friends dissuaded him from it, and he complied with their request; considering, says *Amimianus*, that *Procopius* was only an enemy to his family, whereas the *Germans* were declared enemies to the whole empire. He therefore contented himself with sending *Neotherius* into *Africa*, to secure that province, and ordering *Equitius* to cover *Illyricum*, and watch the motions of the rebels on that side.

The *Germans*, who had retired upon the emperor's approach, towards the end of the last summer, returned again this year, and, in the winter, passed the *Rhine* over the ice, and defeated the *Romans* in a pitched battle. *Valentinian* was still at *Paris*, from whence he immediately dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences of this misfortune: but he, pretending he had not sufficient forces to oppose the enemy, let them continue their depredations, without so much as attempting to restrain them: upon

Valentinian. which he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the troops in *Gaul*, was sent in his room, and gained a complete victory over them.

Valentinian, who still remained in *Gaul*, fell dangerously ill soon after this, and his life being despaired of, several cabals were formed in order to give him a successor. But he recovered ; and being informed of what had passed, to prevent any farther disputes of that kind, he, with the consent of the soldiery, raised to the empire his son *Gratian*, tho' then but eight years old ; making him at once sovereign, without first creating him *Cæsar*, as had always been the custom till that time. Soon after this, *Valentinian* repaired to *Treves*. Towards the close of this year, the *Germans*, returning again unexpectedly, took and plundered the city of *Mentz*. The *Picts* and *Scots* broke also into the *Roman* territories, but were repulsed by *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, as were likewise the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who invaded *Gaul*. This year is also remarkable for many instances of *Valentinian's* cruelty ; a vice he had hitherto taken care to conceal. The next year was distinguished by several excellent laws of his enacting, and by his entering the territories of the *Alemans*, and defeating them with great slaughter. He spent the greatest part of the following year in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine* ; and during this time, several senators, governors of provinces, judges, and other officers, were put to death by his order, for receiving bribes, and oppressing the people committed to their care. Among the rest, his chief chamberlain *Rhodanus* was burnt alive for unjustly seizing the estate of a widow called *Berenice*.

A.D. 370. The *Saxons*, who dwelt in inaccessible marshes on the coasts of the ocean, left their country again this year, and committed dreadful ravages in the *Roman* territories ; but the invaders were all cut off. The *Burgundians* too, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who promised to join them, and fall upon the *Alemans*, with whom they were then at variance. But not chusing to interrupt the work he was then engaged in, of building forts upon that river, he did not keep his word with them ; upon which, after putting to death all the prisoners they had taken, they returned home, highly incensed against him. However, *Theodosius*, now raised to the rank of general of the horse, for his gallant behaviour in *Britain*, penetrated into the country of the *Alemans*, and returned with a great and number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands settlements on the banks of the *Po*.

In the autumn of the year 371, *Valentinian* himself undertook an expedition against the *Alemans*, in hopes of surprising their king *Macrianus*, a brave and resolute prince : but he, having timely notice of the design, saved himself by flight, and the disappointed emperor returned to *Treves*, after laying

laying waste the country round about *Mentz*, then in the possession of the *Alemans*. *Valentinian.*

About this time, *Firmus*, a *Moorish* prince in *Africa*, unable to bear the cruelties and insolence of *Romanus*, præfect of that province, resolved to revolt in his own defence; and accordingly, having animated the *Moorish* nations to shake off the yoke, under which they had long groaned, he assumed the purple, with the title of king. He soon found himself at the head of a considerable body of forces, with which he ravaged the provinces of *Africa* and *Mauritania*, without opposition, and even made himself master of *Cæsarca*, now *Algiers*, where he found a considerable sum belonging to the *Roman* exchequer. *Theodosius*, the best general of his time, was sent against him, and, upon his arrival in *Mauritania*, arrested *Romanus* for his misbehaviour. *Firmus*, hearing of this, and despairing of success against so renowned a commander, sent deputies to him, with offers to submit, and quit the ensigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forgive his past conduct. *Theodosius* assured him of his pardon, upon condition of his giving hostages for his future good behaviour. This *Firmus* promised to do; but deferred the execution of it from day to day, under various pretences: upon which, *Theodosius*, justly suspecting his sincerity, fell upon the *Tydenses* and *Masinissences*, two *Moorish* nations in alliance with *Firmus*, and commanded by his brother *Mascezel*, defeated them, and laid waste their country. *Mascezel*, having rallied his forces, ventured a second battle; but with no better success than before. *Firmus* then at last sent the promised hostages; and soon after, upon *Theodosius's* declaring that he then pardoned him, he came in person to him, lamented his folly and rashness, and promised to make amends for both by his future fidelity. But, notwithstanding these protestations, he was no sooner gone, than he again privately prepared for war; upon which *Theodosius*, having certain intelligence of the fact, employed every method to tame the rebels, and reduced them to such streights, that *Firmus*, dreading the event, abandoned his army, and fled to the *Isafenses*, higher up in the country, among rocks and precipices deemed inaccessible. However, *Theodosius* penetrated even thither, defeated the natives in several engagements, and so harassed them, that they at length resolved to deliver up *Firmus*, who, being apprised of their design, strangled himself. All the *Moorish* nations immediately sued for peace, which was readily granted them, upon their delivering up some of their leading men, who were punished with death.


About this time excessive cruelties were committed at *Rome* by one *Maximin*, who, from an obscure beginning, had raised himself to the first employments in the state, and now held the important post of vicar to the præfects. He was of a cruel inexorable temper, and having great interest

Valentinian. with *Valentinian*, who was almost as cruel as himself, he spared neither age nor condition, but, under the slightest pretences, cruelly tortured and executed persons of all ranks, either to satisfy his spite against them, or to have a pretence for seizing their estates. Numberless complaints were laid against him; but the emperor, instead of punishing him as he deserved, called him to court, received him with great affection, and soon after created him præfect of Gaul. However, *Gratian*, e'er long, put him to death, with some of the ministers of his crimes. When *Maximin* left Rome, and by those of another tyrant, raised by his interest with *Valentinian* to the office of vicar of Rome, afflicted that unhappy city, by his enormous cruelties, not less than *Maximin* himself had done. This was *Simplicius*, who, under various pretences, put to death all those to whom his patron bore any grudge, not excepting even the heads of the most illustrious families, nor ladies of the greatest distinction.

Valentinian marches into Germany. *Valentinian* was all this while either at *Milan*, or at *Treves*, from which last place he marched this year, in the month of June, into *Germany*, and after ravaging the country bordering on the *Rhine*, went to *Basle*, where he built a fort called *Robur*. While he was encamped there, the *Quadi* broke into *Pannonia*, desolated that country, made themselves masters of several places, and defeated two *Roman* legions. At the same time, the *Sarmatians* entered *Mæsia*, but were repulsed with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, who was afterwards emperor. From the *Rhine* he marched into *Illyricum*, and took up his quarters at *Carnuntum*, as well to inquire into the truth of the grievous complaints made to him against *Probus*, præfect of that province, which he treated with the utmost barbarity, as to make the necessary preparations for an expedition against the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*. During his stay at *Carnuntum*, he committed several acts of cruelty, particularly in first torturing most inhumanly, and afterwards executing publicly, *Fauslinus*, nephew to *Viventius*, who, a few years before, had been præfect of Gaul, upon a malicious information of his having answered one *Nigrinus*, who, in jest, desired him one day to make him a notary, *Make me first emperor*. They were joking, but the joke cost both of them their lives. From *Carnuntum* the emperor marched on to the *Danube*, which he passed, and having ravaged the enemy's country with fire and sword, he pursued his march along the banks of the *Danube*, till he came to the isle of *Schutz*, where the present city of *Komare* stands. There he gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Quadi*, who came to sue for peace: but while he was speaking to them with great vehemence, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he on a sudden fell to the ground speechless. He was carried to his chamber, where he fell into violent convulsions, in the agonies of which he expired on the 17th of November of the year 375, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after

Ravages
the coun-
try of the
Quadi.

Dies sud-
denly.
A.D.375.

after having reigned eleven years and nine months. His *Valens.* body was embalmed, and sent to *Constantinople*, to be interred there among the other Christian princes. 

We come now to the reign of *Valens* in the East. After The reign of *Valens* in the East the division of the provinces made at *Mediana* in *Dacia*, in the year 364, as before related, *Valens* returned to *Constantinople*, where he staid all the following year, during which he made some good laws, and in the spring of the year 365, he set out for *Syria*, the *Persians* being in motion, with a design, as was apprehended, to break the peace they had lately concluded with *Jovian*. He remained at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* till the latter end of the summer, and during his stay there, a dreadful earthquake happened, which was felt in most provinces of the empire, and overturned several cities.

Valens was upon the point of departing from *Cæsarea*, when The re- news was brought him of the revolt of *Procopius*, who, after volt of the funeral of his kinsman *Julian*, had, through fear of *Jovian*, privately withdrawn into *Chersonesus Taurica*. *Procopius.* He staid not long there, but returned secretly to the house of one *Strategius*, his trusty friend, near *Chalcedon*, from whence he went frequently in disguise to *Constantinople*, where he soon found that the people in general were much dissatisfied with their prince. This he resolved to improve to his own advantage; and accordingly, after gaining over an eunuch of great wealth, by name *Eugenius*, lately disgraced by *Valens*, and some of the officers of the troops then quartered at *Constantinople*, he discovered himself, and laid before them and the soldiery his claim to the empire, as being nearly related to *Julian*. They, as agreed on before-hand, saluted him *Augustus*, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, where, in a few days, he was acknowledged by the whole city. *Valens* was so terrified at the news of this revolt, that he would immediately have resigned the imperial dignity, had not his friends with great difficulty dissuaded him from it, and prevailed upon him to send some troops against his rival, hoping to crush him before he was in a condition to resist them. This detachment, commanded by one *Viralianus*, met him at *Mygdus* in *Phrygia*, where, instead of opposing, they joined him. With this seasonable reinforcement, he, in his turn, detached a strong party under the conduct of a tribune called *Rumitalca*, who seized on *Nice* without opposition. *Valens*, alarmed at the usurper's unexpected progress, sent another body of troops against him, whilst he himself invested *Chalcedon*, the siege of which he was soon obliged to raise. At the same time *Rumitalca* advanced against him, and *Valens*, struck with fear, abandoned *Bithynia*, and retired hastily to *Ancyra*. In the mean time, *Procopius* laid siege to the city of *Cyzicus*, and took it, together with a large sum of money, lodged there for the pay of the emperor's troops. The acquisition of this place

Valer made him master of the *Helleſpont*, of which he appointed *Hormisdas*, brother to *Sapor* king of *Persia*, governor, with the title of proconſul. Here he ſpent the beſt part of the winter in endeavouring to gain over the cities of *Asia*; but his attempts were defeated, partly by *Clearchus*, vicar of that province, but more by his own conduct: for inſtead of continuing to behave with the moderation and humanity with which he firſt ſet out, he on a ſudden grew proud, haughty, and tyrannical, and loaded the provinces that had ſubmitted to him with exorbitant taxes, though he knew their averſion to *Valens* was chiefly owing to that very cauſe. The year following, viz. 366, *Valens*, having received a conſiderable reinforcement of troops at *Ancyra*, left that place, and marched into *Lycia*, with a deſign to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. *Procopius's* ſoldiers were at firſt greatly animated by the preſence of *Fauſtina*, *Conſtantius's* widow, and her little daughter *Conſtantina*, whom *Procopius* carried about with him, and often expoſed to their view. To counterbalance this, *Valens* prevailed upon *Arbctio*, who had commanded the forces under *Conſtantius*, and was much beloved by the foldiery, to join him. What he foreſaw, happened. The preſence of that prince's chief commanders drew great numbers of the rebels over to his party, together with ſeveral of their principal officers. *Valens* then advanced to *Niceſia*, a city of *Phrygia*, where he gave the rebels battle, the iſſue whereof continued doubtful, till a German called *Agile*, one of *Procopius's* chief commanders, with many others, went over to *Valens*. This ſo diſheartened *Procopius*, that, quitting his horſe, he fled into a neighbouring wood, attended by *Florentius* and *Barchabas* a tribune, who in the night ſeized him, and carried him bound to the emperor. *Valens* immediately ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and ſent it to *Valentinian*, then in *Gaul*. *Florentius* and *Barchabas* were likewiſe put to death by the emperor's order; who is defeated, taken, and put to death.

Marcellus
revolts.

but is taken, and tortured to death.

A kiſman of his, by name *Marcellus*, governor of *Nice*, hoping to be more fortunate than *Procopius* had been, and thinking the opportunity favourable, ſeized on the city of *Chalcedon*, and drew over to his party numbers of men of deſperate fortunes, who inveſted him with enſigns of royalty, and proclaimed him emperor. But *Valens*, upon the firſt news of his revolt, diſpatched a party of choſen men againſt him; who, coming unexpectedly upon him, ſeized him, loaded him with chains, and dragged him to the public priſon, from whence he was taken the next day, and, with his accomplices, tortured to death.

The

The next year, 367, *Valens* being informed that a body of three thousand *Goths*, who were come to the assistance of *Procopius*, but had marched back upon the news of his death, had not yet passed the *Danube*; he sent a detachment against them, who took them prisoners. *Athalaric*, their king, sent ambassadors to *Valens*, earnestly desiring they might be set at liberty; for that they had been sent by their prince, a friend and ally of the *Romans*, to the assistance of one whom they looked upon as a *Roman* emperor, being the heir of the great *Constantine's* family; and that, if they had been deceived therein, they ought to be forgiven; having done only what seemed to them just and equitable. *Valens*, being bent upon war, and wanting to humble the *Goths*, who were now become exceedingly powerful; instead of being satisfied with this apology of theirs, made vast preparations during the winter, in order to fall upon them early in the spring. He passed the *Danube*, at a place called *Daphne*, and spent the whole summer in ravaging and laying waste the enemy's country, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Goths* flying to their mountains at his approach. In the autumn, he led back his army by the *Roman* territories, and wintered in *Mæsia*. The next spring, he invaded their country again, and made such dreadful havock, destroying all with fire and sword, that the *Goths* sent ambassadors to him at *Marcianopolis*, whither he retired after the campaign, to sue for peace; which he at first refused to listen to upon any terms, but was at last prevailed upon by the senate of *Constantinople* to grant, upon condition, 1. That the *Goths* should never more pass the *Danube*, nor set foot on the *Roman* territories. 2. That the trade they had been allowed to carry on with whatever cities of the *Romans* they pleased, should, for the future, be restricted to two cities only, situated on the *Danube*. 3. That the yearly pension which they had been allowed by former emperors, should not be paid them any longer. This was the first peace that the *Romans* granted to, and did not purchase of, the *Goths*. This was in the year 369.

*Valens.**Valens* resolves to make war upon the *Goths*.He passes the *Danube*, and lays waste their country.

They sue for peace.

The next year, 370, *Eudoxius*, the Arian bishop of *Constantinople*, dying, the Arians gave that see to one *Demophilus*; and the Catholics, on their side, installed *Evagrius*. Upon this, *Valens*, who was a zealous favourer of the Arians, and an irreconcilable enemy to the orthodox believers, sent a party of soldiers to drive out this last, whilst the Arians, thus powerfully supported, raised a violent persecution against the Catholics, who thereupon sent a deputation of eighty of their ecclesiastics to the emperor, to lay their grievances before him: but he, instead of redressing them, ordered them all to be put to death. The execution of this command was committed to the præfect *Modestus*, who, fearing lest the public execution of so many respectable persons might occasion great disturbances, put them all on board a vessel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be sent into

Valens's cruelty towards the orthodox Christians

Valens. into banishment; but when the ship was at some distance from land, the mariners set fire to it, as they had been directed to do, and saved themselves in their boat; whilst the vessel, and all that were in it, perished. *Valens* passed the winter of this year at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*; where, to his unspeakable grief, his only son *Valentinian Galata* died. Great disorders being committed this year in *Syria*, by the inhabitants of a large village called *Maratacupris*, who infested the roads, robbing all they met, and even sometimes entering cities in the night, and plundering the houses of the wealthiest inhabitants; *Valens* ordered a party of soldiers to surround their village, and destroy them all, without distinction of sex or age; which was accordingly done with such rigor, that not even an infant at the breast escaped.

The *Per-*
sians begin
new trou-
bles in *Ar-*
menia and
Iberia,

but are
defeated
by the *Ro-*
mans.

In 371, *Valens* divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, and *Palæstine* into three. These divisions proved very burdensome to the people, occasioned great litigations among them, and raised several quarrels and disputes between the metropolitan bishops. In the following year, *Valens* went early in the spring to *Antioch*, to watch the motions of the *Persians*, who had begun to raise new troubles in *Armenia* and *Iberia*; treacherously murdered *Arfaces*, whom the *Romans* had appointed king of *Armenia*; and gave the government of that country to one *Aspacuras*. Upon *Valens's* resenting this, *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, sent a strong body of troops into *Armenia*; where they committed dreadful ravages, and took and destroyed several strong places. *Valens*, who had hitherto declined sending troops into *Armenia*, lest he should be charged with a breach of the peace, was no sooner informed of these proceedings than he ordered a powerful army to march into that country. *Sapor*, on his side, reinforced his army, and made all the alliances he could with the princes his neighbours. However, no battle was fought this year; but in the next, 373, the *Romans* gained a complete victory over the *Persians*; after which a truce was agreed on, and both princes, who had advanced as far as *Mesopotamia*, to support their respective generals, returned; *Valens* to *Antioch*, and *Sapor* to *Ctesiphon*. During this campaign, a conspiracy was formed against *Valens*; but all we know of it, is, that it was seasonably discovered.

Theodotus
put to
death for
conspiring
against the
emperor.

In the winter of the next year, *Valens* being at *Antioch*, many persons of all ranks and conditions were accused of having recourse to magical practices, in order to learn the name of the person who was to succeed *Valens* in the empire. Some of them confessed the crime, and declared, that *Theodotus*, the emperor's second secretary, was the man whom the stars seemed to have destined to the empire. *Theodotus* was found guilty, not only of having been privy to these forbidden inquiries, but also of having conspired with others to take away the emperor's life; whereupon he and his accomplices were put to death. This was an act of justice.

But

But *Valens*, giving way to his natural cruelty, caused innumerable innocent persons to be inhumanly racked, and afterwards executed or banished. Such numbers were daily seized that the public prisons could not contain them; and very few of those that were apprehended, escaped death or banishment. Among those who suffered on this occasion were *Diogenes*, formerly governor of *Bithynia*; *Salia*, treasurer of *Thrace*; *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, brothers in law to *Constantius*; and *Alypius*, formerly vicar of *Britain*, together with his son. But the most rigorous inquiries were made after the pagan philosophers, who were, generally speaking, addicted to the study of magic. Of these, *Hilarius*, *Patricius*, *Andronicus*, *Cæsarinus*, and many others of note, were publicly executed: *Maximus*, the famous master of *Julian*, was beheaded; and *Jamblichus* ended his life by poison, to avoid falling into the emperor's hands. Strict search was made after all books of magic; and those in whose custody they were found, were treated as magicians throughout all the provinces subject to *Valens*. The officers employed on this occasion would frequently, out of spite or malice, convey among the writings of those they searched, some pretended charm or incantment; upon which the persons to whom they were supposed to belong, were immediately seized and condemned, and their estates confiscated.

We shall now return to the West, where, as we observed before, the emperor *Valentinian* died in the year 375. He left behind him two sons; *Gratian*, whom he had made his associate in the empire; and *Valentinian*, then but four or five years old, whom the chief officers of the army in *Gaul* proclaimed also emperor, the sixth day after his father's death. *Gratian*, who was then about seventeen years old, was at first displeased at their taking this extraordinary step without first consulting him; but, being naturally mild and good tempered, and endowed with an uncommon understanding, he soon confirmed their election, and ever after treated the young *Valentinian* with the utmost tenderness. *Valens* too, readily acceded to it; and the western provinces were thereupon divided between the two brothers. Young *Valentinian* had, for his share, *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*; and *Gratian* had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. However, *Gratian*, in fact, governed all the West as long as he lived, *Valentinian* not being capable of acting on account of his youth.

In 376, the præfect *Maximin*, who had long committed unheard of cruelties both in *Italy* and *Gaul*, was publicly executed by *Gratian*'s order; and one *Antonius* was appointed præfect of *Gaul* in his room. *Simplicius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* in 374, and *Doriophanus*, who succeeded him in that office, underwent the same fate for the like crimes. These wretches deserved their fate, and died unlamented: but the death of the renowned *Theodosius*, one of the greatest officers and justly.

Valens.

together with Maximus and other philosophers.

Continuation of the history of the Western empire

A.D. 375.

Valentinian II. proclaimed emperor.

Maximin and

others justly put to death;

but Theodosius un- and justly.

Valens. and best men of his age, is an indelible stain on the memory of *Gratian*. He was beheaded at *Carthage*, upon a false accusation, after he had triumphed over *Firmus*, and, by his prudence, established tranquillity in that country. His son who was likewise named *Theodosius*, and who had defended *Mœsia*, of which he was duke in 374, with great courage against the incursions of the barbarians, retired to his native country, *Spain*, where he lived in a kind of exile till he was recalled by *Gratian*, and raised to the empire.

The *Goths*
admitted
into
Thrace.

While these things passed in the West, the *Goths*, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, as is related more at large in the history of that nation, approached the banks of the *Danube*, to the number of two hundred thousand men; and from thence sent ambassadors to *Valens*, to represent their sufferings, and desire his leave for them to settle in *Thrace*. All wise men were astonished when they heard that such vast multitudes of barbarians, driven from their homes by others more barbarous than themselves, should think of becoming such near neighbours to the empire, and dreaded the thoughts of admitting them; plainly foreseeing what would be the fatal consequence. But others, sycophants and flatterers, had the impudence to extol the emperor's good fortune on this occasion, which had so unexpectedly brought him a perpetual supply of soldiers, with which he could be furnished at his pleasure out of *Thrace*, and thereby save the expence of new levies, to the no small benefit of his treasury. Blinded by the imaginary prospect of this advantage, *Valens*, without farther consideration, not only granted their request, but gave orders to his subjects to assist them in their crossing the river. Destruction followed at their heels, and spread itself like a contagion. He ordered, indeed, that none should be admitted, till they had been first disarmed: but his officers, more intent upon their private gain than the benefit of the public, suffered themselves to be corrupted by presents, and overlooked that injunction. It is likewise said, that the emperor's intention was, to have the children of both sexes first brought over, and disposed of as hostages throughout the provinces of the empire, and as pledges for the good behaviour of their parents: but this prudent design was also frustrated by the mercenary conduct of the same officers. This memorable event, which so greatly contributed to the downfall of the empire, happened in the 1128th year of *Rome*, and the 276th of the Christian æra.

A.D. 378. These new inhabitants of *Thrace* had not been settled two years in that country, when they advanced from thence into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, committing every where dreadful ravages; and, at last, approached *Constantinople* itself; plundered its suburbs; kept the city blocked up for some time; and, in the end, totally overthrew the *Romans* in a battle, The death in which *Valens* himself was killed; as is more particularly of *Valens*. related in the history of the *Goths*,

Valens

Valens was about fifty years of age when he was killed, and had reigned fifteen years, four months, and some days. He was extremely ignorant, very timorous, and naturally suspicious and cruel. He had no sort of idea of literature or the sciences; nor did he know even the military art. However, he was chaste and temperate, constant in his friendship, vigilant over his ministers, and always ready to listen to the complaints of his subjects. He promoted such only of his relations as were persons of merit, and, generally speaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the disposal of employments: to which may be added, that he was so well acquainted with the state of his finances, as not to suffer himself to be imposed upon by those who managed them, as most of his predecessors had done. He left two daughters, *Carosa* and *Anastasia*: one of whom married *Procopius*, who became famous towards the latter end of the reign of *Theodosius*: but what became of the other, or of *Valens*'s widow, we know not.

Valens.

His character.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived at this time, ends his history with the death of this emperor, by whose command *Eutropius* wrote his Abridgment of the *Roman History*.



C H A P. II.

From the Death of the Emperor Valens, to the Division of the Empire.

BEFORE the death of *Valens*, *Gratian* had formed a design of marching to his assistance; but after he had sent off some of his troops from *Gaul*, he was obliged to recall them to oppose the *Germans* called *Lentienfes*, bordering on *Rhætia*; who, notwithstanding the treaty they had lately concluded with him, passed the *Rhine* on the ice, to the number of 40,000, and upwards, and ravaged *Gaul*. Count *Nannianus*, the *Roman* general, being joined by a body of *Franks*, under the command of *Mallobaudes*, their king, who served in the *Roman* army in quality of *comes domesticorum*, or master of the horse, entirely defeated the invaders near *Argentaria*, supposed to be the present *Colmar*, when thirty thousand of them were slain upon the spot, and the rest either killed or taken prisoners in the pursuit.

The *Lentienfes* defeated in *Gaul* by

Gratian, according to *Ammianus*, was only advancing to support his generals when the battle was fought; but after the victory, he entered the enemies country, and, in a short time, reduced them to such straits, that they were obliged to submit to the terms he prescribed to them; one of which

of *Gratian*.

was,

Gratian. was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the Roman army. *Gratian*, in this expedition, gained the esteem and affection of all who served under him, by the many signal proofs he gave of his courage, prudence, good-nature and generosity. Having written to his uncle, not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, he continued his march with great expedition, passing by the lake of *Constance*, *Lauriacum*, now *Lorn*, in *Austria*, and *Sirmium* on the *Danube*.

Valens defeated and slain by the *Goths*. *Valens* however, jealous of his honour, rashly hazarded an engagement before *Gratian* came up, and was unfortunately defeated and slain. The day after the battle, the *Goths* being informed that the imperial treasure was lodged in *Adrianople*, attacked that city; but being repulsed with loss, they ravaged the country of *Heraclea*, and then advanced to *Constantinople*. The *Constantinopolitans* having received a reinforcement of *Saracens* from their queen *Mavia*, these in their sallies cut off a great number of *Goths*, and forced them to retire.

The provinces ravaged by the barbarians. The remaining part of this year the *Goths* spent in ravaging, without opposition, *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Mæsia*, and *Illyricum*, even as far as the *Julian Alps*. The *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, at the same time, made an incursion into the Roman territories, and surpassed even the *Goths* themselves, in the barbarities they committed. We have a very affecting account of the miserable state of the Roman empire at this time, in the Epistles of St. *Jerom* *. *Julius*, who commanded in the province of *Asia*, being apprehensive lest the *Goths* among his troops should join their countrymen if they should move that way, caused them all to be massacred at the same time; which cruel expedient can only be justified by the account of *Zozimus*, who assures us that they only wanted an opportunity to revolt, and to treat the *Romans* as they were treated by them.

Gratian sends for *Theodosius* who defeats the *Sarmatians*. During these transactions, *Gratian*, who had been informed of the fatal battle of *Adrianople*, marched back to *Sirmium*, and there collecting as many forces as he could, he again advanced to secure *Constantinople*, sending in the mean time for young *Theodosius* from *Spain* to assist him in repelling the barbarians. *Theodosius*, after joining *Gratian* in *Illyricum*, marched against the *Sarmatians*; who were in full march to act in conjunction with the *Goths*; but being utterly defeated by *Theodosius*, the remains of their army were obliged to repass the *Danube*. *Gratian*, upon the defeat of the *Sarmatians*, returned to *Sirmium*; where he passed the winter, and published an edict, for restoring the orthodox bishops who had been banished by *Valens*; and granting an entire liberty of conscience to Christians of all denominations, except the *Manichees*, the *Photinians*, and the *Eunomians*, whom he would

* Hieron. Epist. 3. See also Ammian and Zozim.

not suffer to have churches. This law, however, seems to have taken place only in the East, where the Catholics, for some time, had been deprived of liberty of conscience; for, by another law, enacted this very year, he absolutely condemns the *Donatists*, and orders their churches to be delivered up to the Catholics. While he resided at *Sirmium*, he named for consuls the ensuing year his preceptor *Ausonius* and *Olybrius*. Gratian.

Valentian, who shared the imperial title with *Gratian*, being only about seven or eight years of age, the latter saw himself sole master of the empire; but as he was then only in the twentieth year of his age, and the territories of the empire were threatened with invasions from many different nations of barbarians, he thought it prudent to take a colleague; and accordingly, as *Themistius* says, looking upon those as his nearest relations who were best qualified for so great a trust, he declared *Theodosius* emperor on the nineteenth of *January* of the ensuing year; and committed to his care the East, *Thrace*, and the rest of the provinces which had been governed by *Valens*; reserving for himself only *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*, were held by his brother *Valentinian*. and is declared emperor by Gratian. A.D. 379.

Theodosius, according to most authors, was a native of *Cauca*, on the northern part of *Spain*; but *Marcellinus*, in his Chronicle, supposes him to have been born in *Italica*, near *Seville*, the birth place of the emperor *Trajan*; and he is also reckoned by that writer and *Claudian* among the great men of the *Ulpian* family from which *Trajan* was sprung; tho' this account, according to others, is only founded on flattery. *Theodosius*, says *Victor*, resembled *Trajan* both in the features of his face and the virtues of his mind; but was a stranger to the vices of *Trajan*; such as drunkenness, incontinence and ambition. After the death of Count *Theodosius*, his father, who, notwithstanding the great services he had performed, was executed at *Carthage*, he withdrew to *Spain*; where he led a retired life, employing his time partly in reading and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by *Gratian* and declared emperor. He was then married to *Flaccilla*, or *Placilla*, and by some called *Placidia*, by whom he had at least three children; namely, *Archadius*, *Honorius*, and *Pulcheria*. *Theodosius* was a person of most extraordinary accomplishments; and, being no less admired on account of his exemplary piety than for his prudence, and the great exploits he had already performed when duke of *Mæsia*, the news of his promotion to the empire gave universal satisfaction. An account of Theodosius


After the promotion of *Theodosius*, *Gratian* seems to have continued some months at *Sirmium*, according to *Socrates*; gaining considerable advantages over the barbarians who surrounded him on all sides. Being informed that the *Germans* were threatening to break into *Gaul*, he set out for that province, and in the end of *July* arrived at *Milan*, where he contracted Gratian returns to Gaul.

Gratian. traſted great intimacy with *St. Ambroſe*, for whom he ever after ſhewed the higheſt reſpect and veneration. *St. Ambroſe* having at his requeſt wrote his excellent treatiſe on faith, in which he proves the divinity of the Son; and another, proving the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt; the pious emperor was ſo well pleaſed with theſe two pieces, that he immediately ordered a ſequeſtered church to be delivered up to the Catholics; and at the ſame time revoking the law by which the preceding year he had granted liberty of all ſects, he publiſhed another, forbidding all heretics to hold aſſemblies, or preach in any part of the empire. This law was publiſhed at *Milan* on the third of *Auguſt*: ſoon after which *Gratian* left that city, and marching, it is ſaid, with incredible expedition, arrived at *Treves*, or *Triers*, before the middle of *September*; where he paſſed the winter.

The deplorable ſtate of the provinces committed to *Theodoſius*. *Theodoſius*, whom *Gratian* had left at *Sirmium*, was ſurrounded on every ſide by the barbarians, who had already taken poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the provinces of *Dacia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*. The eaſtern provinces of the empire were at the ſame time threatened by the *Armenians*, *Iberians*, and *Persians*. The few ſoldiers that ſurvived the late defeat, kept within the cities and ſtrong holds of *Thrace*, while the victorious enemy moved about the country in great bodies. Whole countries, according to *Gregory Nazianzeil*, were deſtroyed with fire and ſword, and the ground lay covered with heaps of dead bodies. *Theodoſius*, ſoon after the departure of *Gratian*, who in all likelihood left him ſome troops, repaired to *Theſſalonica*, the capital of Eaſt *Illyricum*; which province, according to *Sozomen*, was put under his care, and comprehended *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Epirus*, both *Dacias*, *Upper Mæſia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalitana*. He there received deputations from the chief cities of the Eaſt, craving his protection; and, having reinforced his army with new levies, he took the field probably about the end of *June*. According to *Hatius*, *Proſper*, and *Oroſius*, many ſignal victories were gained this campaign by *Theodoſius*; but *Z. ſimus*, who had no good will to that emperor, mentions but one battle, and aſcribes the victory to one *Modares*, a *Gothic* prince who had lately taken part with the *Romans*. The operations of this campaign are very inaccurately related by the antient writers; but they all agree, that part of the *Goths* ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, and the reſt withdrew from *Thrace*.

The following year the two emperors were conſuls, *Gratian* the fifth time, and *Theodoſius* the firſt. The latter, in the month of *February*, being ſeized with a very dangerous malady, *Gratian* left *Caſt* and haſtened into *Illyricum*, where he concluded a peace with the *Goths*, who ſtill threatned to reſaſs the *Danube*. This treaty, though honourable and advantageous to the barbarians, was confirmed by *Theodoſius* upon his recovery. *Theodoſius*, during his illneſs, dreading the conſequences of it, was baptized by *Aſcolus*, biſhop of *Theſſal-*

Gratian concludes a treaty with the *Goths* in *Illyricum*.

Theſſalonica; and from that inſtant, it is ſaid, he began to *Gratian*.
 recover. The emperor ſoon after gave a proof of his zeal for 
 the orthodox faith, by publiſhing a law, whereby he de- The pru-
 clared, that theſe only ſhould be deemed Chriſtian Catho- dent laws
 lics who confeſſed the divinity of the Father, Son, and Ho- of *Theodo-*
 ly Ghoſt; but that ſuch as rejected that doctrine ſhould be *ſius*.
 treated as heretics and infamous perſons. He at different
 times, in the ſame year, publiſhed ſeveral other laws tending
 to the reformation of manners; namely, one, forbidding all
 capital trials during *Lent*; another, prohibiting widows, un-
 der ſevere penalties, from marrying during the time of mourn-
 ing for their decaſed huſbands, which this law extended from
 ten months to a whole year. By another law, the emperor
 declares it criminal for any one to beg the eſtates of per-
 ſons condemned for treaſon. Under other princes, the
 eſtates of perſons condemned for treaſon were frequently
 granted to their accuſers; which proved an encouragement
 to informers; againſt whom the emperor publiſhed ſeveral
 laws, decreeing the puniſhment of death to them if they were
 found to have informed thrice, though their informations had
 always proved true. *Theodoſius* publiſhed many other laws
 this year, which are ſo many inſtances of his good nature and
 his care of the public welfare.

When *Gratian*, depending upon the treaty with the *Goths*,
 had returned to *Gaul*, the barbarians, under the conduct of *TheGoths*
Fritigern, *Alatheus*, and *Saphrax*, immediately broke into *break into*
Thrace and *Pannonia*, and, after ravaging theſe provinces, *Thrace*.
 laid waſte *Macedon*, and alſo, according to *Zozimus*, *Theſſaly*,
Epirus, and *Achaia*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſi-
 tion. *Theodoſius* came up with the enemy on the frontiers of
Macedon; but, as they were greatly ſuperior to him in num-
 ber, he reſolved to decline a general engagement, but to at-
 tack their detached parties. The barbarians, in the mean
 time, according to *Zozimus*, forced the *Roman* camp in the
 dead of the night. and obliged the emperor to ſave himſelf
 by a precipitate flight. Other writers, however, aſſure us,
 that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Goths**; but are
 and that upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, about the end of defeated
November, he entered that city in triumph; of which pomp by *Theodo-*
Gregory Nazianzen was an eye-witneſs. *ſius*.

The following year *Gratian* appears, from the dates of ſe-
 veral laws, to have been at *Milan* in the end of *March*, at
Aquileia in *May*, at *Triers* in *October*, and as he was at *Aqui-*
leia again in the end of *December*, it is probable he paſſed the
 winter there.

Theodoſius, who after his triumph ſeems to have continued
 in that city till the 19th of *July*, publiſhed a law in the be-

* Idat. Faſt. Marcel. Chron. Greg. Naz. Car. i. Philoſt. l. 9.

Gratian. beginning of the year, forbidding heretics of all denominations from holding assemblies in cities. The *Arians*, on this occasion, according to *Philostorgius*, were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of *Constantinople*.

Athanasius. About the same time, *Athanasius*, the most powerful of all comes a the *Gothic* princes, being driven from home by a faction, refuge to took refuge in the *Roman* territories, and was conducted in *Constanti-* the most friendly manner to *Constantinople* by *Theodosius*, who *nople,* went out to meet him. *Athanasius* dying a few days after, where he on the twenty-fifth of *January*, was buried with great pomp dies. and solemnity by *Theodosius*; which generosity made such an impression on the *Goths* who had attended him, that they

A.D. 381. returned home with a resolution never again to molest the *Romans*; and even undertook to guard the banks of the *Danube*. A few months after the death of *Athanasius*, *Theodosius* summoned the second general or *œcumenical* council, which was The se-
cond œcu- held at *Constantinople* in the month of *May*. About the same
menical council. time, the pious emperor published several laws in favour of Christianity, and against the sectaries, particularly the *Eunomians* and *Arians*.

On the twenty-first of *July*, we find him, by the date of two laws, at *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, whither he had advanced against some barbarians who were still in arms. *Theodosius*, *Zozimus* says, having received some succours from *Gratian*, under the command of *Baudo* and *Argobastes*, two *Franks* of great experience in military affairs, the *Goths* retired with great precipitation into *Thrace*; but having no subsistence in that country, which they had ravaged the year before, they were obliged to submit to *Theodosius*. The same author mentions also, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Scyri* and *Carpadocæ*, who, in conjunction with the *Hunns*, had broke into the empire. Having obliged them to repass the *Danube*, he returned in the end of *September* to *Constantinople*.

The year after, the barbarians near adjoining to *Italy*, broke into that province, but were quickly driven out by *Gratian*, who remained all the rest of the year at *Milan* and in its neighbourhood, watching their motions. As *Rome* at the same time was infested by a new kind of enemy, namely, numerous swarms of idle beggars, *Gratian*, in the end of *June*, published a law against them, ordering such of them as were able to work to be made slaves and kept at hard labour. About the same time he published several laws in favour of Christianity, particularly one, declaring void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or to the vestal virgins.

A law of
Gratian
against
beggars.

Mean while, in the East, *Theodosius* published some severe edicts against the sectaries in favour of Catholicism. As all his laws of this year are dated from *Constantinople*, 'tis probable he did not take the field, as the *Goths* now submitted. As the country of the *Goths* was possessed by the *Hunns*, he at this time gave the former leave to settle in *Thrace* and *Mæ-*
sia;

sia; which two provinces were almost entirely dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service, but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the source of many evils.

Theodosius.

The *Goths* submit to *Theodosius*

The year following is remarkable for a dreadful famine that raged at *Rome*, but more on account of an insurrection raised by *Maximus*; which put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor *Gratian*. The usurper *Magnus Clemens Maximus* revolted in *Britain*, and by *Usher* is supposed a native of this island; but *Pacatus*, a cotemporary author, assures us that he was banished hither; and *Zozimus* writes that he was a native of *Spain*. *Orosius* and *Sulpitius* speak of him as worthy of the empire, if he had attained it by lawful means. According to *Zozimus*, he pretended to be allied to *Theodosius*, and gave out that he assumed the sovereignty with his consent; but *Orosius* and *Sulpitius* relate, that the soldiers mutinying forced him to accept of the purple.

Maximus revolts in *Britain*.

Maximus soon finding himself at the head of a numerous army, passed over into *Gaul*, and prevailed on several princes about the mouth of the *Rhine* to join him. *Gratian* was then making war against the *Germans* called *Futhongi*, but on the news of the usurper's arrival in *Gaul*, he marched against him. According to some, a battle was fought near *Paris*; but according to *Zozimus*, *Gratian's* army, provoked at the preference which they thought he gave to foreigners, basely deserted him and went over to *Maximus*. *Gratian*, being thus abandoned, fled towards the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred horsemen; and having got into *Lyons*, after he had been refused admittance into other cities, he was soon after put to death by treachery either in that city or its neighbourhood; for all vary as to the circumstances of his death. He was cut off in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years and some months, and reigned, from the time of his being created emperor, sixteen years; but from the death of his father, only seven years and nine months. His first wife, *Constantia*, the posthumous daughter of the emperor *Constantius*, died before him, with all the children she had brought him. His second wife was named *Læta*, to whom, and to her mother, *Theodosius* allowed a yearly pension, which some years after they employed in relieving the poor when *Rome* was besieged by *Alaric*. The body of *Gratian*, in consequence of the solicitation of *St. Ambrose*, was interred at *Milan*. All writers agree that he was endowed with every good quality that can be desired in a prince; and extol, with one voice, his modesty, his justice, his moderation, and desire of doing good to all. According to *Zozimus*, none of the Christian princes, his predecessors, had scrupled to assume the habit of high-pontiff of the pagans; the truth of which, however, there is some reason to doubt: but *Gratian*, he adds, when it was brought to him, rejected

Gratian is abandoned by his army, and put to death at *Lyons*.

A.D. 383.

Theodosius. it, saying, *That it was not consistent with the principles of the Christian religion to wear that habit.*

Maximus declares his son's colleague. *Maximus*, upon the news of the death of *Gratian*, took his son *Flavius Victor* for his colleague in his usurped power, and gave him the title of *Augustus*. He fixed the seat of his empire at *Triers*, and held under subjection the whole division of the western provinces, which *Gratian* had reserved for his own share. Of all *Gratian's* favourites he only put *Mercobaudes*, the consul of this year, and *Balio*, or *Vallio*, one of the best officers of his age, to death. *St. Ambrose*, some time after, being sent to the court of *Maximus* on some business, treated him as an excommunicated person; but he adds, other bishops, more complaisant, flocked from all parts to the tyrant's court, and, by their low and shameful flatteries, lulled him asleep in his wickedness.

Before the revolt of *Maximus*, *Gratian*, out of gratitude to the poet *Ausonius*, who had been his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greatest employments of the state, but likewise promoted a great many of his relations. *Decius*, or *Decimus Magnus Ausonius* was descended of a noble family in *Bordeaux*, where his father, who was esteemed a man of learning, practised physic gratis. He himself, in his writings, gives an account of various circumstances relating to his own family; and our readers will find the different opinions of critics concerning those of his works that are still extant in *Baillet* *.

Though *Maximus* pretended to govern almost all the provinces that were subject to *Gratian*, yet, having drained the south part of *Britain* of the troops that were destined for its defence, he shamefully exposed that province to the ravages of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who from time to time continued to make inroads into the northern parts of it for more than half a century.

Theodosius acknowledges *Maximus* for his colleague. During the insurrection in the West, *Theodosius* continued at *Constantinople*, or in its neighbourhood; but he was no sooner informed of the death of *Gratian* than he drew together all his forces, with a design to march against the usurper, and prevent him from seizing on *Italy* and *West Illyrium*, belonging to young *Valentinian*. *Maximus*, however, assuring him by his deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of *Valentinian*, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*, *Theodosius* suspended his journey; and not long after, not judging it prudent to enter into a war against *Maximus*, while the empire was threatened by the barbarians, he agreed to the proposal of an alliance made to him by the usurper, and acknowledging him in the end for his colleague, sent one of the

* *Baillet Jugemens des Savans. Voss. Poet. Lat. C. 4. Symmach. Epist.*

officers of his court into *Egypt* with orders to proclaim *Maximus* there, and to cause his image to be set up in *Alexandria*. *Theodosius*

Theodosius, some months before the revolt of *Maximus*, had, on the nineteenth of *January*, declared his son *Arcadius* emperor, though he was then only about six years of age; and on the death of *Gratian* he was looked upon as sole emperor of the western as well as the eastern provinces; for *Valentinian II.* who was then only about twelve or thirteen years of age, and governed *Italy*, *West Illyricum*, and *Africa*, had recourse to him in all matters of moment. *Probus*, who had been præfect of *Illyricum* and *Italy*, and afterwards consul, had the chief direction of affairs under *Valentinian*, or rather under *Justina*, who, by her espousing the cause of the Arians with too much warmth, and thereby raising great disturbances, seems to have reigned in her son's name. During the commotion in the West, occasioned by *Maximus*, *Theodosius* by his generals gained some advantages over the barbarians on the eastern confines of the empire.

The year following, *Proculus*, count of the East, was ignominiously deposed on account of his mal-administration, particularly of his extortion. *Icarinus*, his successor, discharged his office with great rigour and severity, and put even the public magistrates to the rack in defiance of the laws, says *Libanius*. This year *Antioch*, and most of the other cities of *Syria*, were terribly afflicted with a famine, which, was attended with a dreadful plague. The poor, for want of bread, flocked from all parts to *Antioch*; and *Icarinus*, though solicited by *Libanius*, neglecting to ease their calamities, and declaring that they were abhorred, and justly punished, by the gods, great disturbances thereupon ensued, which however were appeased without bloodshed.

Theodosius, in the mean time, persecuted his pagan subjects, by publishing several edicts forbidding any one, on pain of death, or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols; to consult aruspices or diviners of what denomination soever; or to practise any of those ceremonies which had been forbidden by his Christian predecessors. *Libanius*, on this occasion, made a famous speech, which is still extant, in defence of the heathen temples and idols; and in the end, threatens, that the country people, who were the most attached to the religion of their ancestors, if further provoked, would take up arms and defend them by force. The country people, who in *Latin* were called *pagani*, being zealously attached to their old superstition, the name of *pagans* hence began, about this time, to be given to all who worshipped idols. *Theodosius* persecutes his pagan subjects.

The pious emperor adopting some erroneous opinions that prevailed among the professors of Christianity, this year published a law forbidding the marriages of cousin-germans as

Theodosius.



He receives a solemn embassy from the king of Persia.

A victory gained over the Sarmatians.

Theodosius supplies Rome with corn.

He discovers a conspiracy against himself.


unlawful; and even commanded the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their estates to be confiscated, and their children to be deemed illegitimate. By another law, he forbade the marrying of nieces under the same penalties; which he extended to the niece of a first wife. About the same time, he published another law, forbidding the Jews to buy Christian slaves; and another, against the bishops and clergy of the sectaries in *Constantinople*, whom he ordered to be driven out of the city. *Theodosius*, who passed the greatest part of this year at *Constantinople*, received a solemn embassy from *Sapor III.* king of *Persia*, to solicit, or rather to buy, a peace with rich presents. *Orosius* writes that a treaty was concluded between the *Persians* and *Romans*, in virtue of which, the whole East still enjoyed a profound tranquillity at the time he was composing his history; that is, about thirty-two years after.

The dominions of *Valentinian* in the mean time being invaded by the *Sarmatians*, the emperor sent one of his generals against them, who drove them back with great slaughter, and took a great number of prisoners. *Valentinian*, by the dates of several of his laws, seems to have continued the whole year in *Italy*. About this time, *Symmachus*, being appointed præfect of *Rome*, acquitted himself in that employment with great reputation; and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new consuls, prætors, and questors; which had for a long time been so extravagant, that none but such as had immense fortunes were able to bear them.

The *Romans* this year being threatened with a famine, on account of the failing of the crops in *Africa*, *Theodosius* sent great plenty of grain to *Rome* from *Egypt* and *Macedon*; for which supply *Symmachus* returned thanks to him, to Count *Richomer*, and also to *Rufinus*, who, it seems, already made some figure in the emperor's court. *Valentinian* spent the year following in the northern parts of *Italy*; and, tho' he enacted several laws in favour of the Catholics, yet he suffered his mother *Justina* to persecute and oppress them because they would not yield the great church of *Milan* to the Arians, whom she countenanced and protected. *Theodosius*, who in the mean time remained at *Constantinople*, discovered a dangerous conspiracy against himself; but nevertheless generously forgave the conspirators, and would not allow any inquiries to be made after their accomplices, though some persons in whom he reposed great confidence were suspected to be in that number.

The emperor not long after, to his great affliction, lost his daughter *Pulcheria*, and also his wife *Placcilla*, who is greatly praised both by the Christian and pagan writers.

The next year, in the beginning of *September*, the emperor, with his eldest son, *Arcadius*, marched from *Constantinople* against the *Geuthingi*, who threatened to pass the *Danube* under

der the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with *Theodosius* the title of king. The barbarians were utterly defeated by  the two emperors, who returned with an incredible number He gains of captives to *Constantinople*, and entered that city in triumph a victory on the twelfth of *October*. *Zozimus* is the only writer who over the attributes the defeat of the barbarians to any other besides the *Greuthon*-emperor. According to him, *Promius*, general in *Thrace*, gi. defeated him by a stratagem.

Theodosius, soon after his return to *Constantinople*, married He mar- to his second wife, *Galla*, the daughter of the empress *Jus-* ries the *tina*, and sister to the emperor *Valentinian* II. By her he had sister of a son named *Gratian*, who died before his father; and a *Valentini-* daughter named *Galla Placidia*, whom we shall afterwards *an*. have occasion to mention. *Valentinian* spent this whole year in *Milan* and the cities of its neighbourhood: and there is no mention of any material transactions in which he was engaged.

In the very beginning of the following year, he published an edict, addressed to the magistrates of all the cities of the East, enjoining them to honour the feast of *Easter*, by setting at liberty all prisoners who were not confined for enormous crimes. The emperor, as custom required, being obliged to celebrate the fifth year of the reign of *Arcadius*, solemnised also the tenth year of his own reign, though he was then only in his ninth. To defray the extraordinary expences, (for it appears on such occasions that each soldier received five pieces of gold,) an additional tax was laid on the people, which was every where peaceably submitted to, except in *Antioch*; the inhabitants of which city insulted the A sedition governor in a tumultuous manner, and afterwards broke down in *Antioch*. the emperor's statues, and dragged them, with those of his two sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, of the empress *Flaccilla*, and of his father *Theodosius*, through the chief streets of the city, uttering all the while most injurious and abusive reflections against their persons. A body of archers, however, entering the city, and wounding two of the rioters, the tumult was quelled in a few hours. The governor having recovered The his authority, not only put to death by tortures the ringlead- dreadful ers of the tumult, but also caused the children who had in- sufferings sulted the emperor's statues to be executed with several per- of the *An-* sons who had been only spectators of the injuries offered *tiotchians* them. A report in the mean time prevailing, that a body of in conse- troops were approaching to put all the inhabitants to the quence of sword, the citizens, in the greatest consternation, fled with it. their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and desarts; and though the report was soon discovered to be false, yet one half of the inhabitants did not for some time return. *Theodosius* no sooner heard of the insurrection, than, in a transport of rage, he ordered the city to be laid in ashes, and all the inhabitants, without distinction, to be put to the sword. He was the more exasperated, as he had favoured that

Theodosius that city above all the rest, and had even built two palaces one at *Daphne*, and the other in the old city, besides several other structures, with a design of residing some time there. His wrath, however, soon allwaging, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himself, for the present, with causing the public baths, the theatre, and the *circus* to be shut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and subjecting it, as a common village, to its rival *Laudicea*. He also withdrew the donative of bread, which was daily distributed among its poor inhabitants.

These punishments were inflicted on the *Antiochians* in general; but at the same time, two chief officers, named *Cæsarius* and *Ellebichus*, both of whom are commended as men of great integrity, were sent to *Antioch*, to try and punish such as had been concerned in the late riot. The two commissioners, the day after their arrival in the city, summoned all the members of the senate to their lodging, and heard with great patience what they had to alledge in their own defence, and in that of their fellow citizens. After various enquiries they dismissed them, highly satisfied with the treatment they had found, especially from *Ellebichus*, who could not refrain from tears, when they, throwing themselves at his feet, implored his protection.

Next day, however, the scene changed, for *Ellebichus* having caused great numbers of all ranks to be seized in the night-time, upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where justice was administered, sentenced such of the prisoners as owned their crimes to death, and ordered those who denied it to be cruelly racked, without shewing the least pity or compassion. Not satisfied with causing persons of quality to be racked like slaves, he threatened to lay the city in ashes, and put the inhabitants to the sword, unless they made a timely discovery of all who were in the least concerned in the tumult. No tears nor intreaties could procure any respite to the guilty. *St. Chrysostom* mentions a lady of the first quality, who seeing her son apprehended by an officer on horseback, laid hold of his bridle, and suffered herself to be dragged in that manner through the streets to the tribunal, where with her hair dishevelled, and bathed in tears, she threw herself at the feet of *Ellebichus*, who remained deaf to her intreaties. That pious bishop, who with some others of the sacerdotal order was admitted into the hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his eloquence to move the judges to compassion. In this he was seconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; and one of them, named *Macedonius*, universally revered for his sanctity, meeting the two commissioners in the *forum* on horseback, boldly ordered them to dismount, and addressed them in a peremptory stile, advising them, among other things, to consider, that other statutes might be easily raised in the room of those that

that were demolished; but that the emperor, notwithstanding all his power, was not able to make the least reparation for a single life that he should take away. The ecclesiastics and hermits having at length prevailed on the judges to suspend the execution of the criminals till the emperor's further pleasure should be known, those who were found guilty were conducted to prison under a strong guard, and the rest dismissed. Amongst the former were all those who composed the senate and council; and their estates and effects being confiscated, their wives and children were obliged to lie in the streets, as their nearest relations would not harbour them, from an apprehension of being looked upon as their accomplices.


The hermits proposed to go and intercede with the emperor in person; but, by the advice of the commissioners, they only drew up a memorial, with which *Cæsarius* proceeded to *Constantinople* with such speed, that on the sixth day at noon he reached the capital, though it is about five hundred miles distant from *Antioch*. *Flavianus*, bishop of *Antioch*, had gone to *Constantinople* some time before, with a view to intercede for his citizens, and soften the good-natured emperor. The speech he made to him so deeply affected *Theodosius*, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, *That he pardoned the ungrateful city*. This is *St. Chrysostom's* account; but *Libanius* and *Theodoret* tell us, that the emperor, though softened by the bishop's speech, did not grant a general pardon till after he received the hermits memorial, and heard the intercession of *Cæsarius*. He accordingly wrote a letter to the *Antiochians*, shewing, that *They are* it was not without good reason that he had treated them with *pardoned* that severity; and adding, *That as his anger, however just, by Theodo-* was soon appeased, he pardoned all without exception, whether con- *sus*, and *demned to death or banishment; restored them to their estates, the city is* their *sherws, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the restored to* rights of a metropolis. The arrival of the messenger who all its pri- brought this letter caused the greatest excess of joy at *Antioch*, vileges, a long account of which we have in *St. Chrysostom*.

Maximus, in the mean time, raised far greater disturban- *Maximus* ces in the West, by unexpectedly marching an army over invades the *Alps*, with a design to seize on *Valentinian's* dominions. the domi- The young prince, not being in a condition to stop the pro- nions of gress of the usurper, abandoned *Italy*, and fled to *Theffaloni-* *Valentini-* *ca*, with his mother *Justina*, and the præfect *Probus*, to im- *an*. plore the assistance of *Theodosius*. The pious emperor wrote to the prince, laying all his misfortunes to the charge of his embracing *Arianism*, and persecuting the Catholics, and soon after coming to *Theffalonica*, he prevailed with him to return to the orthodox faith. *Theodosius*, dreading the evils that attend a civil war, attempted by an embassy to persuade the tyrant to restore to *Valentinian* the usurped provinces; but *Maximus*, refusing to hearken to any proposals, continued his

Theodosius his hostilities in *Italy*, and the year after, was acknowledged in *Rome*, and in all the provinces of *Africa*. The emperor, in the mean time, upon finding his proposal rejected, raised an army with all possible dispatch, and having committed the government of the eastern provinces to faithful and prudent persons, he began his march for *Italy*, in the beginning of summer, in hopes of surprising *Maximus*. The imperial army arrived at the *Save* in *Pannonia* before the enemy had the least notice of their approach; and one of the generals of *Maximus* attempting to oppose them, was entirely defeated, and he himself drowned in the river. When *Theodosius* arrived at the *Drave*, *Marcellinus*, the brother of *Maximus*, opposed him at the head of an army far more numerous than his own; but in the engagement that ensued, he also was entirely defeated. *Maximus* seems to have been in this action, or at no great distance from the field of battle; for both *Pacatus* and *St. Ambrose* write, that after his forces were twice defeated, he fled with the troops that attended him, and the remains of his shattered army, to *Aquileia*. *Theodosius* soon after coming before that city, the usurper was delivered to him in chains. As *Maximus* was, or pretended to be, touched with remorse for the crimes he had committed, *Theodosius* began to look upon him with an eye of compassion, which making those about him fear he would pardon him, they struck off his head, without waiting the emperor's orders. *Arbogastes*, one of the emperor's generals, being sent into *Gaul* against *Victor* the son of *Maximus*, whom he had declared *Augustus*, took him prisoner, and put him to death. Such was the end of a war, that had threatened the empire with endless calamities.

The clemency and moderation of *Theodosius*. *Theodosius* acquired more honour by his clemency and moderation than by his victory. Immediately after the death of *Maximus* he published a general amnesty, and was so far from persecuting the relations and adherents of the usurper, that he would not even suffer them to be reproached with their rebellion. He ordered the usurper's wife and daughters to be set at liberty, settled a considerable pension upon them, and charged one of their kinsmen to take care that no one injured or insulted them. But what *St. Ambrose* and *Zozimus* himself most of all admired in *Theodosius*, was his not only restoring to *Valentinian* his own share, when no one was in a condition to dispute with him the possession of the whole empire, but his generously relinquishing to him *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which *Gratian* had formerly possessed.

The Arians raise disturbances in *Constantinople*. While *Theodosius* was pursuing the war in *Illyricum*, the Arians at *Constantinople*, upon a false report that his army was cut off, rose in a tumultuous manner, set fire to the house of *Nectarius*, the orthodox bishop, who perished in the flames, and committed several other disorders. The Arians, soon after hearing of the emperor's success, were greatly terrified; but having recourse to the clemency of *Arcadius*,

Arcadius, that young prince not only pardoned them, but *Theodosius* prevailed with his father to confirm the pardon he granted  them.

Theodosius seems to have spent the winter at *Milan*, and about the end of the year he received a deputation from the *Roman* senate, who earnestly intreated him to give them leave to restore to its former place the altar of *Victory*, which had been removed by *Gratian*. The emperor at first seemed inclined to grant them their request, but was in the end persuaded by *St. Ambrose* to deny it.

Some months after, *Theodosius* published two severe laws Several against heretics, or sectaries, and another, prohibiting all laws pub- public disputes concerning religion, under the severest pe- nalties. In the end of *May*, *Theodosius* repaired to *Rome*, with *Theodosius* young *Valentinian* and his son *Honorius*, whom he had sent who visits for from *Constantinople*, after the defeat of *Maximus*. The Rome, poet *Claudian* tells us, that at *Rome* he received ambassadors A.D. 389. sent by the king of *Persia* to treat with him about a peace between the two empires. According to *Prudentius*, the conversion of the senate and people of *Rome* to the Christian religion was owing to *Theodosius's* journey thither, not that he used any violence, for he indifferently raised Pagans and Christians to the first employments of the state; but such was the force of his example, that few, either in the senate or among the people, were so attached to their errors as to withstand it. *The idols*, says *St. Jerom*, *are every where pulled down, and their temples abandoned. The capitol, formerly so much frequented, is now turned into a desert; the other temples are covered with dust, and filled with cobwebs; the whole city crouds to the tombs of the martyrs, and the people in passing by the ancient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall.* As many of the statues of the gods were the work of the best artificers of antiquity, *Theodosius* would not suffer them to be destroyed, but ordered them to be removed to the public squares, where they served as ornaments to the city.

Theodosius, after staying three months at *Rome*, returned *Valentini-* to *Milan*, where it is probable, from the dates of some of *an con-* his laws, that he spent the winter. *Valentinian* the following cludes a spring marched into *Gaul* against the *Franks*; but all that we peacewith know of his expedition is, that *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two theFranks chiefs of the *Franks*, delivered hostages to him, and that the emperor took up his winter quarters at *Triers*.

Mean while, an insurrection happened in *Alexandria*, on Insurrec- the following occasion, which contributed to the ruin of tion in A- idolatry in *Egypt*. The bishop of *Alexandria* intending to lexandria. convert an old temple of *Bacchus*, a grant of which he had obtained from the emperor, into a church, found in clearing out of the rubbish several obscene figures, which, to ridicule the superstition of the heathens, he caused to be exposed to public view. This so provoked the Pagans, that flying to arms, they cut great numbers of the Christians in pieces; and

Theodosius and these last, at length, standing on their own defence, and being supported by the few soldiers in *Alexandria*, a civil war was thus kindled within the walls of the city. The Pagans made the temple of *Serapis* a fortress, and when they surprised any Christians, dragged them thither, and either forced them, by the most exquisite torments, to sacrifice to their idol, or, upon their refusal racked them to death. *Theodosius*, upon being informed of the tumult, extolled that who had chosen rather to die than sacrifice to idols. He would not, however, suffer their death to be revenge on those at whose hands they had received the crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them. Nevertheless, the Pagans who were concerned in the tumult, being apprehensive of his resentment, dispersed themselves among the neighbouring cities, and even into distant countries. The temple of *Serapis*, in consequence of the emperor's order, was reduced to ruins, and the idol burnt. The *Egyptians* concluded that now their favourite idol was destroyed, the Nile would no longer overflow, and that a general famine would consequently ensue; but when they observed, on the contrary, that the river swelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, many of them renounced the worship of idols, and adored the God of the Christians.

All the temples in *Egypt* demolished. The bishop of *Alexandria*, not satisfied with demolishing the temple of *Serapis*, encouraged the people, supported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the troops, to pull down and level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places set apart for the worship of the idols throughout *Egypt*, causing every where the statues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. *Theodosius* returned the bishop public thanks for the zeal he had displayed on that occasion; and soon after, he published a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the subjects of the empire to offer any kind of sacrifice to idols, and declaring the crimes of those confiscated, who should burn incense before them.

The emperor *Theodosius* continued almost all the following year in the north parts of *Italy*, and published some good laws, one particularly ordering those who should be guilty of unnatural lust to be publicly burnt alive. The year after, on the 12th of July, he set out from *Aquileia* for *Constantinople*, leaving the whole management of affairs to *Valentinian*, now in the twentieth year of his age. Upon his return to *Macedon* he found that province in great confusion, owing to a body of barbarians, who skulking about in the woods, harassed the inhabitants by unexpected incursions. Having discovered their lurking places, the emperor led his army against them, and cut great numbers of them in pieces; but while his troops were refreshing themselves after the engagement, the barbarians who remained surprised them, and would either have killed or taken the emperor,

emperor, had he not been seasonably rescued by *Promotus*, *Theodosius* the general, at the danger of his own life. *Theodosius*, upon his return to *Constantinople*, made it his chief study to suppress idolatry and Arianism.

In the mean time, the pagans in *Italy*, and such of the se-
nators of *Rome* as continued still attached to the superstition of their ancestors, sent a deputation to *Valentinian*, intreating him to restore to their priests and temples those privileges which they had enjoyed till the time of *Gratian*; but they could not obtain their request. Not long after, the barbarians threatening to pass the *Alps* towards *Rhætia*, emperor resolved to quit *Gaul*, and hasten to *Milan*, to make head against them. On his march he sent for *St. Ambrose*, desiring him to meet him at *Vienne*, that he might receive from him the sacrament of baptism; but before the bishop reached *Vienne*, the unfortunate prince was inhumanly murdered. The author of this barbarous deed is generally supposed to have been *Argobastes*, a *Frank* by nation, who had been first promoted by *Gratian*, and after the death of that prince advanced to the post of general by the soldiery, who highly esteemed him for his experience in military affairs, his liberality, and disinterestedness. He acquitted himself in that post, for some time, with great fidelity and moderation, but upon the departure of *Theodosius* for *Constantinople*, he arrogated to himself the power of controuling the young prince, and governing the court with an absolute sway. He discharged the officers of the army whom he believed attached to *Valentinian*, and put *Franks* in their room, in whom he could confide; and also conferred civil employments on his own creatures, without the emperor's consent. *Valentinian*, no longer able to brook such a shameful servitude, gave *Argobastes* a paper, containing an abrogation of his command; but *Argobastes* no sooner perused it, than he tore it in great contempt, and throwing it on the ground, told the emperor, *That as he had not received his authority from him, it was not in his power to divest him of it.* A few days after, *Valentinian* was murdered, according to the most general account, by assassins hired by *Argobastes*. He was then in the twenty-first year of his age, having born the title of emperor sixteen years and about six months, but having reigned, after the death of his brother *Gratian*, eight years and nine months. His body was interred near that of his brother at *Milan*, on which occasion *St. Ambrose* pronounced an oration in praise of the deceased prince, who, according to him and most other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipsed, the glory of the best emperors, had he been suffered to live longer; being of a lively genius, valiant, sober, liberal, sincere in his friendship, intirely unbiaised in the administration of justice, and guided by merit alone in the disposal of employments. His two sisters, *Justa* and *Grata*, continued at *Mi-*
lan,

Valentini-
an refuses
to restore
the privi-
leges to
the tem-
ples.

Valentini-
an is mur-
dered.
A.D. 390.

Theodosius *lan*, and there embraced the state of virginity. His sister *Galla*, married to *Theodosius*, died, two years after, in child-bed.

Argobastes Upon the death of *Valentinian*, *Argobastes*, instead of seizing
sets up upon the empire, conferred it upon one *Eugenius*, who had
Eugenius formerly taught grammar, was generally esteemed on ac-
in his count of his eloquence, and by the interest of *Argobastes* had
room. risen to the post of secretary. According to *Zosimus*, *Eugenius* had been privy to the murder of the emperor. Though the purple was conferred on him, yet the whole army understood that the whole power was in the hands of *Argobastes*. *Eugenius* being greatly favoured by the pagans, seemed to countenance them in his turn ; yet, in the very beginning of his reign he wrote to *St. Ambrose*, who, after he was pressed by some of his friends, returned him an answer, and treated him with all the respect due to an emperor.

Some dis- During these transactions, *Rufinus*, the favourite of *Theo-*
turbances *dofius*, raised some disturbances at his court. Not satisfied
raised at with the consular dignity to which he was raised this year,
the court he aspired to the præfecture of the East, which was held by
of *Theo-* *Tatianus* ; and that he might open a way for his own prefer-
dofius, ment, he procured the condemnation both of *Tatianus* and
his son *Proculus*, præfect of *Constantinople*, according to *Zo-*
simus, upon a false accusation of oppression, though from *Libanius*, and the laws enacted on this occasion, it would seem that both were guilty. *Rufinus*, not satisfied with the disgrace of *Tatianus* and the death of his son, prevailed upon *Theodosius* to enact an unjust law, declaring the whole nation of the *Lycians*, who were the countrymen of *Tatianus*, infamous, depriving them of all their employments, and rendering them for ever incapable of any preferment. This unjust law was afterwards revoked by *Arcadius* ; but *Rufinus*, in the mean time, obtained his wish, and was appointed præfect of the East.

who re- Before this affair was ended, news of the death of *Valenti-*
ceives an *nian*, and the usurpation of *Eugenius*, were brought to *Con-*
embassy *stantinople*, and, a few days after, ambassadors arrived from
from *Eu-* the usurper, who being admitted to an audience, proposed an
genius. alliance between *Theodosius* and *Eugenius*. *Theodosius* received them in a very obliging manner, and dismissed them loaded with rich presents. Several bishops accompanied the chief ambassador, and laboured earnestly to clear *Argobastes* from the charge of murdering *Valentinian*, which they alledged was a false and groundless aspersion. *Theodosius*, however, resolved to attack the usurper ; but as he confided more in the assistance of heaven than his armies, he began with visiting all the churches of his capital, attended by several bishops, and a great croud of people, imploring with them the favour and protection of the Almighty. While his military preparations were carrying on, he published several severe laws against heretics, against allowing a sanctuary for criminals

criminals in churches, and against practising the ceremonies of the Pagan religion. *Theodosius*

The following year, among several excellent laws which he published, was one abrogating an ancient law by which those were punished with death who only uttered seditious words against the prince. *Theodosius* passed this whole year at *Constantinople*, making the necessary preparations for the dangerous war he was resolved to undertake, and on the 15th of *January*, or, according to some, on the 20th of *November*, he declared his second son *Honorius*, *Augustus*. *Honorius* declared *Augustus*.

Eugenius, the preceding year, had gained considerable advantages over the *Franks* in *Gaul*; but this year he repaired to *Italy*, and having been solicited by three successive embassies from the *Roman* senate, he, not able to resist their importunity, restored the Pagan religion and temples to their former lustre, and suffered their ancient ceremonies and sacrifices to be renewed at *Rome*. The year following, *Theodosius*, in the end of *May*, left *Constantinople*, and began his march for *Italy*. Having defeated and slain *Flavianus*, præfect of *Italy*, who defended the *Alps*, he marched for *Aquileia*, and about thirty-six miles from that city was met by *Eugenius* at the head of his army. The troops of *Theodosius* were reinforced by large bodies of *Armenians*, *Iberians*, and *Arabians*, and also of *Goths*, and other barbarous nations beyond the *Danube*, headed by their respective chiefs, among whom was *Alaric*, whose name is famous in history. The action was begun by these auxiliaries, who were soon thrown into disorder by the regular troops of *Eugenius*; but being rallied by one of their leaders, and supported by the *Romans*, the battle was renewed, and lasted till night came on. Of the *Goths* and other auxiliaries above ten thousand were killed, but of the *Romans* who supported them, only a small number. *Theodosius* was pressed by some of his generals to retire in the night, and put off the decision of the war till another campaign; but refusing to hearken to their remonstrances, he next morning entered the enemy's camp, when least expected, and in a short time totally routed them. *Zosimus* attributes the gaining the victory to the surprise; but the ecclesiastical writers say, that *Theodosius* was encouraged in the night by the Apostles *St. John* and *St. Philip*, and that the enemy were disconcerted, in which they have the concurrence of several historians, by a most dreadful storm that blew directly in their faces. Part of the troops of *Eugenius*, who had submitted to *Theodosius*, went and brought him prisoner before the emperor, who reproached him with the murder of *Valentinian*, with the calamities he had brought on the empire by his unjust usurpation, and with putting his confidence in *Hercules*, in defiance of the only true God; for on his chief standard he had displayed the image of that fabulous deity. While *Eugenius* lay prostrate at the emperor's feet, his own soldiers struck off his head, and carrying it

Theodosius marches against *Eugenius*. A.D. 394.

Eugenius defeated.

He is taken, and put to death by his own men.

it

Theodosius it to their companions, who were still in arms, they immediately submitted to *Theodosius*. *Arbogastes* fled to the mountains, but being informed that diligent search was making for him, he laid violent hands on himself. The pious emperor, not satisfied with pardoning the children of *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes*, appointed proper persons to convince them of the errors of Paganism, which they had no sooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in possession of their paternal estates, and raised them to considerable employments.

Honorius Upon the defeat of *Eugenius*, the emperor, who expressed a great concern for the blood that had been shed, caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed, and sending for his second son *Honorius*, upon his arrival in *Italy*, he declared him emperor of the West, assigning him for his share *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, *Africa*, and *West-Illyricum*, and appointing *Stilicho* his first general and prime minister, who had married *Serena*, the daughter of the emperor's brother *Honorius*. *Theodosius* received a deputation from the *Roman* senate, to congratulate him on his late victory, and to beg the consulship of the ensuing year for the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*. The emperor granted their request, exhorting them, at the same time, with great zeal, to renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of that truth which now generally prevailed.

The tranquillity of the West being soon restored, *Theodosius*, the following year, was preparing to return to *Constantinople*, when he was seized with a dropsy, occasioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war. As soon as he perceived himself to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathing the East to his eldest son *Arcadius*, and the West to *Honorius*. He likewise confirmed the pardon to all those who had borne arms against him, and remitted a tribute which had proved very burdensome to the people, charging his sons to see his will duly executed as to these two points. He died at *Milan*, on the 17th of *January*, two days before he had ended the sixteenth year of his reign, being then, at most, in the fiftieth year of his age. His body was embalmed, and conveyed from *Milan* to *Constantinople*, where it was interred by *Arcadius* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence.

Theodosius, according to the testimony of all authors, whether Pagan or Christian, *Zosimus* alone excepted, was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the alloy of one single vice. He was indeed naturally choleric, and apt, in the first transports of his passion, to issue such orders as favoured of cruelty; but as he was soon appeased, we have but one instance of their being put in execution, before he had time to revoke them, namely, the famous massacre of the inhabitants of *Thessalonica*. The emperor, upon hearing that the *Thessalonians* in

an insurrection had murdered his lieutenant of *Illyricum*, because he had refused, at their request, to set a prisoner at liberty, immediately ordered all who were concerned in the murder to be put to death; but, at the intercession of St. *Ambrose*, and other bishops assembled at *Milan*, where he then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, however, his ministers representing to him, that the *Thessalonians* had been encouraged by his lenity to the *Antiochians*; and that his indulgence would only give occasion for new insurrections, his wrath was kindled anew to such a degree, that, forgetting the promise of pardon already given, he sent a body of troops to *Thessalonica*, to revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. Accordingly, when the citizens were assembled to view the games in the *circus*, the soldiers fell upon them, and without any regard to sex, age, or condition, or without distinction of guilty or innocent, cruelly massacred, in the space of three hours, above seven thousand persons, many of whom were strangers, who had come to *Thessalonica* to see the sports. The emperor being upbraided with his cruelty, and denied entrance into the great church of *Milan* by St. *Ambrose*, till he had expiated so public a crime by as public a repentance, readily submitted to the discipline of the church, and returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, in which state he continued for eight months. To prevent both himself and his successors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the observance of an ancient law, by which all criminals were to have a respite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing the sentence of death and their execution.

We shall conclude our account of *Theodosius* with mentioning the writers who flourished during his reign, *Symmachus*, the Pagan orator, was celebrated both on account of his birth and eloquence. He was son of *L. Aurelius Avianus* *Symmachus*, præfect of *Rome*. He was high pontiff of the Pagans, and successively quæstor, prætor, corrector, or governor of *Lucania*, proconsul of *Africa*, præfect of *Rome*, and consul. He was a most zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account banished by *Theodosius*, but soon after recalled. His son, whom he educated himself with great care, rose to be prætor, during which office he expended two thousand pounds weight of gold. The speeches of the elder *Symmachus* have been long since lost; but his letters have reached our times.

The *Latin* poet *Rufus Festus Avienus*, part of whose works have reached our times, is supposed to have flourished under *Theodosius*. *Victor*, the historian, who closes his history with a kind of panegyric on *Theodosius*, is thought to have lived in his time. The *Notitia*, or state of the provinces of the empire, published by *Surita*, with the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus* is supposed to have been written in the time of *Theodosius*.

Theodosius *dofius*. The five books of *Flavius Vegetius Renatus*, on the military art, are addrested to the emperor, whom, however, he sometimes stiles *Valentinian*, and sometimes *Theodosius*. The philosopher *Themistius* flourished under *Theodosius*, and was no less esteemed by the *Greeks*, than *Symmachus* by the *Latins*. *Gregory Nanzianzen* stiles him the king of eloquence, and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but most of all in the art of speaking. He resided at *Constantinople*, and taught philosophy *gratis* to great numbers of scholars. All the emperors who reigned in his time shewed him great respect, and *Theodosius* raised him to the dignity of præfect of *Constantinople*. Of his orations thirty-three have reached our times, comprising one in the *Latin* tongue, which several critics suppose not to be his. *Eunapius* was a cotemporary of *Themistius*, and both professed the Pagan religion. He taught rhetoric in *Lydia*, wrote the lives of the sophists, and also a history of the emperors. In the reign of *Theodosius*, two philosophers, named *Pappus* and *Otheco*, flourished at *Alexandria*. The former wrote a general description of the earth, and some other books, on different subjects; and the latter published a treatise on the overflowing of the *Nile*, besides several, on other subjects.



C H A P. III.

The History of the Eastern and Western Empires, till the extinction of the latter under Augustulus.

The character of *Rufinus*, prime-minister to *Arcadius*. *AS Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the sons of *Theodosius*, were too young to govern of themselves, the former, being but eighteen years old, and the latter not eleven; the father, on his death-bed, committed his eldest son to the care of *Rufinus*; and the younger to that of *Stilicho*. *Rufinus* was a native of *Eause*, in *Gascony*; was tall and well shaped, of a graceful mein and sprightly genius. He professed the Christian religion, and had the art to secure the friendship and favour of *Theodosius*, who, when he set out to make war on *Eugenius*, left him at *Constantinople* vested with almost an absolute and unlimited power. He could never have gained the esteem and confidence of *Theodosius* without the appearance, at least, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. *Claudian*, however, and several other writers, charge him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiousness, and many other vices.

The character of *Stilicho*, who governed under *Honorius*. *Stilicho*, who ruled in the West, under *Honorius*, with no less absolute sway than *Rufinus* did in the East under *Arcadius*, was originally a *Vandal*. He bore arms from his childhood, and rose by degrees to the post of general both of horse and foot. He attended *Theodosius* in all his wars; and that prince must have entertained a great opinion of him, since he

he gave him his niece *Serena* in marriage, whom he had adopted as his daughter. *Zosimus* and *Claudian* are very lavish in his praises, and particularly commend his moderation: but other writers charge him even with a design of raising his son to the empire, and deposing his lawful sovereign *Honorius*, his ward and his son-in-law; for that prince married successively both *Stilicho's* daughters. *Zosimus* endeavours to clear him of this charge, but at the same time owns him to have been, in the highest degree, corrupt and partial in the administration of justice; and to have acquired, in a short time, by his rapacity and oppression, immense riches.

According to *Zosimus* indeed, the chief ministers of both the young emperors agreed in plundering the provinces and impoverishing whole nations to enrich themselves, though they were at the same time most jealous rivals of each others grandure. *Stilicho* pretended, that *Theodosius*, at his death, had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires. *Rufinus*, on the other hand, not satisfied to rule with an absolute sway under *Arcadius*, began to aspire to the sovereignty, and with that view endeavoured to get the young emperor to marry his daughter; which scheme proved ineffectual, and served only to heighten the people's aversion to him.

The young emperor, at the persuasion of the eunuch *Eutropius*, married *Eudoxia*, the daughter of the famous count and general *Bauto*, a *Frank* by nation, who had been consul about ten years before. *Eudoxia* being a woman of great address, of a haughty and imperious temper, soon gained an absolute sway over the weak prince her husband. All writers agree in accusing her of an insatiable avarice; to satisfy which, she scrupled not to commit acts of the greatest injustice. She had, however, some outward appearance of piety; favoured the Catholics; shewed great respect to the prelates and clergy; and, having prevailed on the emperor to demolish several temples in *Gaza*, she built in that city a stately and most magnificent church; on which account she was publicly commended by *St. Chrysostom*, whom, however, she afterwards cruelly persecuted.

Rufinus was not only disappointed in his schemes of an alliance with the imperial family, but was threatned with a war from *Stilicho*, who was preparing to march into the East against him. To avert the danger which threatned him, he resolved to set all in a flame, and to involve the empire in the greatest confusion. The *Huns*, at his instigation, ravaged the eastern provinces with fire and sword, and penetrated as far as *Antioch*; while, at the same time, *Alaric*, the king of the *Goths*, who commanded a body of his own nation in the *Roman* service, joining to them a great number of other barbarians, ravaged *Thrace*, *Pannonia*, *Macedon*, and *Thessaly*, with the connivance of *Rufinus*. *Gerontius*, a creature of *Rufinus*, treacherously abandoning the straits of *Thermopylae*, the barbarians entered *Greece*; where they rifled the temples.

Both of them agree in plundering the people.

Stilicho claims the administration of both empires.

The *Goths* and *Huns* invade the empire.

temples, pillaged the cities, and committed the most shocking barbarities; by which the country was in a manner turned into a desert. Some of the barbarians approaching *Constantinople*, *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them; and was received by them with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery.

Stilicho
secures
the peace
of *Gaul*.

Stilicho, in the mean time, was busied on the *Rhine*, in renewing the antient alliances of the *Roman* people with the *Franks*, and other *German* nations. Having by those alliances secured the peace of *Gaul*, he left that country in the end of spring, and marched through *Illyricum* against the barbarians. When he drew near to *Thessaly*, *Arcadius*, at the persuasion of *Rufinus*, who did not want to see the barbarians suppressed, sent orders to him to send the eastern troops in his army to *Constantinople*, and to return with the rest. *Stilicho*, not daring to disobey, not only sent the troops, but also half the treasure which *Theodosius* had left. The eastern troops, under the conduct of *Gainas*, a *Goth*, and the intimate friend of *Stilicho*, arrived at *Constantinople* in the end of *November*. The emperor, according to custom, went out in person to meet them, attended by *Rufinus*, who, having gained over some of the chief officers, expected to be proclaimed emperor on this occasion; and had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the soldiery. The troops received their emperor with the utmost respect; but, upon a signal given from *Gainas*, they fell upon *Rufinus* and cut him in pieces. The estate, and all the effects of *Rufinus* were confiscated; and the decree issued on that occasion was sent to *Rome*; where the people expressed great joy at the death and deserved end of that insatiable robber, who, to use the expression of *Symmachus*, had plundered the world.

Rufinus
murdered.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Eutropius,
the eu-
nuch.

The eunuch *Eutropius*, by birth an *Armenian*, who had concurred with *Stilicho* in all his measures against their common rival, succeeded *Rufinus* not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities. *Eutropius*, till within a very few years before, had been all his life a slave in mean offices. Upon obtaining his freedom, he got some low office at court, and, having been a chief instrument in the marriage of *Eudoxia*, he was made great chamberlain; and, upon the death of *Rufinus*, he was vested with the power and authority which that minister had enjoyed. *Rufinus* seemed to survive in this wicked eunuch, who scrupled at no crimes to satisfy his rapacity. He publicly sold the chief employments, and filled the prisons and places of banishment with persons possessed of riches or estates, whose only crime was their wealth. *Arcadius*, who was a very weak prince, suffered himself to be entirely governed by this wicked minister; and, instead of hearkening to those who had the boldness to complain of his arbitrary proceedings, he employed himself in publishing laws against heretics and sectaries.

The

The following year, *Stilicho* again made an attempt to suppress the barbarians, who still continued their ravages in *Greece*. He embarked on the *Adriatic* sea, and landing without opposition in *Peloponnesus*, cut off great numbers of the enemy, who were obliged to retire to a mountain in *Arca-dia*. There he shut them up on all sides; but when he had them entirely in his power, he either knowingly, or through negligence, suffered them to escape, to retire out of *Peloponnesus*, and to pillage *Epirus* in their retreat. This is the account of *Orosius* and *Zosimus*: but *Claudian* tells us, that *Eutropius*, dreading *Stilicho*'s power and reputation, persuaded *Arcadius* to conclude a peace with *Alaric*, and to order *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops forthwith out of *Greece*. Soon after, *Alaric* was by *Arcadius*, or rather by his governor *Eutropius*, appointed commander of the troops in *East Illyricum*. In the mean time, though *Stilicho*, in compliance with the emperor's orders, immediately withdrew his troops from *Greece*; *Arcadius* nevertheless, at the desire of *Eutropius*, caused him to be declared a public enemy, ordering all the lands and palaces he had in the East to be confiscated.

Stilicho

drives the

barba-

rians from

Greece.

A.D. 396.

*Eutropius*causes *Sti-**lich*o to be

declared a

public

enemy.

Eutropius, not satisfied with having thus defeated all the measures of *Stilicho*, was still desirous of extending his own power; and with that view resolved to remove all in whom *Arcadius* seemed to have the least confidence. He began with *Abundantius*, who had been the first who had raised him from his low fortune. *Abundantius* had been promoted by *Theodosius* to the post of general both of horse and foot, to the prætorship, and to the consular dignity; but *Eutropius*, jealous of his authority and credit, prevailed on *Arcadius* to banish him to a city of *Bosphorus*; where he led a miserable life, stripped of all his effects, till the death of *Eutropius*, when he was removed to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*.

Eutropius was also jealous of *Timasius*, another general, who had served *Valens* and *Theodosius* in all their wars with great honour and integrity; and to compass his design, prevailed on a wretch like himself, whom *Timasius* had raised from indigence and taken into his confidence, to accuse him falsely of treason. *Timasius*, to the great indignation of the *Constantinopolitans*, was condemned on that accusation, stripped of all his wealth, and banished to *Oasis*, a barren and inhospitable place in *Lybia*, from which there was no possible means to escape, it being surrounded by a vast desert full of sand, which moving to and fro with the wind, suffered no tract of the footsteps of any former traveller to be seen. The traitor who had betrayed *Timasius* did not long enjoy the price of his wickedness; but, by a contrivance of *Eutropius*, was condemned upon another false accusation of that eunuch, and put to death. During these transactions, dreadful earthquakes were felt in most provinces of the East; and the sky appearing all in a flame over the city of *Constantinople*, so

His trea-

cherous

practices

against

Timasius.

terrified

terrified the inhabitants, and the emperor himself, that abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. Nothing remarkable this year happened in the West, except the conversion of *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, to the Christian religion.

The year following, *Arcadius*, leaving *Constantinople* in the month of *July*, went and staid at *Ancyra* till the end of *September*; by which progress, *Claudian* supposes that *Eutropius* diverted him from applying his mind to affairs of state. *Stilicho*, in the mean time, was preparing to march a new army into the dominions of *Arcadius*, in order to make good his claim to the administration of affairs in the East, and to revenge on *Eutropius* the injurious decree issued against him the year before.

Eutropius being resolved to maintain his present authority, persuaded whatever should befall the empire, persuaded *Gildo*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Africa*, to revolt from *Honorius* and submit to *Arcadius*. This *Gildo* was brother to *Firmus*, who had made war on the *Romans* about twenty-four years before; and in that war declaring for the *Roman* against his brother, he, in return for that service, was about fourteen years after, appointed commander of all the *Roman* troops in *Africa*. He was, according to *Marcellinus*, by religion a pagan; and, by the testimony of other authors, he was quite abandoned to the most scandalous vices. When *Eugenius* usurped the empire of the West, *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodosius*, but nevertheless neglected to send him any succours; so that, according to *Claudian*, the emperor would have treated him as an open enemy had he not been prevented by death. *Gildo* now prevailing on most of the cities of *Africa* to acknowledge *Arcadius*, put such governors into them as he knew would be attached to his own interest, in case he should afterwards declare himself independant of both emperors. The *Roman* senate were no sooner informed of the revolt of *Gildo*, than they declared him a public enemy, and dispatched a solemn embassy to *Arcadius*, entreating him to restore *Africa* to its lawful sovereign. As *Gildo* suffered no corn to be conveyed to *Rome*, a famine soon began to be felt there; which obliged them to fit out a fleet to fetch it from *Gaul* and *Spain*, in which they succeeded. About this time, the famous St. *Ambrose*, bishop of *Milan*, died; in which city *Honorius* seems to have resided the greatest part of this year.

The following spring, while *Stilicho* was busy in carrying on his warlike preparations against *Gildo*, *Mascezel*, the brother of the rebel, arrived in *Italy*; and giving him a true account of the state of affairs in *Africa*, suggested to him the most proper means for suppressing the rebellion. As *Mascezel* was a zealous Christian, and refused to join in the rebellion, *Gildo* had thereupon resolved to murder him; but he,

by

by a timely flight, defeated his design. *Gildo* having caused the two sons of *Mascezel* to be put to death, *Stilicho* thought he might safely trust him with the command of the expedition against his brother. Accordingly, another fleet being equipped, *Mascezel* sailed to *Africa* with a small army, and after a bloody engagement, gained a complete victory over *Gildo*. The ecclesiastical writers attribute the gaining of this battle to the miraculous interposition of St. *Ambrose*. *Gildo* escaped from the field of battle and put to sea; but being by contrary wind driven into the harbour of *Tabraca*, near *Hippo*, in *Africa*, he was there apprehended, exposed to the insults of the populace, and then thrown into prison, where he strangled himself. Upon the defeat and death of *Gildo*, all *Africa* again submitted to *Honorius*. The leading men who had engaged in the late rebellion, were sent to *Rome* to be tried there, and some of them were publicly executed. Several innocent persons, as it frequently happens on such occasions, being dragged to prison, *Honorius*, by a law addressed to *Victor*, proconsul of *Africa*, put a stop to such unjust prosecutions; ordering false informers and false witnesses to be punished according to the rigour of the several laws enacted against them. *Gildo's* estate, which was confiscated, proved so large that a particular treasurer was appointed to manage it. *Mascezel*, upon his return to *Milan*, was received by *Stilicho* with the appearance of friendship and esteem; but the glory he had acquired raising the jealousy of the minister, he resolved to dispatch his new rival; and, as he was one day passing a bridge, he caused *Mascezel*, with many persons of distinction who attended him, to be thrown into the river and drowned.

and is sent to *Africa* against the rebels.

Gildo lays violent hands on himself.

Stilicho causes *Mascezel* to be murdered.

By the death of *Gildo*, an entire harmony was re-established between the two brothers; but the two ministers still continued at variance, agreeing only in plundering the unhappy people, and in conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires. *Eutropius* persuaded *Arcadius* to name him, though an eunuch, for the consulship of the ensuing year; but *Stilicho* would not suffer him to be acknowledged in the West. He was the first and the last eunuch that ever held, or rather disgraced, the fasces. *Manlius Theodorus* is named alone as consul in the laws of *Honorius*.

During his consulship, *Varanes*, or *Vararanes*, IV. king of *Persia*, after a reign of eleven years, in which he had lived in friendship with the *Romans*, was killed by his own subjects, and succeeded by his brother *Isdegerdes*, or *Yesdejird*; who reigned twenty-one years, and always maintained a friendly correspondence with the *Romans*. In the East, some time before the beginning of *Eutropius's* consulship, the cities of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* were shaken with violent earthquakes, several buildings were consumed with lightning, and

king of *Persia*, murdered; and succeeded by *Isdegerdes*.

A.D. 3

the sea breaking in upon the land laid whole countries under water.

Tribigild,
disgusted
with *Eutropius*,
revolts in
Asia.

Eutropius, by his eager ambition, only sharpened the resentment of those who waited for an opportunity to ruin him. *Gainas*, the friend of *Stilicho*, who had caused *Rufinus* to be slain, was highly dissatisfied with him. *Tribigild*, by nation a *Goth*, and commander of a body of his countrymen in *Phrygia*, coming to *Constantinople*, and meeting with some insults from *Eutropius*, *Gainas*, who is said to have been allied to him, encouraged him to revolt. *Tribigild* accordingly, upon his return to *Phrygia*, began hostilities early in the spring, and threw the whole province of *Asia* into the utmost confusion. *Eutropius*, finding it impossible to gain *Tribigild* by large presents or promises, sent a body of troops against him under the command of one *Leo*, a very unskilful general; who, after he had entered *Asia*, continued inactive on the coast. *Gainas* in the mean time, who was enjoined to guard the coasts of *Thrace*, keeping a private correspondence with the rebels, advised *Tribigild* to march his forces, without delay, to the sea-side, and to come over to *Europe*; which, if the rebels had done, they would have made themselves masters of *Constantinople* without opposition. *Tribigild* however, neglecting this advice, proceeded towards *Pisidia*, where he was soon reduced among the mountains to the greatest straits, by one *Selga*, at the head of a body of slaves and peasants. By a large sum of money, he prevailed on one *Florentius* to withdraw from a pass, and suffer him to escape. *Gainas* hearing of his great distress, sent over a body of troops under colour of succouring *Leo*, but with private orders to join their countrymen commanded by *Tribigild*, who, with that reinforcement, fell unexpectedly upon *Leo*, and cut most of his men in pieces, *Leo* himself perishing among the marshes in attempting to make his escape. *Tribigild* then returned into *Phrygia*, whither *Gainas* pretended to pursue him; but neglecting to check his ravages, he wrote to the emperor, magnifying his conduct, his exploits, and the number of his troops; and suggesting, that the only way to save the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands; the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of all the present calamities, should be delivered up into his hands.

Eutropius
disgraced,

A report in the mean time prevailing, that the new king of *Persia* was preparing to invade *Syria*, some were for recurring to *Stilicho*, and others for satisfying the rebels. *Arcadius* chose the latter; and sending for *Eutropius*, caused him to be stripped of his consular ensigns, and discharged him. This is the account of *Zosimus*: but other authors relate the downfall of *Eutropius* without mentioning either *Gainas* or *Tribigild*; some saying that he offended the emperor, and others, that he had affronted the empress. *Eutropius* fled to a church for sanctuary: but the people exclaiming against him in the theatre,

theatre, and being seconded by *Gainas* and the soldiery, a band of soldiers were sent to drag him from his asylum. *Chrysostom*, then bishop of *Constantinople*, opposing the soldiers, and declaring that he would not suffer them to profane the church, they seized him, and carried him to the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant protection to *Eutropius*; from which many persons, guilty of smaller crimes, had by his means been excluded. A few days after, *Eutropius*, having privately left his asylum, was taken and banished to the island of *Cyprus*. *Gainas* still bringing new charges against him, he was conducted to a place called *Pantychium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*; where he underwent a trial, and, being convicted of having in his consulship made use of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, he was condemned and beheaded on the last day of the year. banished, and put to death.

Both *Arcadius* and *Honorius* distinguished themselves this year by their zeal against the pagan superstition, which was forbidden, under the severest penalties, both in public and private; the law of *Honorius* condemning to death those who offered sacrifices to idols. By other laws of the emperors, all the temples throughout both empires were ordered to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewise in the country. Several temples, notwithstanding these laws, were spared at the request of the bishops, who begged them, and consecrated them to the worship of the true God. The pa-gans persecuted by both emperors.

The consuls for the following year, were *Stilicho* and *Aurelianus*; the latter at *Constantinople*, and the former at *Milan*. *Stilic's* consul. In the East, the public reaped no advantage by the death of *Eutropius*, as the chief administration of affairs fell into the hands of *Eudoxia*, a bold, enterprising, and avaricious woman, as *Zosimus* styles her. She was constantly beset by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to such excesses of oppression, that every good man, he says, wished for death to avoid seeing such enormous disorders. *Gainas*, in the mean time, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, both he and they began their march towards *Constantinople*, and each general allowed his soldiers to plunder all the countries through which they passed. The *Constantinopolitans* were struck with consternation at their approach in a hostile manner; and, as *Arcadius* had no troops to oppose them, he sent deputies to *Gainas*, offering to grant him whatever he demanded. *Gainas*, with great insolence, required *Saturnius*, who had been employed for thirty years in public affairs; *Aurelianus*, the present consul; and *John*, secretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince reposed great trust; to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. The emperor complied, though much against his will, to this arrogant and tyrannical demand, those three illustrious persons pressing him of their own accord to sacrifice them to the public welfare. They accordingly presented themselves before *Gainas* in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*; who, at the inter-

Stilic's
consul.

A.D. 400.

The *Goths*
under *Gainas*
and
Tribigila
revolt.

intercession of *Chrysoſtom*, ſaved their lives, and ſent them under a guard towards *Epirus*; where they were to remain in perpetual baniſhment. They, having eſcaped from their guard, to the ſurprize of every one, returned to *Conſtantinople*. *Gainas*, not yet ſatisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in perſon; with which demand *Arcadius* being obliged to comply, he paſſed over to *Chalcedon*, in the neighbourhood of which city the following accommodation was agreed to: namely, That *Gainas* and *Tribigild* ſhould lay down their arms; and that the former, beſides the command of all the *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice, ſhould have that of the *Roman* horſe and foot, with the conſular ornaments, and an authority unbounded. *Gainas*, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, demanded a church in that city for the *Arians*, whoſe doctrine was held by him, and moſt of the *Goths*, his countrymen. The timorous emperor referred him to St. *Chryſoſtom*, biſhop of the city; who peremptorily refuſing to grant his requeſt, he thought it adviſable to drop it.

They oblige the emperor to agree to a treaty with them.

The ambition of *Gainas* was only the more inflamed by the ſucceſs he had met with. Having filled *Conſtantinople* with his *Goths*, and removed all the *Roman* troops from thence, he formed a deſign of ſeizing firſt the wealth of the bankers, and then ſetting fire to the palace. *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Philſtorgius*, relate how this wicked project was frustrated by a miracle, upon which *Gainas* withdrew from the city on the tenth of *July*, as it were to take the air, or, as others ſay, to perform his devotions, but with a deſign to return with a body of *Goths*, to aſſiſt thoſe in the city againſt the inhabitants. The citizens, however, being alarmed at ſome appearances that looked treacherous, took arms, and bar-maſſacred ricading their gates, fell upon the *Goths* within the city, in *Con-ſtantinople* to the number of ſeven thouſand, whom they entirely cut off, ſetting fire even to a church in which ſome of them had taken ſanctuary. *Gainas*, highly provoked at the maſſacre of his countrymen, began to ravage *Thrace*; but not being able to make himſelf maſter of a ſingle city, as the inhabitants, from being accuſtomed to incuſſions, had learned to defend their walls, he marched into the *Cherſoneſe* with a deſign to paſs from thence into *Asia*. *Fravitus*, a *Goth* and a pagan, who commanded in thoſe parts, attacking *Gainas* in his paſſage, drove him back, with the loſs of many thouſands of his men, either killed, wounded, or drowned; for which ſervice he was rewarded the following year with the conſulſhip. From the *Cherſoneſe*, *Gainas* returned to *Thrace*; and was there, according to *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans* who purſued him. According to *Zoſimus*, he had paſſed the *Danube*, and was cut off by *Uldes*, or *Uldin*, king of the *Hunns*. During theſe troubles, *Eudoxia*, who had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed only with the title of *Nobiliffima*, received that of *Auguſta*. Not many years after, it became cuſtomary for the empreſſes to aſſume the

Gainas cut off with his followers.

the same titles that were given to the princes their husbands. In the beginning of the year, the city of *Constantinople* was shaken with violent earthquakes, which lasted three days; on which occasion great numbers of pagans demanded, and received, the sacrament of baptism. Whilst the eastern empire was disturbed by *Gainas*, the western provinces, subject to *Honorius*, were at the same time harassed by the *Goths* under *Alaric*, who carried an incredible number of captives from *Italy*.

The following year the *Euxine* sea was frozen over for the space of twenty days. *Thrace* was also pillaged by a band of slaves and deserters, who pretended to be *Hunns*; but *Fravitus* marching against them, put most of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. In the West, *Honorius*, by an edict, forgave all the debts owing to the exchequer before his first consulship; that is, before the month of *September* 386. By the same law, he ordered all prosecutions and suits for what was owing from that time to his accession to the empire, to be suspended, till he had inquired into the circumstances of the debtors.

The generosity of *Honorius*.

The year following, *Arcadius* and *Honorius* were both consuls the fifth time. *Arcadius* this year promoted his son *Theodosius*, who was not then two years of age, to the imperial dignity. In the West, *Alaric* entered *Italy* a-new, ravaged several provinces without opposition, and obliged the emperor to retire to *Ravenna*, which thenceforth became the place of his usual residence. The *Goths* continued during the winter in *Italy*: but *Stilicho* having with the utmost diligence, assembled an army, and drawn troops from the banks of the *Rhine*, marched against the enemy, and attacked them near *Pollenza*, on the *Tanaro*, in *Piedmont*. Authors differ greatly in their accounts of this battle. According to some, the *Romans* were conquerors, and according to others they were defeated. The *Romans* having forced and plundered the enemy's camp, found in it the spoils of several provinces, and the wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took prisoners. *Alaric*, upon this misfortune, immediately sued for peace; which was readily granted him upon condition of his marching forthwith out of *Italy*.

Italy ravaged by the *Goths* under *Alaric*.

Alaric sues for peace.

The *Goths*, notwithstanding the treaty, plundering the country in their retreat, *Stilicho* dispatched a body of troops after them, by whom they were overcome, and driven to the mountains. *Alaric* being there blocked up by the *Romans* till most of his men forsook him and joined *Stilicho*, withdrew in the night-time, and returned through by-ways into *Thrace*. After the battle of *Pollenza*, *Honorius* suppressed, and utterly abolished, the shews of gladiators, which, tho' forbidden by *Constantine* the Great, had been tolerated by his successors, even by *Theodosius* himself, out of complaisance to the people. *Honorius* soon after, at the request of the people of *Rome*, honoured that city with his presence; and about

Honorius abolishes the shews of gladiators.

about the beginning of *December* entered it in triumph, having *Stilicho* in his chariot.

The following year, in which *Honorius* was consul the sixth time, the empress *Eudoxia* died, and was buried in the church of the apostles. Before her death, *Thrace* was ravaged by the *Huns*, and *Asia* and *Syria* by the *Isaurian* robbers. The former, after pillaging great part of *Thrace* and *East Illyricum* retired with their booty beyond the *Danube*. The latter though at first attacked by one *Arbazacius*, yet, having bribed that officer, came again out of their mountains, whither he had driven them, and over-ran *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycania*, *Pisidia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lower Syria*. They even passed over into the island of *Cyprus*, and also caused a general consternation in *Phœnicia*, *Caria*, *Judæa*, and *Jerusalem* itself. We read of nothing memorable transacted by *Honorius* at *Rome* during his consulship.

The *Asiatic* provinces ravaged by the *Isaurians*.

Italy again invaded by the barbarians.

A.D. 405.

They are entirely defeated by *Stilicho*.

The next consuls were *Stilicho*, the second time, and *Anthemius*, who was soon after appointed prefect of the East, and is mightily commended by *St. Chrysostom*. This year, two nations of barbarians, inhabiting the country between *Cyrenaica* and *Tripolitana*, laid waste great part of *Egypt*. *Italy*, in the mean time, was alarmed with a new irruption of the barbarians under *Alaric* and *Radagaisus*, by some reckoned a *Goth*, and by others styled king of the *Huns*. This army, which was composed of the various barbarous nations beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, amounted to four hundred thousand men, according to some; and two hundred thousand, according to others. As *Radagaisus* was a zealous Pagan, and sacrificed every morning to *Jupiter*, the Pagans in *Rome* gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail; not so much by his numerous forces, as by the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful *Romans* had banished from a city which they had so often defended. *Stilicho*, in the mean time, having assembled all the *Roman* forces at *Pavia*, and reinforced them with great numbers of *Goths*, *Huns*, and *Alans*, under the command of *Sarus*, a *Goth*; and *Uldin*, king of the *Huns*, marched against the barbarians, who were busied in the siege of *Florence*, and attacking them unexpectedly, slew one hundred thousand, without the loss of one man on the side of the *Romans*. as *St. Austin*, *Zosimus*, and *Prosper* relate. *Radagaisus* retired with the rest to the neighbouring mountains of *Felula*; where he was soon reduced to such extremity, that he attempted to escape secretly and leave his men to the mercy of the *Romans*; but being seized by the *Romans*, he was, by the orders of *Stilicho*, put to death. His men, finding themselves abandoned by their leader, submitted to the *Romans* in such numbers, that they were sold in droves, like beasts, at a crown a head: but as they had contracted an ill state of health on account of their want of provisions, they all died in a few days.

The

The following year, in which *Arcadius* was consul for the sixth time with *Anicius Probus*, a dreadful fire happened at *Constantinople* on the twenty-fifth of *October*; and *Palestine* was infested with such multitudes of grasshoppers as quite darkened the sky; and being driven with the wind, partly into the *Dead Sea*, and partly into the *Mediterranean*, were thrown in such heaps on both shores, that they infected the air, and occasioned a plague. *Arcadius* this year published a law, threatening not only the authors of libels with death, but those who read them without tearing or burning them. As the western empire was again threatned by the northern nations, *Honorius* enacted a law, encouraging all persons, whether freedmen or slaves, to take arms in defence of their country; and promising to the latter their liberty, and to the former three pieces of gold, to be paid immediately, and seven more after the war.

Mean while the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, thinking themselves abandoned by *Honorius*, raised one *Mark* to the imperial dignity; but murdering him a few days after, they chose one *Gratian*, a native of *Britain*, in his room. *Gratian*, after a reign of four months, being also murdered, was succeeded by *Constantine*, a common soldier, who passing over into *Gaul*, took with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in the island, and the flower of the *British* youth, leaving the island quite naked and defenceless. *Constantine* being joined by great numbers of *Gauls*, soon made himself master of the whole country.

The following year, on the first of *May*, died the emperor *Arcadius*, after having lived thirty-one years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his death. He left behind him but one son, named *Theodosius*, then eight years old. His eldest daughter, *Flaccilla* seems to have died in her infancy. His three other daughters, *Pulcheria*, *Arcadia*, and *Marina*, embraced the state of virginity, and led exemplary lives. Though *Arcadius* was naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, yet he had such slender parts, that the empire suffered as much from his weakness, as if it had been governed by a profligate prince.

In the mean time *Constantine*, the usurper, having reduced all *Gaul*, sent a body of troops to conquer *Spain*, the cities of which province were inclined to revolt from *Honorius*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus*, two brothers, natives of *Spain*, and nearly allied to *Honorius*, assembled the troops in that province, and seizing the passes of the *Pyrenees*, defended them for some time with great resolution. At length *Constantians*, the son of *Constantine*, whom his father had created *Cæsar*, being followed with the best of his father's troops, penetrated into *Spain*, defeated the two brothers in *Lusitania*, and took both them and their wives prisoners. Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers, *Theodosius* and *Lagodus* who had also taken arms, abandoned *Spain*

to the usurper, and fled; the former to the court of *Honorius* and the latter to that of *Theodosius*, the son of *Arcadius*.

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ates his
son *Con-*
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Honorius
acknow-
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league.

Constantine, to reward the eminent services of his son created him *Augustus*; and sent a solemn deputation to *Honorius*, demanding to be acknowledged as his partner in the empire. *Honorius* being in no condition to make war on the usurper, complied with his request, honoured him with the title of *Augustus*, and sent him the imperial purple.

Stilicho
disgraced
and put to
death.

About the same time, *Alaric*, at the instigation of *Stilicho* leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, threatened to invade *Italy*, unless a certain sum which he pretended to be due to him was immediately sent him. *Honorius*, who was then at *Rome*, assembled the senate, when several senators of great distinction were for rejecting his demands and opposing him by force but *Stilicho*, who maintained a private correspondence with *Alaric*, urging the justice of his demand with great warmth it was agreed that four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him. A few days after, *Honorius* setting out for the north of *Italy*, one *Olympius*, who had gained his confidence and then attended him, disclosed the treachery of *Stilicho*, and so thoroughly convinced him, that the prince, awaked as it were out of a deep lethargy, sent without delay two orders to *Ravenna*; the one commanding him to be secured, and the other to be put to death. These orders were accordingly executed. The army at *Pavia* no sooner heard that *Stilicho* was ordered to be arrested, than they flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner slew all those who were known to be well affected to the disgraced general. All authors, except *Zosimus* and the poet *Claudian*, agree that *Stilicho* maintained a private correspondence with *Alaric*; and that he invited the barbarians into *Gaul*, that he might raise his reputation by driving them out, and thereby procure the title of colleague of the emperor: and he is even said to have formed a design of murdering *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, and seizing on both empires for himself. *Stilicho* professed the Christian religion; but his son *Eucherius* was not only a Pagan, but a professed enemy to the Christians. *Eucherius* no sooner heard of his father's death, than he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor's order, he was sent under a strong guard to *Rome*, and there executed. *Honorius* had married *Maria*, the eldest daughter of *Stilicho*, but she being dead some years, he this year married *Thermantia*, the sister of his former wife, whom he now divorced, and sent back untouched to her mother *Serena*. All the ecclesiastic writers suppose *Stilicho* to have been guilty; but it would have been for the reputation of *Honorius* that he had been tried in form; for the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his life-time or after his death. *Stilicho's* estate was confiscated, and likewise the estates of all his avowed partisans, and of such as had been preferred by him

Eucherius
his son ex-
ecuted.

for money. Such was the fatal end of *Stilicho*, who, though acknowledged to have been a man of extraordinary qualities, is however accused of rapine and oppression, and of great partiality in the administration of justice.

Stilicho was succeeded by *Olympius*, the chief author of his ruin. He not only professed the Christian religion, but outwardly affected an extraordinary piety, says *Zosimus*; insinuating thereby that his piety was counterfeit: but St. *Austin* entertained a very favourable opinion of him, and likewise *Symmachus*, though a zealous Pagan. In the very beginning of his administration, he caused several laws to be enacted against the Pagans, *Jews*, and Heretics, especially the *Donatists* in *Africa*. Soon after his promotion he wrote to St. *Austin*, desiring that zealous prelate to suggest to him, from time to time, what he thought would conduce to the good of the church. About the middle of *November*, a law was published, excluding all those who were not of the Catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, from all employments at court.

The *Roman* soldiers no sooner heard of *Stilicho's* death, than they inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians whom he had taken into the service, looking upon them as privy to his wicked designs. The barbarians, upon this unheard of cruelty, vowed revenge, and retired, to the number of thirty thousand, and upwards, to *Alaric*, who nevertheless offered to conclude a lasting peace with *Honorius*, provided he would send him a sufficient sum to pay his army their arrears. *Honorius* refusing to comply with this demand, *Alaric* dispatched an express to *Pannonia*, to his brother-in-law *Atulphus*, ordering him to hasten with his troops into *Italy*; and he himself in the mean time passing in sight of *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, marched directly to *Rome*, which he invested on all sides. As no provisions could enter the city, even by the *Tiber*, a famine soon began to rage in the place, which was attended with a plague, occasioned by the great number of dead bodies that lay in the streets unburied. *Alaric* at length hearkened to an accommodation with the citizens, and agreed to raise the siege, and ever after continue faithful to the *Romans*, upon their delivering up hostages, and paying to him three thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper. The treaty was ratified by *Honorius*, and the sum, which was partly raised by stripping some of the idols of their ornaments, was sent to *Alaric*, who thereupon retired with his army to *Etruria*.

While the western empire was thus miserably harassed and divided, a profound peace prevailed in all the provinces subject to young *Theodosius*. They were chiefly indebted for the happiness they enjoyed to *Anthemius*, the grandson of *Philippus*, who had been prefect of the East under *Constantius*. *Anthemius* in the East.

Stilicho

succeed-

ed by

Olympius.

The bar-

barians in

the *Roman*

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Rome.

A.D. 408.

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the East.

minus is commended, by all the writers of those times, as an experienced commander, an able statesman, a zealous Christian, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the glory of his prince and the happiness of his people. According to *Procopius* and *Theophanes*, who seems to have copied him, *Ißægerdes*, king of *Persia*, was left as guardian of the young emperor by *Arcadius* on his death-bed. *Agathias*, however, declares that he found the account of the emperor's last will vouched by no writer, not even those who had given a particular account of the death of *Arcadius*. This year *Thrace* was invaded by the *Hunns* and *Squiri*, or *Scyri*, a northern nation, who, in their retreat towards the *Danube*, were almost all cut off or taken prisoners by the *Roman* troops.

Theodosius, the following year, was declared consul with *Honorius*; but *Constantine*, who reigned in *Gaul*, caused himself to be declared consul in the room of *Theodosius*. As *Honorius*, under various pretences, delayed fulfilling the treaty with *Alaric*, the *Roman* senate sent deputies to him, to represent the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, especially the capital; but the emperor paid no regard to their remonstrances. *Alaric* soon after again appeared before *Rome*, when his army was reinforced by forty thousand slaves, who had made their escape out of the city. *Honorius* sent six thousand troops to the defence of the city, but they were intercepted by the enemy, and almost all either cut off or made prisoners. Soon after, *Atulphus*, having forced his passage through the north of *Italy*, joined *Alaric*. *Olympius*, the prime-minister, being about this time disgraced, was succeeded by *Jovius*, then prefect of *Italy*. At *Ravenna*, the soldiers mutinying, demanded the heads of the two generals *Turpilio* and *Vigilantius*, and likewise of *Terentius* and *Arsacius*, the emperor's two first chamberlains. *Honorius*, at the instigation of *Jovius*, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a vessel in order to be sent into exile; but the soldiers who were charged to conduct them put them both to death. *Terentius* was banished into the East, and *Arsacius* confined to the city of *Milan*. Their places were filled with the creatures of *Jovius*, who is said to have prevailed with the emperor to revoke the law excluding Pagans and Heretics from employments in the state.

The *Romans*, in the mean time, being pressed by *Alaric*, with his consent, again intreated the emperor, by a new deputation, to fulfil the late treaty. *Alaric*, at the same time, by the advice of *Jovius*, with whom he had been intimately acquainted in *Epirus*, advanced with part of his army to *Ariminum*, or *Rimini*, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor. *Jovius* himself had some conferences with him at *Rimini*, and wrote to the emperor, advising him to confer the post of general of all the *Roman* forces on *Alaric*. This the emperor refusing to comply with, *Alaric*, in a great passion, set out for *Rome*; but quickly changing his mind, he sent some bishops to *Honorius* with very moderate

Alaric returns before *Rome*.

Olympius disgraced.

Honorius refuses to agree to

rate propofals. *Jovius*, now afraid of being accused of a the mode-
 private correspondenc with *Alaric*, over-acted the contrary rate de-
 part, and induced the emperor to swear, that he would mand of
 wage perpetual war with the king of the *Goths*. *Alaric*, ne- *Alaric*.
 vertheless, still made another offer of an accomodation, but
 the emperor remaining inflexible, he pursued his march to
Rome, and having reduced the inhabitants to great difficul-
 ties, they received him into their city, which he entered at- who is re-
 tended by a small guard. Having obliged the *Romans* to re- ceived in-
 nounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, he caused them to ac- to *Rome*,
 knowledge *Attalus*, then prefect of the city, for emperor. and de-
Attalus was a native of *Ionis*, and greatly beloved by *Alaric* clares *At-*
 and his *Goths*, because he professed the doctrine of *Arius*, *talus* em-
 though, according to *Philostorgius*, he was in his heart a peror.
 Pagan. The new emperor appointed *Alaric* commander in A.D. 409,
 chief of all his forces, and made *Atulphus* his *comes domesticorum*,
 distributing the other great employments among Pa-
 gans and Arians. He immediately sent a body of troops to
 secure *Africa*, which was of great importance to *Italy*; but
 these were quickly cut off by *Heracianus*, the governor of
 that province, who reduced *Rome* to great straits by pre-
 venting the exportation of corn. *Attalus*, in the mean time,
 had begun his march for *Ravenna*, which greatly alarming
Honorius, he sent *Jovius* with some others to him, offering
 to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. *Attalus*,
 by the persuation of *Jovius*, would only grant *Honorius* his
 life, and the liberty of retiring to what island he pleased. *Jovius*
 returned to court, and upon being sent back to the usurper
 with new propofals, he continued with him.

Honorius, finding himself thus betrayed, resolved to aban- *Honorius*
 don *Italy*, and retire by sea into the East; but four thousand receives a
 men arriving from his nephew *Theodosius*, he was encoura- reinforce-
 ged to continue at *Ravenna*, and there wait the issue of the ment from
 war in *Africa*, where *Heracianus* had cut off another body *Theodosius*
 of troops sent thither by *Attalus*. *Alaric*, in the mean time,
 reduced all the cities of *Liguria* and *Æmia*, except *Bononia*;
 and wherever he conquered, he caused the people to swear
 allegiance to *Attalus*.

While these things passed in *Italy* and *Africa*, *Geronicus*, *Spain* re-
 who had been appointed governor of *Spain* by *Constantine*, volts from
 revolted from him, and set up one *Maximus* for emperor, *Constan-*
 who is said to have been a person of a mean extraction. The *tine*.
 revolt of *Geronicus* in *Spain* was no sooner known, than the
Vandals, *Suevians*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom *Con-*
stantine had suffered to remain in *Gaul*, took arms, and made
 themselves masters of several cities. The *Britons*, at the The *Bri-*
 same time, renouncing their obedience to the emperor, esta- *tons* fall
 blished a new form of government among themselves, which off from
 continued about twelve or thirteen years, when they again the empire
 submitted to the laws of the empire. All the *Armorici*, or
 maritime people of *Gaul*, likewise shook off the *Roman*
 yoke,

A tumult
at *Constanti-*
nople.

yoke, though their new government proved but short-lived. The barbarians who had taken arms in *Gaul*, meeting with more opposition than they expected, passed the *Pyrenæes*, and made themselves masters of *Spain*. In the East nothing remarkable happened this year, except a tumult at *Constantinople*, on account of the scarcity of bread ; but the senators, and other wealthy citizens, having by voluntary contribution raised a large sum for the relief of the poor, and the bakers being publicly whipped through the city, the tumult was thereby quelled.

A great
famine at
Rome.

Alaric de-
poses *At-*
talus.

Rome ta-
ken and
plundered
by *Alaric*.
A.D. 410.

The affairs of *Honorius* the following year were in such confusion, that he was not at leisure to think of a consul. *Attalus*, however, raised *Tertullus*, a Pagan, to that dignity ; but he was acknowledged only by the partisans of the usurper. The lands of *Italy* not having been tilled for several years, on account of the wars, and *Heracianus* suffering no corn to be transported from *Africa*, the *Roman* people were reduced to feed upon chesnuts ; nay, human flesh was publicly sold, and several mothers were said to have devoured their own children. Some differences happening soon after between *Alaric* and *Attalus*, about the reduction of *Africa*, the former once more sent deputies to *Honorius* with very reasonable terms, which the emperor seeming inclined to comply with, *Alaric* forthwith deposed *Attalus*, and approached *Ravenna*, with a design to put the last hand to the treaty. This peaceable face of affairs, however, was soon changed by an unforeseen accident. *Sarus*, a *Goth*, who commanded a body of three hundred men in *Picenum*, without declaring for either party, being now driven to extremities by *Atulphus*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to him, declared for *Honorius*, and being received by the emperor, *Alaric* in a rage broke off the conferences, and returned to his army. He again restored the purple and other ensigns of majesty to *Attalus*, but in a few days degraded him again. The *Romans* refusing to admit him into their city, he invested it on all sides, and quickly made himself master of it, according to some authors, though others say it held out a long time. Historians also differ as to the manner in which it was taken, some saying it was taken by treachery, and others by force. This proud city, which, for the space of twelve hundred years, had pillaged the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of the plundered nations, now suffered in her turn the calamities which she had brought upon others, being taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. *Alaric* told his soldiers, when upon the point of breaking into the city, that all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to seize it ; but at the same time he strictly enjoined them to shed the blood of none but such as they should find in arms. The city being accordingly abandoned to the *Goths*, was treated by them

no better, according to *St. Jerom*, than *Troy* was by the *Greeks*. After plundering it three, or, according to some, six days, they set fire to it in several places, so that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to a heap of ashes and ruins, scarce one house being left entire in the whole city. Though many of the *Goths*, pursuant to the orders of their general, refrained from shedding the blood of such as made no resistance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirsty, massacred all whom they met with.

Alaric having staid only a few days in *Rome*, retired from *Alaric* re-
thence into *Campania*, carrying with him immense wealth, tires into
and a great number of captives. After he had ravaged *Campania*
Campania, *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the
country of the *Brutii*, he approached the streights of *Sicily*,
with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into
Africa; but his fleet being shipwrecked, the execution of
his enterprize was thereby suspended, and in the mean time His death
he was seized with a fit of sickness, which carried him off
in a few days. The *Goths*, who were greatly concerned for *Atulphus*
the death of their king, chose *Atulphus* as his successor, whose his suc-
cister he had married. cessor.

Italy, which was thus ravaged by the barbarians, was at
the same time invaded by *Constantine* from *Gaul*, who had a *Italy* in-
private correspondence with *Allobicus*, one of *Honorius's* ge- vaded by
nerals. The correspondence, however, being discovered, *Constan-*
and the traitor put to death, *Constantine* in great haste re- tine.
passed the *Alps*, and retired to *Arles*, where he found his son
Constans driven out of *Spain* by the barbarians, whom we
formerly mentioned, who had been joined by *Geronicus*.
This general advancing into *Gaul*, made himself master of
Vienne, and taking *Constans* a prisoner in that city, he put
him to death, after which he advanced to *Arles*, and besieged
Constan'ine.

The following year *Theodosius* was consul alone for the
fourth time, and all his empire continued to enjoy a pro-
found tranquillity under the wise administration of *Anthemi-*
us. *Honorius*, by the troubles in the West, was diverted from
naming any consul, especially as he was alarmed by the
hostilities of *Constantine*, whom he now looked upon as a
public enemy. *Constantius*, an officer of great abilities and *Constanti-*
experience, being sent into *Gaul* against *Constantine*, no us sent a-
sooner arrived before *Arles*, than the greatest part of the gainst *Con-*
troops of *Geronicus* came over to him, which obliged that stantine.
general to fly into *Spain*. The few soldiers who attended
him, provoked at his unseasonable severity, attacked him in
the house where he was lodged, which he defended with
great bravery, though assisted only by one friend and a few
slaves, and killed three hundred of the aggressors. The
slaves, in the end, consulting their own safety, made their
escape; but though *Geronicus* could also have escaped, he
chose not to forsake his wife, whom he tenderly loved, but
G 2 after

Maximus after killing her, at her own desire, he slew himself. *Maximus* taken pri-
soner. *imus*, whom *Geranicus* had set up for emperor, was brought by his own men to *Constantius*, who stripped him of the ensigns of majesty, but spared his life.

While *Constantius* carried on the siege of *Arles*, *Edobicus*, one of *Constantine's* generals, came to the relief of the place with an army of *Franks* and other *German* nations, much more numerous than that of the besiegers. *Constantius* having hazarded an engagement, and totally routed this army, renewed the siege with great vigour. He had refused to grant any honourable terms to the besieged; but news being brought to his camp, that *Jovinus* had assumed the imperial purple in *Farther Gaul*, and was advancing in full march to *Arles*, he thought it advisable to comply with the terms that had been proposed before by the besieged. Having granted a general indemnity, and promised upon oath to spare the lives of *Constantine*, and *Julian* his youngest son, he was received into the town. Notwithstanding this treaty, when *Constantine* and *Julian* arrived in *Italy*, *Honorius* caused them both to be put to death, which action both Pagan and Christian writers look upon as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. *Jovinus*, or *Jovianus*, who had assumed the purple in *Farther Gaul*, was descended from one of the most illustrious families in that country, and was supported by the king of the *Alans* and the prince of the *Burgundians*. In the eastern empire the tranquillity was disturbed by a *Moorish* nation, who broke into the *Pentapolis*; but they were, however soon driven out. The *Saracens* likewise committed great disorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, but retired of their own accord.

The *Goths* The following year the *Goths* at length left *Italy*, in virtue
leave *Italy* of a treaty, as it would seem from *Jornandes*, between *Hon-*
A.D. 412. *nerius* and *Atulphus* their new king. Upon the arrival of the
Goths in *Gaul*, *Atulphus* was advised by *Attalus*, whom he had brought with him, to join *Jovinus*, and divide *Gaul* between them. *Atulphus* and *Jovinus* met upon that proposal, but we know not the result of the conference. Soon after, *Atulphus* intercepted *Sarus*, who had revolted from *Honorius*, and was coming to join *Jovinus* in *Gaul*. *Atulphus* causing *Sarus* to be put to death, *Jovinus* resented it, and took his brother *Sebastian* for his partner in the empire. *Atulphus* was so provoked at this promotion, that he offered to *Honorius* to restore to him his sister *Placidia*, whom *Alaric* had taken in *Rome*, and to send him the heads of the two usurpers, provided he would supply his men with a certain quantity of corn. The emperor complying with his demand, *Atulphus* soon found an opportunity of cutting off *Sebastian*, and not long after forced *Jovinus*, who had fled to *Valence*, to surrender to him. *Jovinus* being delivered to *Dardanus*, prefect of *Gaul*, was by his orders put to death at *Narbonne*.

This

This year *Anthemius* caused the walls of all the frontier towns of *Illyricum* to be repaired.

The year after, *Lucius* and *Heracianus* were appointed consuls; but the name of the latter was erased out of the *Fasti*; for he revolted this very year, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Africa*, he equipped a fleet there of seven hundred sail, or, according to some, of three thousand seven hundred. *Orosius* writes, that his fleet was more numerous than that of any other monarch mentioned in history. Having landed his troops in *Italy*, he marched straight to *Rome*; but Count *Marinus* marching out to meet him at the head of all the troops he could assemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, betook himself to flight, and hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to *Carthage*. His men immediately submitting, were received into favour by *Honorius*. *Heracianus* being discovered by some soldiers in an antient temple, was by them cut in pieces, and his estate being confiscated, was bestowed upon *Constantinus*. *Heracianus* revolts in *Africa*. He is put to death at *Carthage*.

The same year the *Franks* set fire to the city of *Triers*, and ravaged the country in its neighbourhood. The *Burgundians*, about the same time, making themselves masters of the country at present called *Alsace*, were allowed by the emperor to settle there as friends and allies. *Honorius* having neglected to send the corn which he had promised to the *Goths*, *Atulphus* renewed his hostilities, and having reduced *Toulouse* and *Narbonne*, advanced as far as *Marseilles*; but there meeting with a vigorous resistance from Count *Bonifacius*, and being himself wounded, he abandoned that siege, and went to *Bordeaux*, where he was received as a friend. The *Burgundians* allowed to settle in *Gasl*.

In the East one *Lucius*, a Pagan, and commander of the troops about the court, provoked at the zeal of young *Theodosius* in extirpating idolatry, resolved to assassinate him, and attempted it three times, when, according to *Damascus* and *Phocius*, the young emperor was saved in a miraculous manner. The city of *Constantinople* was this year surrounded with the walls which *Socrates* styles the great walls, and which, according to *Nicephorus*, were twenty miles in circuit. The following year the negotiations between *Honorius* and *Atulphus* were resumed; but the *Goths* having no desire to part with *Placidia*, raised his demands very high, and prevailing at length upon her to marry him, the nuptials were celebrated at *Narbonne*, in the month of *January*, with the utmost pomp and solemnity. *Honorius*, it seems, did not consent to this marriage; for, soon after, *Atulphus* obliged *Attalus* to resume the purple. He seems, however, to have set up *Attalus* anew, chiefly with a design to intimidate the emperor, and to oblige him to grant to him and his *Goths* more favourable terms. However reasonable the overtures were, which were offered by *Atulphus* and *Placidia*, the emperor was prevented from hearkening to them by *Constantinus* and *Atulphus* marries *Placidia*.

and his party, so that the war being renewed, *Atulphus* was in the end obliged to retire into *Spain*.

The administration of the eastern empire committed to *Pulcheria*.

Mean while, *Pulcheria*, sister to the emperor *Theodosius*, on account of her extraordinary wisdom and piety, was declared *Augusta*, and took upon her the administration, *Anthemius* thinking her better qualified for it than himself, though she had just then entered into the sixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. She was indeed endowed with most extraordinary parts, and eminent for piety, and to her wise instructions, all authors agree, it was in part owing, that *Theodosius II.* perhaps excelled in piety and religion even his grandfather *Theodosius the Great*.

Atulphus murdered in *Spain*. A.D. 414.

The following year *Atulphus*, who had retired with his troops to *Spain*, was murdered in his stable by one of his own countrymen and domestics, whose former master *Atulphus* had caused to be assassinated some years before. The emperor *Theodosius* this year published a law, declaring those guilty of death who should teach the barbarians the art of building ships. The year after, the imperial army in the East mutinied, and put to death their general; but no writer besides *Marcellinus* makes any mention of this mutiny. Nothing remarkable happened this year in the West, but in

Constantius raised to the empire, but dies soon after. A.D. 421.

the beginning of the year following, *Honorius* raised *Constantius* to the imperial dignity, and gave the title of *Augusta* to his wife *Placidia*, who, after the death of *Atulphus*, had been forced to marry him. *Theodosius*, for what reason we know not, refused to acknowledge *Constantius* and *Placidia*, which would have kindled a war between the two empires, had not *Constantius* died soon after, that is, in the seventh month of his reign.

Theodosius marries *Eudocia*.

The emperor *Theodosius*, in the mean time, married *Eudocia*, the daughter of an *Athenian* philosopher, named *Heraclitus*. Upon her father's death, her two brothers having defrauded her of her share of his estate, she came to *Constantinople*, to implore the protection of *Pulcheria*. As she had been instructed by her father with extraordinary care, in several languages, and in every branch of literature, and was besides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, *Pulcheria*, after several conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother *Theodosius*, whom she accordingly persuaded to marry her*. This is the account of

* As *Eudocia* had been brought up to letters, she still continued her studies after she was raised to the throne. This year she composed a poem on a victory gained by the *Romans* over the *Persians*. She likewise put into hexameter verse the five books of *Moses*, with

those of *Joshua*, the *Judges*, and *Ruth*. She also wrote a paraphrase in verse upon the prophecies of *Zechariah* and *Daniel*; a poem on *St. Cyprian* and *St. Justin*; and a history of our Saviour, which entirely consisted of verses borrowed from *Homer*.

the modern *Greeks*; but the ancient writers say, that her father was named *Leontius*, and professed eloquence at *Athens*. Before the nuptials were celebrated, she was baptized by the bishop of *Constantinople*, when her former name *Athenais* was changed into that of *Eudocia*. The two brothers of *Eudocia*, informed of her good fortune, and conscious to themselves of their behaviour towards her, absconded; but she, instead of resenting the injury they had done her, invited them both to court, and raised them to great preferments.

A rupture happened this year between the *Persians* and *Romans* on the following occasion. *Vararanes V.* who the year before had succeeded to the *Persian* throne, having, at the instigation of the magi, raised a bloody persecution against the Christians in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the *Roman* territories. The *Persian* ambassadors redemanded them; but the emperor declared that he would protect them with the whole strength of his empire. Some other misunderstandings having also arisen between the two princes, in which *Vararanes* seemed the aggressor, *Theodosius* proclaimed war against him, and sent a considerable army into the *Persian* territories, under the command of one *Ardaburius*, an *Alan*. *Ardaburius* gained a complete victory over the *Persians* on the third of *September*, the news of which was brought in three days to *Constantinople*, though seven hundred miles distant from the borders of the empire, by a famous courier of those days, named *Palladius*. *Narses*, the *Persian* general, after his defeat, made an attempt to invade *Mesopotamia*, but *Ardaburius* following him close, obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of *Nisibis*, which place he besieged. The king of *Persia*, in the mean time, entered *Mesopotamia* with a powerful army, and laid siege to *Theodosiopolis*, which he battered with a great number of engines for a whole month, without intermission; but the besieged making a most vigorous defence, he was obliged to retire. He was soon after reinforced by a numberless multitude of *Saracens*, under the conduct of one *Alamandurus*, who boasted, that in a short time he would deliver into the hands of the *Persian* monarch not only the *Roman* army before *Nisibis*, but also the city of *Antioch* itself. Not long after, however, his men being seized with a pannic, threw themselves into the *Euphrates*, where an hundred thousand of them are said to have perished. The *Romans* also upon a false report, being seized with the like fear, burnt all their machines, and retired from *Nisibis* in the utmost confusion.

The following year, the war against the *Persians* was pursued with uncommon success. *Theodosius*, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, sent ambassadors to *Vararanes* with very reasonable proposals of a peace; but the *Persian* monarch was diverted from accepting them by a body of ten thousand men, called the *Immortals*, who persuaded him to

A peace
concluded
between
both em-
pires.

keep the *Romans* in suspense, in hopes of surprising them. They accordingly placed themselves in ambush ; but the *Romans* observing them, attacked them both in the front and the rear, and cut them all off to a man. *Vararanes* upon this new calamity, immediately agreed to the terms proposed by the *Roman* ambassadors, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred years. The chief article of this treaty was, *That the Persian king should recall the banished Christians, restore them to their estates, and put a stop to the cruel persecutions he had raised against them.*

Placidia
retires
with her
son to the
East.

The following year a misunderstanding arose between *Honorius* and his sister *Placidia*, who, according to some authors, was accused of corresponding with the *Goths*, who still looked upon her as their queen. *Honorius*, ever since the death of her late husband *Constantius*, had entertained her at court with great tenderness ; but his affection being now turned into an aversion, she retired, with her son *Valentinian*, and her daughter *Honorina*, to *Constantinople*, where she was kindly received by her nephew *Theodosius*. A few months after, *Honorius* died at *Medina* of a dropsy, having reigned twenty-eight years since the death of his father *Theodosius*, and thirty-one since the time he was first created *Augustus*.

A.D. 423.

Honorius
dies.

Theodosius
proclaim-
ed his suc-
cessor.

Theodosius, who received the news of the death of *Honorius* by an express, concealed it for some days, and in the mean time gave orders to a body of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of *Salanæ* in *Dalmatia*, that they might be ready at hand to prevent disturbances ; and having taken this precaution, he made public the death of his uncle, and as he had left no children, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room.

Account
of the au-
thors who
flourished
under *Hon-
orius*.

The history of *Honorius* was written in *Greek* by a cotemporary writer, named *Olympiodorus*, whose work seems to have been copied both by *Zosimus* and *Sozomen*. He was a native of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, and wrote some other pieces. *Renatus Profuturus Frigerius* wrote likewise the history of the reign of *Honorius*, but only a few passages of his work have reached our times. Under *Honorius* likewise flourished the poet *Claudian*, who was a native of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. He was honoured by the *Roman* senate with a statue, which, in consideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the square of *Trojan*. *Orosius* and *St. Austin* speak of him as a person greatly attached to the Pagan superstition. Another Pagan poet, who flourished under *Honorius*, was *Rutilius Claudius Numatianus*, a native of *Tolouse* in *Gaul*, who was raised to the post of *magister officiorum*, and also created prefect of *Rome*. *Lucilius*, a friend of *Rutilius*, wrote some satires during this reign, which are now lost, though *Rutilius* assures us they were in no respect inferior to those of *Juvenal*. One *Flavius*, said by *St. Jerom* to have written in verse a treatise on payne, is supposed by *Vossius* to have flourished in

in the reign of *Honorius*, and likewise the author of a comedy titled *Querulus Plauti*. About this time also flourished *Aurélius Theodosius Ambrosius Macrobius*, for all the persons he introduces in his *Saturnalia* lived under *Theodosius I.* and his son *Honorius*. He was born in a country where the *Latin* tongue was not common, but whether in *Greece* or the *East*, is uncertain. Besides his *Saturnalia*, that is a collection of antiquities made by him for the instruction of his son, and supposed to have been uttered in familiar conversations, during the feast of the *Saturnalia*, he wrote two books on the dream of *Scipio*. *Sosipater Charisius*, who published five books of observations on the grammar, still extant, flourished, according to *Ballet*, in the time of *Honorius*; and before him a grammarian named *Dismedes*, whose works have likewise reached our times. *Fabius Fulgentius Planciades* likewise wrote some thinks during this reign, but all critics speak of him as a most contemptible author. In the reign of *Theodosius I.* or his children, was published the *Itinerary*, which is commonly called the *Map, or Tables, of Peutinger*, having belonged to *Conrad Peutinger* in *Augsburg*. The war of *Gaisas* was described by two poets, but neither of their performances have reached our times.

Notwithstanding the power of *Theodosius*, he was not acknowledged in the *West*; but *Italy, Gaul, and Dalmatia* declared for *John*, the chief secretary of *Honorius*, who, upon his death, had assumed the purple in *Rome*. *John* sent ambassadors to *Theodosius*, to inform him of his promotion; but the emperor looking upon him as an usurper, imprisoned his ambassadors; upon which, he resolved to defend his title by arms, and with large sums to draw the *Hunns* over to his assistance by means of *Ætius*, who was in great favour with them. *Ætius* was the son of a *Scythian*, named *Gaudentius*, who had been raised to the highest employments of the empire. He was given as an hostage to *Alaric*, after the battle of *Pollentia*, and afterwards to the *Hunns*, with whose chiefs he by that means became acquainted. Upon his return from the country of the *Hunns*, he married the daughter of *Carpilio*, captain of the guards, by whom he had two sons. He was a person of a majestic mein, of a tall stature, and a robust constitution; and is no less commended by the antients for his love of justice, his disinterestedness, his prudence and penetration in state affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience in war. The year following, *Theodosius* having drawn together all the forces of the eastern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of *Dalmatia*, under the conduct of *Ardaburius*, his son *Aspar*, and *Candidianus*. With them he sent *Placidia* and her son *Valentinian*, allowing the former to resume the title and ensigns of *Augusta*, and ordering the ensigns peculiar to the *Cæsars* to be given to the latter, upon his arrival at *Thessalonica*. The army of *Theodosius* having crossed *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*,

The Western provinces submit to an usurper, named *John*.

Account of *Ætius*.

Theodosius sends an army against the usurper. A.D. 424.

who is
surprised
at Raven-
na, and
put to
death.

*Valentini-
an III.*
declared
emperor
of the
West.
A.D.425.

The *Goths*
removed
from *Pan-
nonia* to
Thrace.

Illyricum, the year after took *Salonæ* by storm. It was there agreed, that *Aspar* should lead the cavalry from thence by land to *Aquileia*, and that the foot should be embarked under the command of *Ardaburius*. *Aspar* made himself master of *Aquileia* without opposition; but the fleet being dispersed by a storm, *Ardaburius* was driven ashore, and carried a prisoner to *Ravenna*, where the usurper treated him with the greatest civility, hoping thereby to prevail on *Theodosius* to acknowledge him for his colleague. As *Ardaburius* was allowed to converse with whom he pleased, he gained over the chief officers in the city, and urged *Aspar* to hasten his march thither. *Aspar* accordingly surprized the city, and securing the tyrant before he had time to make his escape, sent him in chains to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, then at *Aquileia*, who ordered first his right hand, and then his head, to be cut off. Three days after the death of *John*, *Ætius* entered *Italy* with an army of sixty thousand *Hunns*, who being met by *Aspar*, a bloody battle was fought, when neither party could claim the victory. *Ætius*, in the mean time, being assured of the usurper's death, entered into a negotiation with *Placidia*, who promising to distinguish him with the title of Count, he submitted, and prevailed on the *Hunns* to return into their own country.

When the news of the usurper's death reached *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* declared his cousin, young *Valentinian*, emperor, and *Placidia* regent of the empire, during her son's minority. Soon after, *Thrace* was ravaged by the *Hunns*, probably the same who had been sent back by *Ætius*. The barbarians even threatened to lay siege to *Constantinople*, but their leader being killed with lightning, and great numbers of them daily swept away by a plague, they withdrew of their own accord.

The year following nothing remarkable happened in either empire; but under the next consuls the *Goths* were transferred by *Theodosius* from *Pannonia* into *Thrace*, where they continued for the space of thirty-eight years, that is, till they marched under *Theodoric* to *Italy*.

Great disturbances happened this year in *Africa*, which were owing to the jealousy and treachery of *Ætius*. *Bonifacius*, who had gallantly defended *Marseilles* against the *Goths*, had been rewarded by *Honorius* with the command of the troops in *Africa*. Having with great bravery defended that province against the troops of the late usurper, *Placidia* called him to court, and, after preferring him to the post of *comes domesticorum*, sent him back to *Africa*, with an unlimited power. These honours raising the envy of the courtiers, particularly of *Ætius*, he persuaded *Placidia* that *Bonifacius* intended to establish an independent sovereignty in *Africa*, which design she might soon discover by recalling *Bonifacius* from his government, as he was very sure he would

would disobey her orders. The credulous princeſs accordingly ordered *Bonifacius* to repair to *Rome*; but *Ætius* having written to him before, that the empreſs intended ſoon to recall him with a deſign to ruin him, and adviſing him, at the ſame time, to conſult his own ſafety, *Bonifacius* fell into the ſnare, and reſuſed to comply with the orders he had received. *Placidia* immediately declared him a public enemy, and ſent a ſtrong body of troops againſt him, under the command of *Mavortius*, *Galbio*, and *Sinex*. The three generals, after beſieging *Bonifacius* for ſome time, quarrelled among themſelves, when *Sinex* killed the two others by treachery, and was himſelf killed in a ſally by *Bonifacius*, who gained a complete victory, without the loſs of one man.

A new army coming againſt him, under the command of *Heſſigſvult*, a *Goth*, *Bonifacius* had recourſe to the *Vandals*, who were in peaceable poſſeſſion of a part of *Spain*, and were at this time governed by *Genſeric*, with whom he now entered into a treaty. *Genſeric*, on this invitation, went over to *Africa* the following ſummer, with all his country-men, men, and children; and the *Romans* took poſſeſſion of the provinces of *Spain* which he had abandoned. *Ætius*, in the mean time, marched into *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Franks*. Nothing remarkable happened the year following in either empire: but during the following conſuls, *Ætius* was raiſed to the chief command of all the troops of the weſtern empire, and gained conſiderable advantages over the *Futhongi*, whoſe country bordered on *Rhætia*; over the inhabitants of *Noricum*, who had revolted; and over the *Goths* in *Gaul*. The year after, he entirely reduced the *Norici* and their neighbours the *Vindelici*; and from *Noricum* he paſſed into *Gaul*, to awe the *Franks*.

This year, ſome of the friends of *Bonifacius* having got leave to confer with him, he, upon their charging him with treason, produced the letter of *Ætius*; which being ſhewn by them to *Placidia*, ſhe wrote to *Bonifacius*, expreſſing her ſincere deteſtation of the injury that had been done him; aſſuring him of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and drive out the barbarians. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them immense ſums provided they quitted *Africa* and returned to *Spain*. The *Vandals*, however, being in poſſeſſion of all *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirta*, *Genſeric* returned to him a ſcoffing answer; and afterwards falling upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces. *Bonifacius* ſaved himſelf in *Hippo*, which the barbarians beſieged, and aſſaulted almoſt daily for fourteen months, when, for want of proviſions, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The next year, *Ætius* was raiſed to the conſulſhip, *Placidia* not thinking it ſafe to reſent his treacherous conduct towards *Bonifacius*. *Theodoſius* in the mean time ſending *Aſpar* with a body of troops to the aſſiſtance

ance of *Bonifacius*, who had also received succours from the empress, a battle was fought between them and the *Vandals* when *Genserik* gained a complete victory, and forced *Bonifacius* and *Aspar*, who commanded the eastern troops, to abandon *Africa*; the one retiring to *Italy*, and the other to *Constantinople*. *Bonifacius* was received with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem by *Placidia*, and raised to the chief command of the army in room of *Ætius*; who finding his treachery discovered, and dreading the power of *Bonifacius*, assembled the forces under his command in order to destroy his rival. A battle was accordingly fought between them, when *Bonifacius* received a wound, of which he died three months after. *Ætius* retiring to the country of the *Huns*, soon after returned at the head of a numerous army of barbarians; but upon the empress's promising to pardon him, he returned to court, where he was raised this very year to the rank of a patrician.

Honorio The following year a dreadful fire happened at *Constantinople*, which destroyed great part of the city. The year after a private *Honorio*, sister to the emperor *Valentinian*, having suffered herself to be debauched by one of her domestics, was banished the court, and sent to *Constantinople*, being then only sixteen years of age; her mother having discovered that she maintained a private correspondence with *Attila*, king of the *Huns*, and was pressing him to enter *Italy*, at the head of a powerful army, and marry her.

The *Romans* During the following consuls, a peace was at length concluded with the *Vandals*; to whom the *Romans* yielded great part of *Numidia*, all the province of *Proconsularis*, and likewise *Bizacene*. *Huneric*, the son of the king of the *Vandals*, was delivered to the *Romans* as a hostage. The same year, *Ætius* gained a great victory over the *Burgundians*, who had revolted and plundered *Belgic Gaul*. He forced them to submit to such conditions as he thought proper to impose upon them.

An edict In the mean time *Theodosius* completed the ruin of idolatry against all in the East, by ordering all the temples, oratories, and manner of places consecrated to the worship of idols, to be pulled down; idolatrous and forbidding his subjects, on pain of death, to practise any worship. of the pagan ceremonies. By this law, the foundations of the temples were to be entirely demolished, and the sign of the Christian religion (no doubt the Cross) to be raised on their ruins. The year after, the *Goths* who had been allowed to settle in *Aquitain*, not satisfied with the countries which had been allotted them, made themselves masters of several cities belonging to the *Romans*, and laid siege to *Narbonne*, which however they were forced to raise.

Valentinian The emperor *Valentinian*, the year following, went to *Constantinople*; where, on the twenty-ninth of *October*, he married *Eudoxia*, the daughter of *Theodosius* by *Eudocia*. *Valentinian*, on account of this marriage, yielded to his father-in-law

in-law *West Illyricum*; comprehending *Upper and Lower Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the two *Noricums*; which last comprehended the archbishopric of *Saltzburg*, with *Stiria* and *Carinthia*. *Valentinian* returned early in the following spring to *Ravenna*. About the same time *Theodosius*, being consul the sixteenth time, published his famous *Code*; that is, a collection of all the best and most useful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes his predecessors.

During the following consulship, *Litorius*, the *Roman* general, besieged the *Goths* in *Tholouse*: but his men were cut in pieces by *Theodoric*, and he himself taken prisoner. The western empire at the same time received a fatal blow in *Africa* by the loss of *Carthage*, which, on the twenty-third of *October*, was surprised by *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*. *Valentinian*, however, so long as he lived, maintained the two taken by *Mauritanias*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of the *Vandals*. *Numidia* in which *Cirta* stood. In the East, the only remarkable thing this year, was the journey undertaken by the empress *Eudocia* to *Jerusalem*, in compliance with a vow she had made to visit the holy places there.

The year following, *Genferic* made a descent upon *Sicily* in the month of *June*; and having ravaged a great part of the country with the utmost barbarity, returned to *Africa* with an immense booty. About the same time, *Ætius* removing the *Burgundians* from the banks of the *Rhine*, allotted them settlements in the present duchy of *Savoy*; and gave a territory on the *Loire* to a body of *Alans* who had served the *Romans* with great fidelity. These *Alans* are supposed by *Valesius* to have settled afterwards with the *Britons* in *Armorica*. *Theodosius* removed to the duchy of *Savoy*.

In the East, *Paulinus*, a learned man, and the empress *Eudocia*'s chief favourite, was put to death by order of the emperor, who according to the modern *Greek* writers suspected a criminal intimacy between them. A misunderstanding about this time happening betwixt her and the emperor, she retired to *Jerusalem*, where she died about twenty years afterwards; declaring on her death-bed, that she was altogether innocent of the crime of which *Theodosius* had suspected her and *Paulinus*. She is extolled by most writers for her piety. As she was possessed of immense wealth, she built at *Jerusalem* a great number of churches, monasteries, hospitals, and other stately edifices; and also repaired the walls, which were in many places entirely ruined.

As the *Vandals* were now become very formidable, *Theodosius* resolved to assist *Valentinian* against them; and the following year, fitting out a fleet of eleven hundred large ships, and putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of *Arcovindas*, *Arfilus*, and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in *Africa*, and act in conjunction with the western forces against *Genferic*. They steered for *Sicily*; and *Genferic*, pretending to be desirous of concluding a peace with both his forces, sends a

empires, spun out the time by negotiations till the season for action was over. The *Persians*, in the mean time, entering the *Roman* territories in an hostile manner, *Theodosius* was obliged to recal his forces, and *Valentinian* forced to conclude a peace with *Genferic*, who was thereby allowed to retain all the countries he had seized in *Africa*. *Anatolius* and *Aspar* marching to the defence of the eastern provinces, the *Persians* agreed to peace. The same year, *Tigranes* and *Arfaces*, the two sons of the king of *Armenia*, engaged in a war on account of the unequal division of their father's territories. *Arfaces*, the Younger, who had the smallest share assigned him, implored the protection of *Theodosius*; which so terrified *Tigranes*, that he fled for protection to the *Persian* king, and yielded to him his share. On the other hand, *Arfaces*, dreading the power of the *Persians*, put *Theodosius* in possession of his share on certain conditions.

The end
of the
kingdom
of *Armenia*

The same year, *Thrace* was invaded by the *Hunns*, under the conduct of *Attila*, who, some years before, in the beginning of his reign, had obliged the *Romans* to agree to the following shameful treaty with him: 1. That the *Romans* should deliver up to *Attila*, and his brother *Bleda*, such *Hunns* as had taken, or should for the future take, refuge in the *Roman* dominions. 2. That the *Roman* prisoners who should make their escape from the *Hunns*, should, in like manner, be delivered up, or eight picces of gold be delivered for each of them. 3. That, instead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* should, for the future, pay annually seven hundred. 4. That the *Romans* should not assist any nation whatsoever when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns*.

Attila invades the
Roman
territories

A.D. 441.

A peace
concluded
between
him and
Theodosius

Attila being at full liberty by this treaty, enlarged his dominions to a great extent towards the north of the *Euxine* sea; and being now at the head of a powerful army, paid no regard to the late treaty, but took possession of several cities of *Thrace*. *Theodosius* not complying with his imperious demands, he began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex or condition. *Theodosius*, not thinking himself safe even in *Constantinople*, retired the following year into *Asia*. We are left quite in the dark as to the issue of this war; and are only told, that a peace was concluded this very year between *Attila* and *Theodosius*, who thereupon returned to *Constantinople*.

The year after, *Theodosius* visited the province of *Pontus*; where he caused the public edifices and walls to be repaired. Nothing remarkable happened the year following in either empire, excepting the disgrace of the eunuch *Antiochus* at *Constantinople*, who, being convicted of extortion, was stripped of the great wealth he had amassed, deprived of his honours, and confined to a monastery. The year after, *Valentinian*, having sent *Vitus* with a considerable army into *Spain*,

to support the *Romans* (that is, the natives) against the *Sue-* The *Sue-*
vians, most of his men were cut off by *Rechila*, the *Suevian* *vians* en-
 king; and he was obliged to abandon the inhabitants to the large their
 mercy of those barbarians. The year following, the *Britons*, conquests
 who were terribly harassed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, earnestly in *Spain*.
 solicited the assistance of *Ætius*, addressing a letter to him in
 the following manner, *The groans of the Britons to the consul* The *Br-*
Ætius: but that general, who governed the western empire *tons* in
 almost with an absolute sway, was not moved by their en- vain re-
 treaties to send them any assistance. The two following cur to
 years a dreadful plague raged in the east, and earthquakes *Ætius*.
 were felt in most provinces, which overturned several cities,
 and great part of the new walls of *Constantinople*.

Mean while *Attila* broke into *Thrace* at the head of a nu- The em-
 merous army, having several barbarian kings under him com- pire again
 manding each their respective nations. He now took and invaded
 plundered above seventy cities, extending his ravages on by *Attila*,
 one side to the *Euxine* sea, and on the other to the Straits of
Thermopylæ. The *Roman* generals twice hazarded an engage-
 ment, but, being both times defeated, *Theodosius* was forced, who
 the following year, to sue for peace; which was concluded obliges
 on terms very dishonourable for the *Romans*: namely, that the *Ro-*
 the *Romans* should pay immediately to *Attila* six thousand *mans* to
 pounds weight of gold, and every year two hundred: that agree to a
 they should send back to him all his deserters, and receive shameful
 none for the future: that they should deliver up the *Roman* peace.
 captives who had escaped, or pay for each of them twelve
 pieces of gold: and, that the *Romans* should send no ambassa- A.D. 448.
 dors to *Attila* till they had delivered up to him all his deserters
 and fugitives. Six thousand pounds weight of gold were im-
 mediately sent to *Attila*, with all the *Hunns* who had taken
 refuge in the *Roman* dominions; among whom were several
 princes, who chose rather to be killed by the *Romans* than fall
 into the hands of *Attila*. This year, *Attila*, hearing that *Sil-*
vanus, a banker in *Rome*, was in possession of some vessels of
 exquisite workmanship, pretended that they were stolen from
 him; and threatened *Valentinian* with war if he did not restore
 them to him, or deliver up *Silvanus*.

The year after, one *Edecon* arriving at the court of *Theo-* *Theodosius*
dosius, as ambassador from *Attila*, agreed with *Chrysaphus*, the agrees to
 emperor's great chamberlain, to assassinate *Attila*, *Theodosius* the assassi-
 consenting to the murder: but *Edecon*, upon his return, dis- nation of
 covered the plot to *Attila*, who immediately sent an ambassa- *Attila*.
 dor to the emperor, reproaching him with his treachery, and
 demanding *Chrysaphus* to be delivered up to him. *Attila*,
 however, was afterwards appeased by the emperor's ambassa-
 dors, and promised to live at peace with *Theodosius*.

The following year, the emperor *Theodosius* falling from his *Theodosius*
 horse in hunting, was so bruised that he died the next day; dies.
 on the twentieth of *June*, according to some; or the twenty- A.D. 450.
 eighth

eighth of *July*, according to others. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign. His piece is commended by almost all writers; but they, at the same time, own him to have been a prince of weak parts, and to have been entirely guided by those about him, who oppressed his subjects to such a degree, that many, in his reign, chose rather to abandon their native country, and live among the *Hunns*, and other barbarians, than suffer the tyranny of the eunuchs and their creatures.

The authors who flourished during his reign.

During the reign of *Theodosius the Younger*, flourished the historians *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Philostorgius*. *Socrates* was born in *Constantinople*, and spent most part of his life in that city. He begins where *Eusebius* ended his history, and carries his work down to the seventeenth consulship of *Theodosius II.* so that it comprises the space of one hundred and thirty-four years. *Sozomen*, or *Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes*, was born in a village named *Bethelia*, in the territory of *Gaza*. He wrote first, in two books, the ecclesiastic history, from the ascension of our Saviour to the deposition of *Licinius*, in 323; which work has been long since lost. He afterwards undertook his great history, beginning where the former left off, and which he intended to continue to the seventeenth consulship of *Theodosius the Younger*. About the beginning of the sixth century, *Cassiodorus* caused the histories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, to be translated into the *Latin* tongue. *Philostorgius* was born in the province of *Cappadocia Secunda*, and wrote an ecclesiastic history; or rather, under that name, an apology for the Arians, especially the Eunomians, whose tenets he himself held. This work has been long since lost, but an abstract of it has been conveyed to us by *Photius*. *Philostorgius*, besides his history, published some other works which have not reached our times. About the same time, flourished *Philip of Sida*, in *Phamphylia*, who wrote a very diffuse history from the creation to his time: but this work has been long since lost. Another work of his is also lost, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor *Julian*. The history of the war between *Attila* and *Theodosius* was written by *Priscus*, who published several other narratives of the transactions of those times. He was a native of *Panes*, or *Panium*, a *Thracian* city; and was a Sophist, or professor of eloquence. Hitherto only some fragments of his history have been published; but it is said to be still extant, entire, and to be lodged in some libraries. The history of *Theodosius the Younger* was likewise written by one *John*, who is often quoted by *Evagrius*. His history ended with the seventh year of *Justin I.* of the *Christian* æra 525. Another historian, named likewise *John*, wrote the ecclesiastic history in five books, from the year 428, to 477.

Though

Though *Theodosius* left only one child behind him ; namely, *Pulcheria Eudoxia*, married to *Valentinian* ; yet neither she nor her husband laid any claim to the eastern empire. As *Pulcheria Marcian*, had shared the sovereignty with her brother, and bore the title who is descended of *Augusta*, she now remained sole mistress of the empire, and no person was more capable of governing it well. As no woman, however, had yet reigned alone in either empire, she resolved to marry, notwithstanding the resolution she had taken, or the vow she had made, to continue a virgin to her death. She accordingly sent for *Marcian*, a person famous for his exemplary piety and extraordinary qualifications, and told him, that she designed to raise him to the sovereignty by marrying him, on condition he would suffer her, agreeable to the resolution she had taken, to live and die a virgin. *Marcian*, who was then a widower, readily complying with that condition, and the patriarch and the senate approving of her choice he was declared emperor and solemnly crowned. The marriage was then celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, *Pulcheria* being in the fifty-first, and *Marcian* in the fiftieth year of his age. He was a native of *Thrace*, or *Illyricum*, and descended from a family of no great distinction, but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith. He served several years as a private man among the troops, till the generals *Ardaburius* and *Aspar*, discovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raised him to the post of their secretary. In the unsuccessful expedition against *Genferic*, he was taken prisoner ; and while he, with some other captives of note, were waiting in the palace till they should be viewed by the king, he fell asleep on the ground ; when an eagle, it is said, appearing over him, shaded him with his wings. *Genferic*, concluding from hence that he was destined by Heaven for the empire, granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to swear that he would never make war on the *Vandals*. On his return to *Constantinople*, he was honoured with the senatorial dignity. He had by his first wife but one daughter, named *Euphemia*, whom he married to *Anthemius*, afterwards emperor of the west. *Marcian* preferred none but persons of known abilities, and unblemished characters ; whence the reader will find, in the writers of those times, great encomiums bestowed not only upon him, but upon all those who were employed by him in the administration. In the west died the same year *Pulcheria*, the mother of *Valentinian*, whom her son had allowed to enjoy the supreme authority to her death.

The following year *Attila* assembled a most numerous army of different nations of barbarians, amounting to five, or, as some will have it, to seven hundred thousand men, with an intention of reducing both empires. *Marcian*, upon *Attila*'s army demanding the pension paid to him by *Theodosius*, declaring, That he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies ; the

king of the *Hunas* resolved to turn his arms against *Valentinian*, and sent to demand his sister *Honorio* as his real wife, she having formerly sent him a ring; and with her half the western empire. *Valentinian* sent ambassadors to him, to represent to him the injustice of his demand. *Attila* seemed satisfied with their representations, and dismissed them in a friendly manner, sending an embassy to the emperor, and declaring, that he only intended to make war on *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*. *Huneric*, the son of *Genferic*, who had married *Theodoric's* daughter, had sent her back maimed to her father; and, dreading his resentment, solicited *Attila's* assistance against him. *Attila*, who wanted only some pretence to enter *Gaul*, readily closed with the proposal; and, marching from *Scythia*, through *Germany*, in the midst of winter, reached the banks of the *Rhine* early in the spring. Having defeated the *Franks* on the *German* side of that river, who attempted to stop him, he caused an incredible number of boats to be built, and passed over into *Gaul* without opposition.

He de-
feats the
Franks,
and enters
Gaul.

At first, he pretended friendship for the *Romans*; but soon pulling off the mask, he pillaged *Tongres*, *Triers*, *Strasbourg*, *Speyer*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. He afterwards advanced into the country, and not only pillaged, but laid in ashes, the cities of *Arras*, *Lam*, *Bezancon*, *Gaul*, and *Langres*. *Atius* in the mean time being joined by the *Goths* under *Theodoric*, marched against him; and, having driven him from *Orleans*, and totally defeated him at *Chalons* on the *Marne*, obliged him to evacuate *Gaul*.

He is de-
feated by
Atius.

He enters
Italy.

Attila then retired to *Pannonia*, and, having there received new reinforcements from *Scythia*, he unexpectedly entered *Italy* in the end of that year, or beginning of the following. After besieging *Aquileia* for three months, he took the city by assault, and laid it in ashes, the barbarians not sparing one of the inhabitants that fell into their hands. The cities of *Trevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*, were also taken, and their inhabitants inhumanly butchered. It is commonly believed that the city of *Venice* was at this time founded by the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, who had fled to those islands on which it is built, to avoid falling into the hands of the barbarians. From the province

Milan
taken and
pillaged.

Valentini-
an con-

of *Venetia*, *Attila* advanced to *Milan*, took and pillaged that city, and laid several others in that neighbourhood in ashes, putting to the sword all who had not saved themselves by flight. *Atius* in the mean time was endeavouring to form an army to oppose him, but *Valentinian* thought it safest to send an embassy to him, with proposals for an accommodation. As *Attila's* troops were greatly lessened by the distempers that raged among them, he hearkened to the persuasions of *Leo*, bishop of *Rome*, who was at the head of the embassy, and concluded a treaty; one of the articles of which was, That *Valentinian* should pay an annual pension to *Attila*. It was no sooner

sooner signed, than he ordered his *Hunns* to forbear hostilities; and soon after he withdrew beyond the *Danube*. cludes a treaty with *Attila*.

Attila dying the year following, several nations, whom he had formerly subdued, revolted from his children, and obtained leave of *Marcian* to settle in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, which countries were then almost desolate. The *Squiri*, *Sagairæ*, and *Alans*, settled in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mæsia*. The *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Gemandrians*, had lands assigned to them in *Illyricum*; and to the *Goths*, commonly called the *Ostrogoths*, *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, or *Vienna*, in *Austria*. The *Goths*, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but, at the same time, their princes claimed an uncontrolled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the sons of *Attila*, with a body of *Hunns*, submitted to the *Romans*, who granted them lands on the most distant borders of *Lesser Scythia*, in *Dacia*; and amongst the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum*. About the same time, the eastern and southern frontiers of the empire were invaded by the *Saracens*, *Nubians*, and *Blemyes*; but they were defeated by the troops of *Marcian*, and forced to sue for peace. The same year, the empress *Pulcheria* died, in the month of *July*; and left, by her will, her rich moveables and immense wealth to the poor. She was a woman of most extraordinary parts; and, on account of her exemplary piety, she is honoured, both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, with the title of *Saint*. A.D. 453.

The year after, *Valentinian* was persuaded by an eunuch, named *Heraclius*, that *Aetius* aspired to the empire; on which he resolved to put him to death: and, sending for him to the palace, with several of his friends, he called them in, one by one, into his own apartment, and dispatched them with his own hand. *Valentinian* immediately after sent ambassadors to the foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of *Aetius*, and to confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them. But some of them seem to have been encouraged by that great man's death to make irruptions into the empire; for, in the beginning of the following year, the *Alemans* passed the *Rhine* near *Basle*; the *Franks* laid waste the territories of *Mentz* and *Rheims*; and the *Saxons* threatened to make a descent on the coasts of *Britany* and *Normandy*. The disgrace and death of *Aetius*.

Valentinian, in the mean time, was murdered by *Petronius Maximus*, on the following account. He had, for some time, endeavoured, by presents, menaces, and promises, to debauch the wife of *Maximus*, a lady equally famous for her beauty and chastity. Her virtue being proof against all his attempts, he decoyed her to his palace by sending her the ring of *Maximus*, which had been pledged to him at play; and, causing her to be conducted to a private apartment, there ravished

Maximus conspiracy with two barbarian officers, the friends of *Aetius*, causes *Valentinian* who fell upon *Valentinian*, as he was diverting himself in the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*, and dispatched him in the sight of the whole court. The emperor was murdered on the seventeenth of *March*, in the thirty-fifth year of his life, and thirtieth of his reign. He was of an effeminate and luxurious disposition; suffered his eunuchs to dispose of every thing at their pleasure; while he, without restraint, indulged his brutal inclinations, though married to one of the most beautiful women of that age.

Maximus, who had been the chief author of his death, was the son of *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, who had usurped the sovereignty under *Theodosius* the Great. Most authors take no notice of the injury supposed to have been done to him; and allege no other motive for his murdering *Valentinian* but his ambition. The day after the emperor's death, he assumed the purple; and raised his son, by name *Palladius*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. As he was in possession of immense wealth, and had formerly led an easy and quiet life, in the midst of his friends; the anxieties inseparable from a crown, especially when acquired by unlawful means, soon disgusted him, and he repented of the step he had taken, panting after his former condition, which he had even some thoughts of resuming. His friends, however, diverting him from his resolution, he appointed *Avitus* commander in chief of the *Roman* forces; and, as his wife had died after the supposed injury done to her, he obliged the empress *Eudoxia* to marry him contrary to her inclination; at the same time marrying her daughter *Eudocia* to his son *Palladius*.

A.D. 455. *Eudoxia*, who had loved *Valentinian* with great tenderness, being forced to marry him, was only the more exasperated against the usurper for his forcing her to marry him: she sent a trusty messenger to *Genferic*, inviting him to come to *Italy*, and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*. *Genferic*, without loss of time, put to sea with a numerous fleet; and, upon his approach to *Rome*, the usurper, instead of thinking of a defence, endeavoured to make his escape, but was stoned by the *Romans*, and killed by some of the officers of *Valentinian*. His son *Palladius* is supposed to have undergone the same fate. He bore the title of emperor near three months, and was killed in the sixtieth year of his age. Three days after the death of *Maximus*, *Genferic* entered *Rome*, which for fourteen days was pillaged by the *Vandals*, who not only stripped the private houses, but the public buildings and the churches of their rich ornaments. They likewise seized an incredible number of captives; among whom were, the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gardentius*, the son of *Aetius*.

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Maximus murdered and *Rome* taken by *Genferic*. *Maximus*, who had been the chief author of his death, was the son of *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, who had usurped the sovereignty under *Theodosius* the Great. Most authors take no notice of the injury supposed to have been done to him; and allege no other motive for his murdering *Valentinian* but his ambition. The day after the emperor's death, he assumed the purple; and raised his son, by name *Palladius*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. As he was in possession of immense wealth, and had formerly led an easy and quiet life, in the midst of his friends; the anxieties inseparable from a crown, especially when acquired by unlawful means, soon disgusted him, and he repented of the step he had taken, panting after his former condition, which he had even some thoughts of resuming. His friends, however, diverting him from his resolution, he appointed *Avitus* commander in chief of the *Roman* forces; and, as his wife had died after the supposed injury done to her, he obliged the empress *Eudoxia* to marry him contrary to her inclination; at the same time marrying her daughter *Eudocia* to his son *Palladius*.

Marcian, upon the return of *Genferic* to *Africa*, sent ambassadors to him, earnestly entreating him to set *Eudoxia*, and

and the two princesses, her daughters, at liberty. *Genferic*, despising both his entreaties and menaces, kept them seven years; and then sent *Eudoxia*, and her second daughter, *Placidia*, to *Constantinople*: but he married *Eudocia* to *Huneric*, his eldest son; who had by her *Hilderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*. This year *Marcian* published a very impolitic law in the East, allowing every one to bequeath to the ecclesiastics and monks what they pleased; and revoking the laws of the other emperors his predecessors, forbidding widows and deaconesses to leave any thing by way of will to the church.

We shall here, in a few words, mention the writers who flourished under *Valentinian*. *Idatius*, a *Spanish* bishop, and a native of that country, wrote a Chronicle from the death of *Valens* to the third year of *Valentinian's* reign, and from that to the third year of the reign of *Anthemius*; that is, to the year 469. The work, intitled *Notitia Imperii*, is supposed to have been written in the reign of *Valentinian III.* and *Theodosius II.* This *Notitia* contains a succinct account of the state of the empire in those times. To the *Notitia* is added the Description of *Rome*, by an anonymous author, who is supposed to have written under *Valentinian III.* To this Description of *Rome*, Father *l'Abbe* adds one of *Constantinople*, and a treatise *de Rebus Bellicis*: both supposed to be written by authors who flourished about this period.

The news of the death of *Maximus* no sooner reached *Avitus* at *Toulouse*, than *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, caused *Avitus*, who was then at his court as ambassador, to be proclaimed emperor. *Avitus*, however, did not take upon himself the title of emperor till he was proclaimed, a few weeks after, by the *Roman* army at *Arles*, and by all the chief men in *Gaul*. The new emperor, upon his arrival at *Rome*, was received by the populace with great demonstrations of joy; and *Marcian*, having nothing so much at heart as the public welfare and tranquility, readily approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his colleague.

The year following, *Genferic* putting to sea with a numerous fleet, with a design to ravage the coasts of *Italy* or *Gaul*, was intirely defeated by the *Roman* fleet, near *Corfica*, under the command of *Ricimer*, who was descended from the royal family of the *Suevians*, had served in his youth in the *Roman* armies, and had acquired the reputation of being the best commander of his age. His good qualities, however, were allayed by a great many bad ones. He was without faith, honour, or honesty; and was prompted by his unbounded ambition to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raised by himself. Elated with his success over *Genferic*, he returned to *Rome*; and, *Avitus* being then in *Gaul*, he obliged the senate to declare him unworthy of the empire. *Avitus* immediately hastened to *Italy*; but, upon

The writers who flourished under *Valentinian*.

Avitus proclaimed emperor at *Arles*.

Genferic defeated at sea by the *Roman* general *Ricimer*,

who deposes *Avitus*.

his A.D. 456.

ravished her. *Maximus*, upon this insult, entered into a his arrival at *Placentia*, he was stopped by *Ricimer*, and stripped of all the ensigns of majesty, when he had scarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus divested of the purple, he caused himself to be ordained bishop of *Placentia*; but the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from *Placentia*, to take sanctuary in the church of St. *Julian*, at *Briande*, in *Auvergna*; but died on the road. In the beginning of the following year, died the emperor *Marcian*, after reigning six years and some months. He is commended by all the writers of those times for the innocence and simplicity of his manners; and the *Greeks* honour him with the title of Saint.

Marcian
lies.

A.D.457.

Leo pro-
claimed
emperor.

A FEW days after the death of *Marcian*, *Leo* was proclaimed emperor, and crowned by *Anatolius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*; which is the first instance we find in history of a prince's receiving the crown at the hands of a bishop. *Leo*, surnamed *the Great*, and also called *Leo the Thracian*, is thought to have been a native of *Thrace*. He had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and is greatly extolled for his prudence, moderation, impartiality in the administration of justice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the Catholic religion. In the beginning of his reign, great disturbances were raised by the *Eutychians* of *Alexandria*, who, upon the news of *Marcian's* death, murdered the Catholic bishop *Proterus*, and chose one of their own sect in his room. Though the tumult was soon quelled, yet the authors of it were screened from the punishment due to their crimes by *Aspar*, a zealous patron of Arianism.

Majoria-
nus raised
to the em-
pire in the
West.

In the West, after an inter reign of about three months, *Ricimer* proposed *Majorianus*, who was proclaimed emperor by the senate, the people, and the army. His father had served with great reputation under *Actius*, and was afterwards raised to the office of treasurer of the empire. He was in the flower of his age when he was raised to the empire, and had given several instances, not only of his courage and military abilities, but of his good nature, generosity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. In the beginning of his reign, the *Suevians*, having dissensions among themselves, concluded a peace with the *Romans*; but nevertheless they soon after took possession of *Lisbon* by treachery.

He defeats
the *Van-*
dals in
Campania

A.D.458.

The following year, when the two emperors were consuls, *Majorianus* gained a signal victory over the *Vandals*, who had made a descent in *Campania*. Soon after, he assembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ships, with a design to attempt the recovery of *Africa*. In the East, the city of *Antioch* was almost utterly ruined by an earthquake, which, in the new city, scarce left a single house standing. *Majorianus*, the year after, leaving *Arles*, proceeded to *Spain*, with a design to pass over from thence into *Africa*. *Genferic* fled.

sued for peace; but his proposals being rejected, a squadron of his best ships put to sea, and, by the treachery of some of the *Romans*, surprised the *Roman* fleet riding in the bay of *Genferic Alicant*, and took very many of the ships; which misfortune surprises obliged *Majorianus* to return to *Arles*. Soon after, he agreed the *Roman* to a peace with *Genferic*, upon terms not very honourable to fleet. the empire. This year, nothing remarkable happened in the East, excepting that great part of the city *Cyzicus* was overturned by an earthquake. *Majorianus* did not long survive the peace with *Genferic*; for, the year after, *Ricimer*, jealous of the great reputation the emperor had gained by his wise and vigorous administration, and thinking himself neglected by him, seized him in the *Milansse*, stripped him of his imperial ornaments, and a few days after caused him to be put to death. About three months after, he caused *Ricimer* one *Severus*, a native of *Lucania*, to be proclaimed emperor causes *Ma-* at *Ravenna*, hoping to govern in his name, as the new *Majorianus* to prince was no way qualified for that high station. Mean be put to while, the emperor *Leo*, having refused the usual pension to death. the kings of the *Ostrogoths*, who had been allowed to settle A.D. 461. in *Pannonia* by *Marcian*, they flew to arms, and made them- *Severus* suc- selves masters of several cities in *Illyricum*; but *Anthemius*, ced him. son-in-law to *Marcian*, having obliged them to retire into *Pannonia*, they agreed to a peace; when *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and then in the eighth year of his age, was delivered as a hostage to *Leo*.

The year after, *Genferic*, pretending that he was no longer *Marcelli-* bound by his treaty since the death of *Majorianus*, sent out nus esta- a fleet which pillaged the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and re- bishes a duced *Sardinia*. About the same time, *Marcellinus*, or *Mar-* sovereign- cellianus, not able to bear the haughtiness of *Ricimer*, revolted, ty in *Dal-* and established an independent sovereignty in *Dalmatia*; but, *matia*. at the intercession of *Leo*, he promised not to molest the *Romans*. *Genferic*, at the same time, receiving an embassy from *Leo*, sent back the empress *Eudoxia*, and her second daughter, *Placidia*; who, being soon after married to *Olybrius*, he threatened that, unless *Placidia's* husband was raised to the throne, he would wage an eternal war with the western empire.

The year following, *Ægidius* gained a signal victory over the *Goths* in *Gaul*; but, upon his death, which happened the year after, they made themselves masters of the greatest part of that province. About the same time, *Italy* was invaded by a body of *Alans*, who were entirely cut off by *Ricimer* near *Bergamo*.

Next year, *Severus*, who is supposed to have been poi- *Severus* soned by *Ricimer*, died at *Rome*. Upon his death, *Ricimer* die-. ruled with an absolute sway almost two years; but, as he was A.D. 465. a barbarian, he durst not take upon himself the title of emperor. He assembled a powerful fleet to attempt the recovery of *Africa*; but, contrary winds blowing the whole summer, he was obliged to drop that enterprize. A few months after,

Anthemius after, *Anthemius*, with the consent and approbation of *Ricimer*, was declared emperor of the West. He was received at *Rome*, by the senate and people, with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable; and, a few days after he was proclaimed emperor, he gave his daughter in marriage to *Ricimer*, pursuant to a private agreement between that general and the two princes. *Anthemius* was descended from an ancient, illustrious, and wealthy family in *Constantinople*; and had married the only daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, by whom he had three sons and one daughter.

A.D. 467. *Genferic*, being highly provoked that *Anthemius* was preferred before *Olybrius*, sent out a powerful fleet, which ravaged *Peloponnesus* and the *Greek* islands with great cruelty. To revenge this insult, *Leo*, the following year, fitted out a fleet of one thousand, one hundred, and thirteen ships, each ship having one hundred men on board, and gave the command of it to *Basiliscus*, his brother-in-law. The flower of the western forces were also to act in this expedition, under the command of *Marcellinus*, prince of *Dalmatia*, who was to attack *Sardinia*, while *Heraclius*, of *Edeffa*, made a descent in *Libya*, and *Basiliscus* invested *Carthage*. *Marcellinus* accordingly reduced *Sardinia*, and *Heraclius* made an entire conquest of *Libya*; which so alarmed *Genferic* when the *Roman* fleet appeared within view of *Carthage*, that he is said to have had thoughts of immediately submitting: but *Basiliscus*, either from treachery, as some alledge, or from some other motive, neglecting to take advantage of the consternation of the barbarians, *Genferic* obtained a truce of five days from him; during which he destroyed great part of the *Roman* fleet by fire-ships, and afterwards attacked and dispersed them. *Marcellinus*, after the reduction of *Sardinia*, failed to *Sicily*, with a design to pass over into *Africa*; but was assassinated in that island, not without the privity, as was supposed, of *Anthemius*. *Heraclius*, who was marching towards *Carthage*, hearing of the bad success of *Basiliscus*, hastened back into the territories of the empire. In this unsuccessful expedition, *Basiliscus* lost above fifty thousand men; yet, at the intercession of the empress *Verina*, his sister, his life was spared, and he was allowed to retire to *Heraclea*, in *Thrace*. This unfortunate expedition is said to have cost both empires above one hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold, great numbers having contributed largely to the expences of it by voluntary presents.

The *Greek* islands ravaged by the *Vandals*.

Both emperors send armaments against them,

The bad success of the expedition,

Leo marries his daughter to *Zeno*. The same year, *Leo*, jealous of the too great power of *Aspar*, gave his daughter *Ariadne* in marriage to *Zeno*, an *Isaurian* of an illustrious birth; and immediately after, he raised him to the rank of a patrician, appointed him captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the East. About two years after this marriage, *Euric*, king of the *Visigoths*, made himself master of *Auvergne*, *Berry*, *Gascony*, after defeating a body of twelve thousand *Britons*, dwelling

dwelling on the *Loire*, who came to the assistance of the *Romans*. The year after this action some misunderstanding arose between *Leo* and *Aspar*. As *Aspar* was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a separate and independant body, the emperor thought it adviseable to dissemble for the present, and pretending to be reconciled with him, gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Patricius Secundus*, that general's eldest son, and created *Aspar*, *Cæsar*. *Aspar* being a zealous Arian, his promotion gave great offence to the *Constantinopolitans*; but *Leo* soon quieted their apprehensions; for hearing that *Aspar* and his children were carrying on a plot against him, he caused *Aspar* and his son *Ardaburius* to be assassinated. The *Goths*, to revenge his death, committed great disorders in *Constantinople*; but being driven out of the city by *Zeno*, they ravaged *Thrace*, and made themselves masters of *Philippi* and *Arcadiopolis*. They soon after, however, hearkened to an accomodation, and laid down their arms. Upon the death of *Aspar*, *Leo* published several rigorous laws against those heretics, prohibiting them from holding any public or private assemblies.

The following year, *Ricimer*, affected with the fate of *Aspar*, revolted from *Anthemius*, and laid siege to *Rome*, which the *Romans* defended for some time with great obstinacy. *Bilimer*, who commanded the troops in *Gaul*, came with an army to the relief of the city, but was totally defeated by *Ricimer*, who soon after broke into the city, where he exceeded even *Alaric* and *Genferic* in the ravages he committed. He caused the emperor *Anthemius* to be put to death, and *Olybrius* to be proclaimed in his room. *Ricimer* did not long out-live *Anthemius*, but died about the middle of *September*, and was followed soon after by *Olybrius*, who died a natural death at *Rome* on the twenty-third of *October*. A few weeks after his death, Mount *Vesuvius*, near *Naples*, threw out such an immense quantity of ashes, as turned night into day even at *Constantinople*, where the streets and houses were covered with ashes three inches deep.

The following spring, *Glycerius*, who had been *comes domesticorum*, and, according to *Theophanes*, was a man of some merit, took upon himself the title of emperor at *Ravenna*. In the very beginning of his reign the *Goths*, without the least provocation, made war upon both empires. *Vidimir* broke into *Italy*, but dying soon after, his son bearing the same name, was prevailed upon, by the rich presents of *Glycerius*, to quit that province. *Theodimir*, who had invaded the eastern empire, also died during his expedition, and was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, surnamed the Great. *Leo*, in the mean time, apprehending that his end approached, proposed *Zeno* as his successor; but the *Constantinopolitans* remonstrating against him, he named *Zeno's* son by his daughter,

Leo the emperor dies. *ter Ariadne*, as his partner in the empire. Soon after he died at *Constantinople*, in the month of *January*, in the seventeenth year of his reign. A few weeks after his death, the empress *Verina* prevailed on the senate and people of *Constantinople* to suffer her son-in-law *Zeno* to be declared colleague to young *Leo* in the empire. The young prince, before he had compleated the first year of his reign, died in A.D. 474. the month of *November*.

Julius Nepos raised to the empire in the West. In the mean time, *Julius Nepos*, or, as some call him, *Nepotianus*, a native of *Dalmatia*, and nephew of the late *Marcellinus*, prince of that country, having been named emperor of the West by *Leo*, sailed to *Italy*, and surprising *Glycerius* at *Porto*, stripped him of the imperial ornaments, and caused him to be ordained bishop of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*. *Nepos*, the following year, raised *Orestes* to the post of general, and ordered him to proceed to *Gaul*, to take the command of the *Roman* forces in that province. *Orestes*, however, instead of passing the *Alps*, marched towards *Ravenna*, which *Nepos* being informed of, fled by sea to *Salona*, where he was entertained by the bishop *Glycerius*, whom he had lately deprived of the empire. *Orestes*, though by birth a *Roman*, had served a considerable time in the army of *Attila*, who raised him to the post of secretary. He married the daughter of Count *Romulus*, and had by her a son named *Romulus Augustulus*. After he had left the *Huns*, *Orestes* served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies; and having now driven the emperor from the throne, he named his son *Augustulus* as his successor; but he being a minor, he assumed the administration, as his tutor and guardian.

Zeno, emperor of the East, is driven out by Basiliscus. During these transactions in the West, the *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Misopotamia*, and the *Huns* put all to fire and sword in *Thrace*, without being opposed by *Zeno*, who was wholly intent upon indulging himself in scandalous pleasures and diversions. He, however, concluded a peace with *Genferic*, which was religiously observed by the *Vandals* for many years. About the same time, the empress *Verina*, being highly provoked at the enormous vices and scandalous indolence of *Zeno*, formed a conspiracy against him with her brother *Basiliscus*, who quickly obliged *Zeno* to fly from *Constantinople*. *Verina* intended to have conferred the empire upon one *Patricius*, with whom she is said to have maintained a criminal correspondence; but, to her great disappointment, *Basiliscus* was proclaimed emperor, who immediately declared his wife, *Augusta*, and raised his son *Marcus* to the dignity of *Cæsar*.

The barbarians among the Roman The following year, the barbarians who served in the *Roman* armies, and were distinguished with the title of *allies*, demanded, as a reward for their services, the third part of the lands in *Italy*. *Orestes* refusing to comply with their

their insolent demand, they resolved to do themselves justice, as they called it, and openly revolting, chose *Odoacer* for their leader. *Odoacer*, according to *Ennodius*, was meanly born, and only a private man in the guards of the emperor *Augustulus*, when the barbarians chose him for their leader. He is generally supposed to have been by nation a *Goth*, and having left his own country when very young, he was admitted into the emperor's guards, on account of his remarkable stature. He is said to have been a man of uncommon parts, equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a state. *Orestes*, who was not able to oppose the barbarians in the field, shut himself up in *Pavia*; but *Odoacer* soon took the place by assault, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. Having put *Orestes* to death, he marched strait to *Ravenna*, where he found *Paul*, the brother of *Orestes*, and the young emperor *Augustulus*. The former he put to death, but sparing *Augustulus* in consideration of his youth, he confined him to a castle in *Campania*, where he was, by *Odoacer's* orders, treated with great humanity, and allowed a handsome maintainance to support himself and his relations. *Rome* readily submitting to the conqueror, he thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Italy*; but would not assume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the West. *Britain*, had been long since abandoned by the *Romans*; *Spain* was held by the *Goths* and *Suevians*; *Africa* by the *Vandals*; the *Burgundians*, *Goths*, *Franks*, and *Alans* had erected several principalities in *Gaul*. At length, *Italy* itself, with its proud metropolis, which for so many ages had given law to the rest of the world, was enslaved by a contemptible barbarian, whose family, country, and nation are not well known to this day. *

* Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 46, 47.
Candid. Isaur. Evagr. l. ii. Ennod. vit. Epiph.

B O O K XVII.

The HISTORY of the
Constantinopolitan Empire.

C H A P. I.

The Constantinopolitan History, from the Extinction of the Western Empire, till the Revival of it again under Charlemagne, who was acknowledged as Emperor of the West by Nicephorus.

THE Eastern empire was at this time so weak, and in such confusion, that it could give no assistance to the *Romans* in *Italy* against the barbarians. *Basiliscus* being intent upon having *Zeno* in his power, sent two of his generals to besiege him in *Isauria* : but having, in the mean time, highly disoblinded the senate and people of *Constantinople* by his cruelty and avarice, but, above all, by his unseasonable zeal for the doctrine of *Eutyches*, the two generals, who heard of the popular discontents, declared for *Zeno*. Upon the news of their revolt, *Basiliscus* dispatched *Harmatius*, or *Armatus*, his kinsman, with a numerous army against them. *Zeno*, however, by promising to leave the empire to his son, prevailed on *Harmatius* to declare for him, and being thus reinforced, made himself master of *Constantinople*. *Basiliscus* fled with his wife and children to the great church ; but *Zeno* soon getting them into his power, confined them to a castle in *Cappadocia*, where they perished in a short time with hunger and cold. *Zeno* raised *Harmatius* to the post of general of the troops of his household, and his son *Basiliscus* to the dignity of *Cæsar* : but soon after distrusting the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to *Basiliscus*, he caused him to be murdered in the palace. The son of *Harmatius* was deposed from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and made reader in a church near *Constantinople*. During the usurpation of *Basiliscus*, a dreadful fire happened at *Constantinople*, which consumed great part of the city, with the library, containing one hundred and twenty thousand volumes. The following year, *Theodoric*, the son of *Triarius*, who had espoused the cause of *Basiliscus*, broke into *Thrace*, with a numerous army of
Goths,

Basiliscus
disoblinded
the people

Zeno re-
stored.

A.D. 477.

A great
fire at
*Constanti-
nople*.

Goths, which so terrified *Zeno*, that he purchased a peace from him by promising to appoint him commander in chief of the *Roman* horſe.

The year after, *Zeno* was attacked in his palace by *Mar-Marcian*, the ſon of *Anthemius*, who had reigned in the Weſt. revolts. *Marcian* quickly diſperſed the greateſt part of the guards, but imprudently delaying the laſt attack till the morning, many of his followers were in the mean time gained over by *Zeno*; ſo that he was obliged to ſave himſelf and take refuge in a church, whence he was dragged by the emperor's orders, ordained a prieſt, and confined to a monastery.

As the *Oſtrogoths* for ſome years had not received their annual penſion, *Theodoric*, their king, now invaded *Macedon* and *Epirus*, and made himſelf maſter of *Durazzo* on the *Adriatic* ſea: but a party of *Goths* being cut off, and a convoy of two thouſand waggons being intercepted, *Theodoric* retired immediately into *Pannonia*. Two years after, how-
Lower ever, he again renewed his ravages, and obliged *Zeno* to *Dacia* and grant him a peace on the following terms, namely, to yield *Mæſia* him part of *Lower Dacia* and *Mæſia*, to give him the com-yielded to mand of the troops of the houſhold, and name him conſul *Theodoric*. for the year enſuing.

The year after the concluſion of this peace, *Leontius*, *Leontius* commander of the troops in *Syria*, aſſumed the purple, and revolts, was joined by *Illus*, captain of the emperor's guards, who had been ſent againſt him. The rebels having defeated *Longinus*, the emperor's brother, in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, made themſelves maſters of that city, but were ſoon after defeated in their turn by another general, named *John*, and *Theodoric*, king of the *Oſtrogoths*, who was then conſul. The following year *John* beſieged them in a caſtle of *Cilicia*, *Theodoric* having returned to *Conſtantinople*, from whence, however, he ſoon retired in diſguſt, *Zeno*, according to *Eva-*
grius, having attempted privately to diſpatch him. The year after he again broke into *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army, and advanced within fifteen miles of *Conſtantinople*, putting all to fire and ſword; but inſtead of laying ſiege to that metropolis, he marched back into *Pannonia* the following year, in virtue of a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, by which, as ſome authors write, the emperor yielded to him all the provinces of *Italy* held then by *Odo-*
Theodoric *cer*. *Theodoric* accordingly, two years after, made an entire attempts conqueſt of *Italy*, and ſettled there, which, ſome years after, the con-occasionally diſputes betwixt the *Goths* and *Romans*, the latter queſt of pretending that *Zeno* had ſent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy* not *Italy*. for himſelf, but for the emperor of the Eaſt; the former, on the other hand, maintaining, that *Zeno* had yielded it to The re-be held for ever by the *Goths*. About the end of this year, bels, head-
Leontius and *Illus*, after having defended themſelves for the ed by *Le-* ſpace of four years, were in the end taken by treachery, and *ontius*, put to death. *Zeno*, ſeeing himſelf now without any rivals, ſubdued. began

Zeno died. A.D. 491. began to treat the *Constantinopolitans* with great tyranny and cruelty ; but, about three years after, he was seized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in the eighteenth year of his reign, and the sixty-fifth of his age. The antient historians represent him as a person destitute of every good quality requisite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a state, and commanding an army.

During the reign of *Zeno*, *Theodulus*, a native of *Syria*, published several pieces against the heretics, a comment on the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, which has reached our times, and several other treatises. *Malus*, or *Males*, a sophist, wrote the history of *Zeno* and *Basiliscus*. *Candidus*, an *Isaurian*, wrote an account of what happened from the election of *Leo* to that of *Anastasius*.

Anastasius declared emperor. Upon *Zeno's* death, his brother *Longinus* laid claim to the empire ; but he being universally detested on account of his lewdness and cruelty, the empress *Ariadne* easily prevailed with the senate to acknowledge *Anastasius* for emperor. He was no sooner crowned, than he married *Ariadne*, though he was then in the sixtieth year of his age. He was a native of *Durazzo*, and had not attained to the rank of a senator when he was raised to the empire. *Anastasius*, when a private person, had given several signal instances of his integrity, whence the people, when he received the purple and diadem, cried out, *Reign, Anastasius, as you have lived*.

He abolishes an oppressive tax. The new emperor immediately remitted whatever to that time was due to the exchequer, and gained great encomiums to himself by abolishing a burdensome and infamous tax, called *Chrysargyrum*, which every fifth year was levied on all ranks of people, the meanest not excepted, who sold any thing, of how little value soever. To pay it, parents were often obliged to sell their children, after they had been stripped of every thing else. *Anastasius* at the same time drove all informers out of *Constantinople*, and put a stop to the enormous abuse introduced by *Zeno*, of exposing to sale all public offices. *Longinus*, the deceased emperor's brother, in the beginning of the following year, attempted to raise some disturbances in *Constantinople* ; but *Anastasius* having by his acts of generosity secured the affections of the people, he was seized, and banished to *Isauria*, his native country. Many other *Isaurians* being also banished from court, they prevailed on their countrymen to revolt. The rebels amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand men, but were nevertheless defeated by the emperor's army, when they took refuge among the inaccessible mountains of *Isauria*, where they maintained themselves for the space of six years, in spite of the utmost efforts of the best generals of the empire.

The *Isaurians* revolt. A.D. 492.

The emperor, notwithstanding the generosity he affected on his accession to the empire, was naturally of a most avaricious temper, and, the following year, laid a heavy tax on the

the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, which occasioned a furious tumult; but what was the result of it we are not told. About the same time *Anastasius* received an embassy from *Theodoric*, who had conquered *Italy*, and now demanded the ensigns of the royal dignity, which were granted him by the emperor. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged himself in some degree dependant on the empire.

Anastasius
acknowledges
Theodoric
as king of
Italy.
A.D.493.

The three following years some inconsiderable advantages were gained over the rebels in *Isauria*, who were entirely defeated the year after by *John*, the *Scythian*, and the heads of their chiefs sent to *Constantinople*. The rebels, however, were not entirely extirpated till the year following, when the greatest part of the inhabitants of *Isauria* were removed into *Thrace*, and the annual pension of five thousand pieces of gold taken away for ever. The emperor this year narrowly escaped being murdered in the *circus* by the populace, upon his refusing to cause some prisoners to be set at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot.

The *Isaurian* rebels put to death.

About the same time the *Arabs* broke into *Palestine* and *Syria Euphratesiana*, but they were defeated in both provinces, and the *Romans* recovering from the *Arabs* the island of *Jotape* in the red sea, re-established there the *Roman* merchants trading to *India*. The year after, *Thrace* was invaded by the barbarians, who defeated the imperial troops that were sent against them, but soon after retired of their own accord. About the same time, *Neocæsarea*, and several other cities in *Pontus*, were almost utterly ruined by an earthquake.

Nothing remarkable happened during the two following years, excepting a tumult between the blue and green factions in the *circus* at *Constantinople*, when above three thousand of the former were killed. The following year the empire was invaded by three different enemies; the *Bulgarians* invaded *Thrace*; the *Saracens* broke into *Palestine*; and *Cavades*, king of *Persia*, made an irruption into *Armenia*, and after a siege of several months, took *Amida*, and also the cities of *Theodosiopolis* and *Martyropolis*. The *Roman* generals who were sent to oppose the *Persians*, imprudently dividing their forces into two bodies, were entirely defeated by *Cavades*, who afterwards over-ran *Mesopotamia*, and extended his ravages to the very borders of *Syria*. The year after, the *Romans*, after a long siege, recovered the city of *Amida* by capitulation, and, not long after, a truce for seven years was concluded between the two empires. About the same time, one *Mundo*, a *Goth*, having seized on some lands beyond the *Danube*, made incursions into the *Roman* territories, and receiving succours from *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, defeated the emperor's general that was sent against him. *Anastasius*, to be revenged on *Theodoric*, sent a fleet to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, the year following. The *Romans* were re-

A tumult at *Constantinople*
The empire invaded by the *Persians*.
A.D.502.
A truce concluded with the *Persians*.
A.D.505.
The *Romans* defeated by *Mundo* the *Goth*.
pulled

pulsed by the *Goths*; but *Theodoric* having designs upon *Gai* concluded a peace with the emperor.

The year after, *Anastasius*, to defend the country adjacent to *Constantinople* from the barbarians, built the famous wall called the *Long Wall*. It was distant from *Constantinople* two hundred and eighty furlongs, and was in length four hundred and twenty furlongs, extending from sea to sea. It was twenty feet in breadth, and defended by towers at small distances from each other. Nothing very remarkable happened during the five following years; but in the last of them lands were granted to the *Heruli* in *Thrace*, upon their promising to serve, when required in the *Roman* armies.

The *Heruli* admitted into *Thrace*.

Illyricum and *Macedon* invaded by the *Getæ*.

Anastasius dies.

A.D. 518.

He is succeeded by *Justin*.

About two years after, a tumult happened at *Constantinople*, in which some say ten thousand of the inhabitants were killed, owing to *Timotheus*, a *Eutychian*, who had, some months before, been raised to the patriarchate, and attempted to introduce novelties into the public worship. *Anastasius* persecuted the orthodox bishops; but one of his generals, named *Vitalianus*, espoused their cause, and approaching *Constantinople* with a numerous army, obliged the emperor to promise to put an end to the persecution, and stand to the decisions of an œcumenical council. *Vitalianus* soon after disbanding his troops, *Anastasius*, without regarding his promise, again renewed the persecution. About three years after, *Illyricum*, *Macedon*, and *Epirus* were ravaged by the northern barbarians, called, by *Marcellinus*, *Getæ*, who having defeated the emperor's troops, carried off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. The following year, on the ninth of *July*, *Anastasius* was found dead in his chamber, supposed to have been killed by a flash of lightning. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age and the twenty-eighth of his reign, universally hated on account of his avarice and tyranny.

Anastasius was succeeded by *Justin*, then pretorian prefect who was descended of an obscure and mean family in *Thrace* and had risen from the rank of a common soldier. *Justin* governed with great equity and moderation, and by his prudence and steady adherence to the orthodox faith, he in great measure healed the divisions which had long rent both the state and the church. Soon after his promotion, several of the late emperor's relations conspired against him, but their conspiracy being discovered, they were seized and executed.

In the second year of his reign *Justin* restored the orthodox bishops to their sees; and, two years after, he received a solemn embassy from *Cavades*, king of *Persia*, who offered to conclude a lasting peace with him, provided he would adopt his second son, whom he had designed for his successor. *Justin* being informed by an eminent lawyer, that in virtue of that adoption the young *Persian* might claim the *Roman* empire

empire as his inheritance, rejected the proposal of the *Per-*
sun king, who thereupon commenced hostilities in the *The Per-*
 eastern provinces. In this war, which continued three *sian war.*
 years, the famous *Belisarius*, who was then but a youth, *A.D. 521.*
 first began to distinguish himself. About two years after,
Justin published an edict, depriving the Arians of all their
 churches in his dominions, which occasioned a misunder-
 standing between him and *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, who was
 a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Arius*. About the same
 time, *Antioch*, and several other cities in the east, were almost
 destroyed by an earthquake. The emperor; on this occa-
 sion, appeared for several days in sack-cloth, and about two
 years after he declared his nephew *Justinian* his partner in *Justin as-*
 the empire. *Justinian* had been sent by his uncle, some *sumes Jus-*
 years before, as an hostage to *Theodoric*, who, upon the *tinian for*
 news of his uncle's preferment, suffered him to return to his part-
Constantinople. *Justin* did not survive the promotion of his *ner in the*
 nephew above four months, but died of a wound which he *empire.*
 had received many years before in battle; in the tenth year *A.D. 527.*
 of his reign, and seventy-seventh of his age. He could nei-
 ther read nor write, having been employed in his younger *Justin dies*
 years in keeping cattle; but he was nevertheless a man of
 extraordinary penetration, and uncommon address in the ma-
 nagement of the most difficult affairs.

Justinian, in the beginning of his reign, having ordered *The war*
Belisarius to build a fort in the neighbourhood of *Minda*, *renewed*
Cabades immediately took arms, and attacking the *Romans*, *with the*
 totally defeated them, after which they demolished the fort. *Persians.*
 The war being thus renewed, *Belisarius* made an inroad in-
 to *Persia*, and defeated the *Persians*, with the loss of five
 thousand men. The *Persians* were also defeated in *Armenia*
 by *Mermerocs*, who afterwards reduced several strong holds in
Perfarmenia. About this time, *Narses* and *Aratius*, two bro- *Narses*
 thers, who, some years before, had commanded the *Persian* *and his*
 armies, and gained some advantage over *Belisarius*, came *brothers-*
 over to the *Romans*. Their example was followed by their *revolt to*
 younger brother, named *Isaac*, who delivered up a strong *the Ro-*
 hold to the *Romans*. *Justinian*, notwithstanding the advan- *mans.*
 tages he had gained, made proposals of peace to *Cabades*;
 but the *Persian* king refusing to hearken to an accommoda-
 tion, early the following year sent a powerful army, who,
 by the advice of a *Saracen* prince, who joined them with a
 great number of his countrymen, attempted to break into
Syria, but were opposed by *Belisarius*, who had hastened thi-
 ther from *Mesopotamia*. The *Romans* urging *Belisarius*, *Belisarius*
 contrary to his own opinion, to venture an engagement, they *prevents*
 were defeated; but the *Persians*, who had lost the best part *the Per-*
 of their troops in the action, thought proper to retire. *Justin-*
ian again made offers of peace, which were rejected by *sians from*
Cabades, who, the following year, sent a powerful army into *breaking*
Mesopotamia, which, after ravaging the country, besieged *into Syria.*
A.D. 530.

Martyropolis on the river *Nymphius*. *Cabades*, however, dying during the siege, the *Persians* soon after agreed to a peace.

A great tumult at *Constantinople*, which first began amongst the factions in the *circus*, but ended in an open rebellion. The multitude forced *Hypatius*, nephew to the emperor *Anastasius*, to accept the empire, and proclaimed him with great solemnity in the *forum*. *John*, the pretorian prefect, and *Trebellianus*, the questor, being greatly abhorred by the people, the emperor hoped to appease the tumult by discharging them; but the populace growing more outrageous, he began to think of abandoning the city. The empress, however, encouraging him to die an emperor, he stood upon his defence, and repulsed the rebels, who attempted to force the gates of his palace. *Belisarius*, in the mean time unexpectedly entering the city, fell upon the multitude in the *circus*, and cut above thirty thousand of them in pieces. *Hypatius*, the usurper, and *Pompeius*, another of the nephews of *Anastasius*, being taken prisoners, were both beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates, and those of the senators who had joined them, were confiscated, which restored tranquillity to *Constantinople*.

Belisarius reunites *Africa* and great part of *Italy* to the empire. *Justinian* was now at leisure to turn his arms against the *Vandals* in *Africa*, which war he had resolved upon from the beginning of his reign. *Belisarius* was accordingly sent thither with an army, and in about two years compleated the conquest of that country. The victorious general then recovered the island of *Sicily* from the *Goths*, and, in about six years more, he reduced a great part of *Italy*, all which provinces he again united to the eastern empire. The year 541, in which he returned in a triumphant manner to *Constantinople*, is remarkable for its being the last that is marked by consuls, time thenceforth being computed by the years of the emperor's reign.

Illyricum ravaged by the *Huns*. During the war with the *Goths* in *Italy*, the *Huns* ravaged *Illyricum*, and carried off one hundred and twenty thousand captives. The *Armenians*, at the same time, shook off the *Roman* yoke, and a report prevailing, that the emperor was grown jealous of *Belisarius*, who was still in *Italy*, *Cosroes* king of *Persia*, was encouraged to break the peace lately concluded, and invaded *Syria*. The *Persians*, after taking and plundering *Berea*, *Hierapolis*, and several other cities, made themselves masters of *Antioch*, which was also plundered and laid in ashes, and great part of the inhabitants put to the sword. Such of the inhabitants as escaped the common slaughter, were carried into *Persia*, and sold as slaves.

The *Persians* plunder and burn *Antioch*. A.D. 540. A peace concluded with the *Persians*. *Cosroes*, after having enriched himself and his army with the spoils of *Syria*, agreed to a peace, and promised to prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire in the East, on condition of receiving from the *Romans*, within two months, five thousand pounds weight of gold, and an annual pension of

of five hundred. Notwithstanding this treaty, he in his retreat plundered the cities of *Apamea* and *Chalcis*, and carried off a great booty, and an incredible number of captives from *Mesopotamia*.

Justinian seeing that a treaty with the *Persians* was not to be depended upon, recalled *Belisarius* from *Italy*, and sent him with an army into the East. *Belisarius* entered the *Per-* *Belisarius*
Assyria *Assyria.*
sian territories in the spring of the year 542, but after rava-
ging *Assyria*, he was obliged, before the end of the summer, A.D. 542.
to return into the *Roman* territories, on account of the violent heats, and the distempers that began to rage in his army. *Cosroes* was then in the country of the *Lazians*, a people inhabiting between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, who, on account of the oppression of the *Roman* generals, had then shaken off their dependance on the *Roman* empire. When *Cosroes* arrived at *Assyria*, finding the *Romans* gone, he put his troops into winter quarters.

The following spring he attempted to invade the *Roman* territories; but *Belisarius* hastening from *Constantinople*, and drawing together his forces, he thought proper to retire. The emperor soon after sending *Belisarius* to oppose the *Goths* in *Italy*, *Cosroes* invaded *Mesopotamia*, and sat down before *Edessa*; but, upon the emperor's paying him two thousand pounds weight of gold, and sending him a celebrated physician, he agreed to a truce for three years. Not long after, *Gubazes*, the king of the *Lazians*, being informed that *Cosroes* intended to murder him, revolted to the *Romans*; and *Justinian*, forgetting his past conduct, sent eight thousand men to his assistance. The *Lazians* and *Romans*, in conjunction, besieged *Petra*, one of the strongest places in *Lazica*, and garisoned by the *Persians*. Two *Persian* armies, that attempted to relieve the place, were defeated; and, after a most obstinate siege, the *Romans* made themselves masters of the place. Soon after the reduction of *Petra*, the *Persian* ambassadors, who had continued at *Constantinople* during the hostilities in *Lazica*, concluded a five years truce with the emperor, upon his paying to the *Persian* king an immense sum. This truce was no sooner expired, than the *Persians* invaded *Lazica*; and, after taking the strong castle of *Telepsis*, defeated a body of *Romans* in that neighbourhood. *Gubazes*, king of *Lazica*, complaining to the emperor of the cowardice of his generals, they, in resentment, basely murdered him. *Justinian*, to appease the *Lazians*, caused all those who were any way accessory to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceased king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room.

Mean while, an army of sixty thousand *Persians* invaded *The Per-*
Lazica; but they were defeated, with the loss of twelve *sians de-*
thousand men, by the *Roman* general *Justin*. *Cosroes* was so *feated in*
disheartened by this defeat, that he immediately sued for *Lazica.*
peace; which *Justinian* very willingly agreed to. *The Con-*
stanti-

A peace concluded with the *Constantinopolitans*, during the public rejoicings for this peace, were afflicted with two dreadful calamities: an earthquake, which continued for several days, overturned a great many stately edifices and several churches. About the same time, the plague, which had raged a few years before, with great fury, all over the empire, broke out a-new in the capital.

Belisarius, The same year, the *Hunns* broke into *Thrace*, and came within one hundred and fifty furlongs of *Constantinople*; but *Belisarius*, greatly weakened by old age, marched out against them, and put them to flight. This was the last exploit performed by *Belisarius*, who, upon his return to *Constantinople*, was disgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house. *Agathius* ascribes his disgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who persuaded the emperor, whose jealousy encreased with his years, that *Belisarius* aspired to the sovereignty. The modern writers alledge, that *Justinian* caused his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to such poverty, that he was obliged to beg from door to door: but the antient authors assure us, that the emperor was convinced of his innocence the year following, and restored him to all his employments, which he enjoyed to his death.

About the time of the disgrace of *Belisarius*, the emperor discovered a conspiracy against his person, and caused the chief conspirators to be put to death. The emperor was soon after carried off by a natural death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. *Justinian* signalised his reign by re-uniting *Africa* and *Italy* to the empire; by publishing the famous Code of laws called from him the *Justinian Code*; and by his public works; there being scarce a city in his dominions in which he did not erect some stately edifice. On all these accounts, the surname of *Great* has been deservedly conferred upon him.

As *Justinian* died without issue, his nephew *Justin* was by the senate proclaimed emperor. He, in the beginning of the following year, restored the office of consul, which his predecessors had abolished, to the great dissatisfaction of the people, and on the first of *January* he himself assumed that title. During his consulship, the *Avari*, or *Albani*, a *Scythian* nation, demanded the pension formerly paid them by *Justinian*; but the *Massagetes*, who at this time began to be called *Turks*, and were at variance with them, pressing the emperor to pay no regard to their demands, *Justin*, instead of paying a pension to them, threatened them with war. *Justin*, by thus supporting the dignity of the empire, gained the applause of the people; but he soon, however, forfeited their good opinion by his cruelty and avarice.

The fourth year of his reign is remarkable for the irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, where they founded a new kingdom, which continued upwards of two hundred years. Great part of *Italy* was again dismembered from the empire by

by these invaders, a few provinces only, under the title of dukedoms, being governed by the exarch, who resided at *Ravenna*.

Some amends, however, were made for so great a loss by the acquisition of *Perf Armenia*, the inhabitants of which being persecuted by the *Persians*, on account of the Christian religion which they professed, shook off the yoke, and submitted to the *Roman* emperor, upon certain articles. *Cosroes*, king of *Persia*, endeavoured to dissuade *Justin* from espousing the cause of the *Perf Armenians*; but not succeeding, he sent one army into *Syria*, under the conduct of *Artabanus*, and he himself with another invaded *Mesopotamia*.

Justin, neglecting the necessary preparations to oppose so formidable an enemy, wallowed in his usual pleasures, till news was brought him, that the *Persians* had already broke into his dominions. *Martianus*, captain of his guards, was then dispatched into the East, but without men, money, or arms. With some vagabonds, thieves, and robbers, that he had enrolled by the way, he surprised and put to flight a small body of *Persians*, which encouraged him to sit down before *Nisibis*; but his force was so inconsiderable, that the inhabitants rallied him from the walls, and scorned to shut their gates. The emperor, however, accusing him of idly protracting the siege, sent one *Acacius*, to take the command from him, which so displeased the officers, that they abandoned the siege, and retired into *Syria*, which was then invaded by *Artabanus*, who had taken *Heraclea*, and laid it in ashes. *Apamea* was next pillaged and burnt by the *Persian* general, who then joined the king before *Daras*, which strong city, after a siege of five months, was obliged to surrender to the *Persians*. The losses in *Syria* and *Italy* at length affecting *Justin* to such a degree, that he was seized with a kind of madness, *Tiberius*, by birth a *Thracian*, was, by the advice of the empress *Sophia*, and the unanimous consent of the senate, appointed to govern in his room. *Tiberius*, by an affecting letter to *Cosroes* in the name of *Sophia*, so far prevailed upon him, that he consented to a truce for three years.

The emperor continuing still indisposed, the following year, by the advice of *Sophia*, raised *Tiberius* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and resigning to him the whole management of affairs, reserved for himself only the bare name of emperor. *Tiberius* in vain endeavoured to change the truce with the *Persians* into a perpetual peace; but as *Cosroes* would hearken to no proposals, he raised a very formidable army. *Cosroes*, after ravaging *Perf Armenia*, entered *Cappadocia*; but he was there opposed by *Justinian*, a kinsman of the seated emperor, who defeated him with great slaughter, which loss so affected *Cosroes*, that he died soon after. *Justinian*, upon his death, invading *Persia*, ravaged that country for several months.

Tiberius The year following, *Justin* dying, after reigning near seventeen years, *Tiberius* was, by the senate and people, declared emperor, when he conferred the title of *Augusta* upon *Anastasia*, whom he owned for his wife. *Sophia*, who had

A.D. 583. greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a presumption that he would marry her, now grew his implacable enemy, when she found him married to another, and attempted to raise *Justinian* to the empire; but her plot being discovered, *Tiberius* contented himself with causing all her treasures to be seized, and depriving *Justinian* of the command of the army.

The *Per-* *Mauritius*, descended of an ancient Roman family, and
fians de- distinguished no less for his piety than his military talents,
feated by being appointed to command against the *Persians*, soon after
Mauritius totally defeated them, and took their camp with all the royal plate and treasure, with an incredible number of prisoners.

Tiberius treated the prisoners with great kindness, and restored them to their liberty, in hopes of inclining the young king *Hormisdas* to a peace. The *Persian* monarch, however, still rejecting all offers of an accomodation, *Mauritius*, not long after, intirely defeated and dispersed his numerous forces, took several castles, strong holds, and towns, enriched his army with an immense booty, and made such numbers of captives as were sufficient to people the islands and countries that had been long uninhabited. Upon his return to court, *Tiberius* received him with the greatest demonstrations of affection and esteem, gave him his daughter *Constantia* in marriage, and raised him to the dignity of *Cæsar*, which was declaring him his successor. *Hormisdas*, in the mean time, sued for peace, which was granted him, but not long observed by that faithless prince.

who is
declared
Cæsar.

The year following, *Pannonia* was invaded by the *Avari*, dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, who having made themselves masters of *Sirmium*, dispatched messengers to *Constantinople*, demanding the annual pension. *Tiberius*, instead of granting their demand, ordered his troops to take the field, which the *Avari* being informed of, immediately retired beyond the *Danube*. The year after, *Tiberius* died in the fourth year of his reign, generally lamented, having been regarded as a true father of his people. *Mauritius*, whom he had declared emperor some time before his death, was no sooner seated on the throne, than he was obliged to send an army against *Hormisdas*, who, in breach of the peace, had invaded the empire. A *Thracian*, named *John*, who commanded the imperial troops, being unsuccessful, was recalled, and *Philippicus*, who had married the emperor's sister, was appointed general in his room. The *Persians* were soon defeated by *Philippicus*, with great loss; but he imprudently dividing his army after the victory, was surpris'd in the night-time by the enemy, who put him to flight, and took a great number of prisoners. While he was making preparations to retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms,

He suc-
ceeds *Ti-*
berius.
A.D. 586.

he was recalled, and the command of the army given to *Priscus*, an officer of great courage and experience. The soldiers, however, hating *Priscus* on account of his severity and imperious temper, mutinied a few days after his arrival, and would have cut him in pieces, had he not saved himself by a timely flight. Upon his retreat the mutineers obliged *Germanus*, governor of *Phœnicia*, to take upon him the command, and when *Philippicus* again arrived at the army as general, sent by the emperor, they nevertheless obliged *Germanus* to continue in the post to which they had raised him.

The *Persians*, in the mean time, made an irruption into the empire, which they destroyed with fire and sword; but they were routed with so great slaughter by *Evagrius*, that scarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat to *Persia*. Not long after, the mutiny, after it had lasted a year and upwards, was appeased by *Gregory*, bishop of *Antioch*, and *Philippicus* being acknowledged as general, marched without loss of time against the *Persians*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle with great slaughter. The following spring *Philippicus* endeavoured to recover *Martyropolis*, which had been betrayed to the *Persians*; but before he could succeed in the attempt, the command was conferred on *Com-mentiolus*, who soon after his arrival gained a compleat victory over the *Persians*, in consequence of which *Martyropolis* soon surrendered.

A compleat victory gained over the *Persians*.

Baranes, the *Persian* general, being affronted by the king, formed a conspiracy against him, and dethroning him, conferred the crown on his son *Cosroes*, who caused his father to be imprisoned, and treated him for some time with great kindness. But the deposed king trampling under foot whatever was sent him, *Cosroes* was so provoked, that in the transport of his passion he caused him to be beaten to death. The *Persians*, tho' they had hated *Hormisdas*, yet conceived such an aversion for *Cosroes*, on account of this unnatural murder, that they drove him from the throne. *Cosroes* taking refuge at *Constantinople*, was kindly received by *Mauritius*, who presented him with immense sums, and sent him back at the head of a powerful army, by whose assistance he defeated the rebels, and was restored to the throne.

Cosroes, the *Persian* king, restored by the *Romans*.

The restoration of *Cosroes* being followed with a profound peace in the East, *Mauritius* marched in person against the *Avari*, who passing the *Danube*, had made an irruption into *Thrace*. The emperor, after several battles fought with dubious success, was in the end obliged to purchase a peace of the *Avari*, who nevertheless, the following year, renewed hostilities, in conjunction with the *Gepidæ* and *Slavi*. After they had ravaged *Thrace*, they approached *Constantinople*, which struck such a terror into the inhabitants, that they were for abandoning the city, and retiring into *Asia*. At the persuasions of the emperor, however, they resolved

The empire invaded by the *Avari*.

to stand a siege, which the enemy was quickly obliged to raise, by means of a plague which raged in their camp. When they departed, *Mauritius* refusing to ransom twelve thousand prisoners whom they had taken, *Chagan*, king of the *Avari*, caused them all to be put to the sword, which inhumanity of the emperor occasioned a mutiny in the army, and a tumult at *Constantinople*. The *Avari*, the following year, renewed their ravages, but were in five successive battles overthrown by *Priscus*, with the loss of more than thirty thousand men. Part of the army, under the command of *Peter*, the emperor's brother, being ordered to winter on the north side of the *Danube*, a general mutiny ensued, and the soldiers now detesting *Mauritius*, because he had neglected to ransom the captives, declared a centurion, named *Phocas*, emperor. The populace at *Constantinople*, upon the news of this revolt, rose against *Mauritius*, who finding himself abandoned by his guards, embarked in a small vessel, with his wife and children; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in a church, about one hundred and fifty furlongs distant from *Constantinople*.

Phocas declared emperor by the army.

He is crowned in *Constantinople*

and causes *Mauritius* with five of his children to be put to death. A.D. 693.

Phocas, in the mean time, entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the populace, and was solemnly crowned, with his wife *Leontia*, by the patriarch, after he had promised to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. Not long after, *Phocas* caused *Mauritius* to be dragged from his asylum to *Chalcedon*, where five of his children were inhumanly murdered in his presence, and then he himself beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with such firmness and Christian resignation, as can hardly be matched in history; frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, *Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments*. Such was the end of *Mauritius*, after he had lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen years and three months. The tyrant caused *Theodosius*, the eldest son of *Mauritius*, who had been sent to solicit succours from *Constantinople*, to be seized on his journey, and to be put to death. Many other relations of the late emperor, and persons in eminent stations, suffered the same fate.

Phocas was readily acknowledged in *Italy*: his own image, and that of his wife *Leontia*, were sent to *Rome*, and placed in the oratory of the martyr *Cassarius* by Pope *Gregory the Great*, who wrote letters of congratulation to him. From the letters of *Gregory*, *Phocas* would appear one of the best princes mentioned in history; but from the relations of other writers concerning him, he seems to have been a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant. His wife *Leontia* was no better than he, says *Cassiodorus*, and the populace soon conceived an irreconcilable aversion to them.

Narses revolts.

The celebrated *Narses*, who at this time commanded in the East, no sooner heard of the death of *Mauritius* than he revolted,

revolted, and having persuaded *Cosroes* to join him, *Mesopotamia* was soon invaded by the *Persians*. *Germanus*, who was sent into the East against *Narses*, was defeated and slain by him. *Leontius*, the successor of *Germanus*, was also defeated, and his troops were dispersed, on which account he was treated with great indignity by the tyrant, who soon after was so successful as to gain over *Narses* by repeated assurances of indemnity and favour: but he no sooner had him in his power, than he caused him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and dissatisfaction of the *Romans*. The *Persians*, though *Narses* had forsaken them, still continued the war, and over-ran all *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*.

Phocas, finding himself hated and despised, thought of strengthening his authority by alliances with the nobility, and in the fifth year of his reign married his daughter *Domitia* to *Priscus*, a patrician, and captain of his guards. While the magnificent feasts were exhibiting on occasion of the nuptials, the people happened to salute the bride and bridegroom with the title of *Augusti*, which so exasperated the emperor, that he ordered *Tesphanes* and *Pamphylus* to be beheaded in the *circus*, and would likewise have put his son-in-law to death, had not the people interposed in his behalf. Soon after, a confidant of *Constantina*, the widow of *Mauritius*, informing the emperor that she maintained a private correspondence to his prejudice with *Germanus*, a man of great authority in the former reign, *Constantina* was put to the rack, and in consequence of her confession, many persons of great rank were put to death. *Constantina* herself was publicly executed, with her three daughters, at the place where her husband had been put to death. The jealousy of the tyrant being now awakened, great numbers of unhappy persons were dragged to prison, where many daily died, suffocated with the stench and noisomeness of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compassion, yielded her house, adjoining to the prison, to enlarge it.

Cosroes, in the mean time, ravaged *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Phœnicia*; and the year following, defeating the troops that were sent against him, he laid waste *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, and advanced even to *Chalcedon*. *Phocas*, instead of protecting his subjects against a foreign enemy, employed himself in causing the persons of the greatest distinction to be murdered; which at length alarming *Priscus* his son-in-law, he entered into a conspiracy against him with *Heracius*, governor of *Africa*, desiring that officer to send what forces he could spare to support the people and nobility, who were ready to revolt. *Bonofus* being at length sent against the *Persians*, was soon after ordered to proceed to *Antioch*, where great numbers of Christians, and, among the rest, the celebrated patriarch *Anastasius*, had been massacred by the Jews. *Bonofus* finding fair means ineffectual to quell the mutineers, fell upon

The tyranny and cruelty of the emperor.

The *Persians* over-run the Eastern provinces.

upon them sword in hand, cut great numbers of them pieces, and drove the rest out of the city.

An insur- Mean while, the people of *Constantinople* reviling the en-
rection at peror at the public shews for his cruelty, drunkenness, and
Constanti- debaucheries, so highly provoked him, that he caused sev-
nople. eral of them to be beheaded on the spot, and others to be
thrown headlong into the sea; which so enraged the rest
that they set fire to the palace and the public prison. Soon
after, a conspiracy was formed against the tyrant by several
officers of his court; but the plot being discovered, they
were all put to death, not excepting even the conspirators
who had made the discovery.

Heraclius About the same time, *Heraclius*, the son of the governor
declared *Africa*, of the same name, took upon himself the title of em-
emperor. peror; and, arriving a few months after with a powerful fleet
and army at *Abydos*, was welcomed by several persons of rank

A.D.611. Quickly after, he proceeded to *Constantinople*, where he de-
feated the fleet of the tyrant, who fled for refuge to the pa-
lace: but one *Photinus*, whose wife he had formerly de-
bauched, dragging him from thence in chains to *Heraclius*

Phocas put the conqueror commanded first his hands and feet, then his
to a cruel arms and privy parts, and at last his head, to be cut off
death. Such was the deserved end of this cruel tyrant, after he had
reigned seven years and some months.

Heraclius was no sooner crowned by the patriarch, than he
placed the imperial crown on the head of *Fabia*, thenceforth
called *Eudocia*, the daughter of *Rogetus*, an *African*, who had
been formerly betrothed to him. He was descended of a noble
and opulent family of *Cappadocia*, and was of a majestic
aspect, courageous, and well skilled in the art of war. The
eastern provinces, in the mean time, being grievously har-
rassed by the inroads of the *Persians*, *Heraclius* caused great
numbers of new troops to be raised, which he sent into *Cap-
padocia*, under the command of *Crispus*. The *Persians*, ne-
Cappado- vertheless, the year following, ravaged both that province and
ciand Ar- *Armenia*, from whence they carried off great numbers of
menia ra- captives. *Heraclius*, despairing of being able to repress them
vaged by *Persians* by force, offered to conclude a peace with them, and
the *Per-* to pay them a yearly pension; but *Cosroes*, rejecting the offer
sians. of accommodation, the year after sent a formidable army
into *Syria*, which country they ravaged; and afterward
breaking into *Palestine*, they took and plundered *Jerusalem*.
The *Jews*, on this occasion, are said to have purchased
ninety thousand Christian captives, with a design of venting
their malice against them, by racking them with the cruellest
torments. The empress *Eudocia* having died the year before
in child-bed, the emperor, about this time, married *Mari-
na*, his brother's daughter, and caused her to be crowned with
the usual pomp.

They ra- The *Persians*, the year following, over-ran all *Egypt*, and
vage having pillaged the city of *Alexandria*, advanced westwards to
Carthage.

Carthage, to which city they laid siege; but, not being able to reduce it, they returned with an immense booty and great numbers of captives. *Heraclius*, by a second embassy, endeavoured to prevail with *Cosroes* to conclude a peace upon his own terms; but the *Persian* monarch, being elated with the success of his arms, returned only the following blasphemous answer to his ambassadors: *Let your master know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he, with all his subjects, has renounced his crucified God, and adored the sun, the great god of the Persians.*

The emperor, being roused by this impious and insulting answer, concluded a peace with the *chagan*, or king, of the *Avari*; and coining into money, with the consent of the clergy, the gold and silver vessels belonging to the churches, he raised a powerful army; with which he began his march to the East, having appointed his son to govern in his absence; and under him *Sergius* the patriarch, and the patrician *Bonus*. *Saes*, the *Persian* general, upon the approach of *Heraclius*, desired an interview; which the emperor complied with, and sent seventy persons of distinction on an embassy to the king of *Persia*: but these the treacherous general carried to court loaded with chains, where they were thrown into prison and treated with great inhumanity. The treachery of *Saes*, however, did not long go unpunished; for the king, highly provoked against him for not having brought off the *Roman* emperor with the rest, caused him to be flayed alive.

After the *Persians* had gone into winter-quarters, *Heraclius* made a sudden irruption into their territories; which obliged them to quit *Cilicia* in order to oppose him: but, in a pitched battle, they were entirely defeated; and *Heraclius*, having pillaged their camp, returned to *Constantinople*. The following spring, the *Persians* having again invaded the *Roman* provinces, *Heraclius* hastened into the East; and, the offers he made for an accommodation being rejected, he penetrated into *Persia*, where he took and destroyed several towns. *Cosroes* not daring to oppose him, he took *Gazacum* without opposition; where, it is said, he found the immense treasures of *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*. He afterwards pursued the *Persians* to the frontiers of *Media*; and, in the end of the summer, having set apart three days to return public thanks for the success of the glorious campaign, he returned to winter in *Albania*; generously setting 50,000 captives at liberty rather than drag them along in the severity of the season. The following campaign, *Heraclius* defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers of them: which success encouraged him, the year after, to cross the *Euphrates*; when he made himself master of *Samosata*, and several other places, and defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle on the banks of the *Sanis*. *Cosroes*, in resentment for the bad success of his

Egypt, and

Carthage.

Heraclius

marches

against the

Persians.

He in-

vades Per-

sia, and

gains a

great vic-

tory.

He gains

great ad-

vantages

over the

enemy.

army.

arms, raised a cruel persecution against the Catholics, and seized on the wealth of all the churches.

Cosroes He at the same time stirred up the *Avari*, and other barbarians, to make a diversion in *Thrace*. *Heraclius*, being apprised of his negotiations, left an army to defend *Constantinople*; and ordered a second, under his brother *Theodorus*, to protect *Asia*; while he himself, with a third, entered *Lazica*, and, being joined by forty thousand *Chazari*, or, as *Cedrenus* calls them, *Eastern Turks*, he invaded *Persia* in the depth of winter, and laid waste several provinces. *Thrace*, in the mean time, was ravaged by the *Avari*, and other barbarians; who, after wasting that country, laid siege to *Constantinople*; from whence, however, they were repulsed with considerable loss. The *Persians* who attempted to break into *Asia*, were also defeated with great slaughter by *Theodorus*.

The emperor gains other victories. The following year, *Heraclius* advanced, in the depth of winter, as far as *Nineveh*; when he gained a considerable victory over the *Persians* with the loss of only fifty men on his side. *Cosroes*, on the news of this defeat, shut himself up in *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, with his wives, children, and treasures; while *Heraclius* ravaged the most fertile of his provinces without opposition. *Sarbarazes*, a *Persian* general, making an unsuccessful attempt upon *Chalcedon*, *Cosroes* wrote to another general to cut him off; but his letter being intercepted, *Sarbarazes* immediately revolted. About the same time, *Siroes*, the king's eldest son, being enraged that his father had declared his younger brother heir to the crown, seized on his father, and threw him into a dungeon, where he was put to death. *Siroes* having by his inhumanity raised himself to the throne, concluded a peace with *Heraclius* upon terms very honourable for the empire. He set at liberty all the captives; restored all the provinces that had been seized by his predecessor, with three hundred ensigns, and the wood which was supposed to have been part of the cross on which our Saviour died, and had been carried off a few years before from *Jerusalem*.

Heraclius carries back the cross to *Jerusalem*. *Heraclius* was received in a triumphant manner upon his return to *Constantinople*, he having, in the space of six years, recovered the several provinces that had been dismembered from the empire, and so reduced the *Persians* that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. The following spring he took a progress to *Jerusalem*, carrying with him the part of the cross that had been restored by the *Persians*. Having replaced the sacred wood, and returned solemn thanks to the Almighty for the many signal victories he had been pleased to grant him, he took a farther progress into the eastern provinces; and, on his arrival at *Edessa*, he received ambassadors from the king of *India* in the East, and from *Dagobert*, king of the *Franks* in the West, to congratulate him on his late successes against the *Persians*.

Heraclius,

Heraclius, during his stay at *Edeffa*, was infected with the Heresy of the Monothelites, or those who acknowledge but one will in CHRIST; and, while he occupied himself in promoting and establishing this new opinion, he neglected the affairs of state, and omitted to check the early and rapid progress of the followers of *Mohammed*. That impostor dying this year, which was the twenty-first of *Heraclius*, was succeeded by *Eububezer*, his kinsman, who reduced great part of *Persia*; and, in 632, broke into *Palestine*, where he laid waste the territory of *Gaza*. *Eububezer* dying the year following, was succeeded by *Haumar*, who gained a complete victory over the *Romans* under the command of the emperor's brother *Theodorus*. *Heraclius* sent two generals to succeed his brother, but dreading the issue of the war, he returned from *Jerusalem* to *Constantinople*, carrying with him the cross, and whatever else was of value in that city, which he feared would soon fall into the enemy's hands.

The *Saracens*, the year following, entirely defeated the *Romans* under the command of *Boanes*; after which victory, they made themselves masters of *Damascus* and all *Phœnicia*. Next spring, *Haumar* sent an army to invade *Egypt*, and marched with another in person against *Jerusalem*. *Cyrus*, bishop of *Alexandria*, meeting the *Saracens* on the borders of *Egypt*, prevailed on them to retire, by promising to pay them an annual pension of two hundred thousand *denarii*. This agreement was observed for three years; but, in the fourth year, the demand of the *Saracens*, who came to ask for the usual pension, was rejected by *Manuel*, an *Armenian*, who had arrived as governor from *Constantinople*. A.D. 633.

The *Saracens*, finding themselves insulted by the governor, invaded *Egypt*, put *Manuel* to flight, and made themselves masters of the whole country, which was now entirely dismembered from the *Roman* empire. The army that had conquered *Egypt*, within two years after entirely reduced all *Syria*. *Antioch*, the capital of the East, then falling into the hands of the infidels, *Haumar*, in the mean time, after a siege of two years, made himself master of *Jerusalem*. A.D. 634.

Heraclius, in the mean time, instead of attending to the dangers that threatened him, employed his time in unseasonable disputes about religion, and in public festivals and entertainments. He was solely intent upon forcing the Catholics by a penal law to embrace his heretical opinion: but before he could put his wicked design in execution, he died of a dropsy in the thirty-first year of his reign. His son *Constantine*, who succeeded him, only survived him seven months, being poisoned, as was supposed, by his step-mother *Martina*, whose son *Heracleonas* was proclaimed emperor upon the death of his brother. About six months after, he was deposed by the senate, who, having cut off his nose and pulled out *Martina's* tongue, sent them both into banishment. *Constans*, the son of *Constantine*, and grandson of *Heraclius*, was A.D. 642.

Constans was now advanced to the throne ; in the sixth year of whose reign, the *Saracens*, not satisfied with *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, broke into *Africa*, and made themselves masters of that spacious and fruitful country. The following year, they reduced *Cyprus*, where they burnt the city of *Constantia*. From *Cyprus* they sailed to the island of *Aradus*, which they took ; and from thence they steered their course to *Rhodes*, which they also made themselves master of.

A.D. 648. of.

Another body of *Saracens*, in the mean time, ravaged *Armenia*, while the emperor continued idle at *Constantinople*, occupied himself only in promoting the doctrine of the *Monothelites*, which he had imbibed from his infancy. *Mahuvias*, who had conquered *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, was encouraged by the emperor's negligence to think of making an attempt upon *Constantinople* itself, and accordingly fitted out a strong fleet at *Tripolis*, in *Phœnicia* ; but two brothers, both Christians, having found means to break open the public prison of that city, crowded with Christian captives, with their assistance killed the governor of the place, set fire to the fleet, destroyed all the naval preparations, and then escaped. *Mahuvias* having fitted out another fleet, soon after defeated the imperial navy commanded by *Constans* in person, who, with much to do, escaped in disguise.

The following year, to retrieve his reputation, the emperor marched against the *Sclavi*, who had seized on that country which is at present called *Sclavonia*. Though he gained several advantages over them, yet he found it impossible to drive them quite out, and returned to *Constantinople* ; where he found ambassadors from the *Saracens* now divided among themselves ; to whom he granted a peace, yielding to them the many provinces they had seized, upon their paying to him and his successors one thousand *nummi* a year, with a horse and a slave.

Constans at this time becoming jealous of his brother *Theodosius*, who was the darling of the people, caused him to be ordained deacon ; but his fears not being yet quite appeased, he ordered him soon after to be murdered ; which quickly filled him with the most cutting remorse. He left *Constantinople*, where the murder had been committed, with the design of transferring the seat of the empire to *Syracuse* ; but the inhabitants of *Constantinople* being apprised of his design, kept in that metropolis his wife and children. While *Constans* wandered miserably from place to place, *Mahuvias*, having caused his competitor *Hali* to be murdered, broke the late treaty with the *Romans*, and sent his son *Izod* to ravage their territories.

Constans, in the mean time, hearing that the *Lombards* were engaged in a war with the *Franks*, resolved to lay hold of that opportunity of recovering the *Italian* provinces which they had seized. He accordingly landed with a powerful army at *Tarentum*;

Tarentum, and laid siege to *Benevento*; but hearing of the approach of *Grimauld*, king of the *Lombards*, who had repulsed the *Franks*, he retired with precipitation to *Naples*. Soon after, twenty thousand of his troops being almost entirely cut off by the *Lombards*, he laid aside his design of carrying on a war against them, and paid a visit to *Rome*; which city he stripped of its most valuable and sacred ornaments. He returned with this wealth to *Sicily*; and, having, by his avarice, rendered himself odious and contemptible to his subjects, he was murdered in a bath five years after at *Syracuse*, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.

He is murdered in *Sicily*, and succeeded by *Constantine*.

A.D. 668.

Upon the death of *Constans*, one *Mezizius*, an *Armenian*, was proclaimed emperor by the *Syracusans*: but he was soon after defeated and put to death by *Constantine*, the son of the late emperor. *Constantine*, surnamed *Pogonatus*, on account of the down on his cheeks when he succeeded to the throne, continued some time in *Sicily*; and, upon his return to *Constantinople*, was pressed to take his two brothers for his partners in the empire, by some people that had adopted a strange notion, that, as there were three persons in the trinity, so there ought to be three emperors on the throne. The young emperor put the broachers of this new doctrine to death, and, to incapacitate his brothers for the throne, caused their noses to be cut off.

The *Saracens*, in the mean time, made an incursion into *Africa*, where the people had insulted their garisons; and, after ravaging the country, carried off eighty thousand captives. The following year they took and plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and over-ran the whole island of *Sicily*. They, in like manner, laid waste *Cilicia*; and, having passed the winter at *Smyrna*, the spring following, they entered *Thrace*, and laid siege to *Constantinople*; but were repulsed with great vigour by the emperor: and, in the month of *September*, retired to *Cyzicus*. The next spring, however, they renewed the siege, continuing thus to attack the city in the summer, and to retire to *Cyzicus* in the winter, for four years, according to some, and seven years according to others. The *Saracens*, in this long siege, lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships, that were consumed by artificial fire that burnt under water; and, in their return home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllæan* promontory. About the

The *Saracens* lay siege to *Constantinople* without success.

same time, the *Saracens* were defeated in *Syria* by three of the emperor's lieutenants, and thirty thousand of them cut off. The *Mardaites*, or *Maronites*, were encouraged by this victory to seize on Mount *Libanus*; and, being joined by multitudes of Christians, they reduced the whole country between Mount *Taurus* and *Jerusalem*, and greatly harrassed the *Saracens*; which induced *Mahuvias* to conclude a peace, for eighty years, with *Constantine*, on the following terms: That the *Saracens* should retain the provinces they had seized; and, that they should pay yearly to the emperor and his successors

Their army defeated.

They obtain an honourable peace.

cessors

cessors three thousand pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many horses.

This peace was scarce concluded, when the *Bulgarians*, leaving their native seats on the banks of the *Volga*, or *Bulga*, passed the *Danube* to the number of one hundred thousand persons, and ravaged the territories of the empire. The *Roman* army that was sent against them being defeated, *Constantine* purchased a peace of them by agreeing to pay them an annual pension. The empire now enjoying tranquility, *Constantine*, to heal the divisions of the church, opened the sixth general, or oecumenical, council at *Constantinople*, in which the doctrine of the Monothelites was condemned.

The sixth
oecumeni-
cal coun-
cil.

Justinian
II. suc-
ceeds *Con-*
stantine.

A.D. 687.

He is de-
feated by
the *Bul-*
garians.

Constantine lived seven years after in that peace and quiet which his piety, justice, and moderation deserved; and, dying in the eighteenth year of his reign, was succeeded by his son *Justinian*, a youth but sixteen years old. *Abdelmelech*, the new prince of the *Saracens*, confirmed the peace with *Justinian*; and at the same time prevailed with him to agree to another treaty, by which the emperor bound himself to repress the *Maronites*, on receiving from *Abdelmelech* one thousand *nummi* a day, a horse, and a slave. *Magistrinus* accordingly marched against the *Maronites*, and, having overcome them, put them out of a condition of molesting the *Saracens* for a long time after. *Justinian*, in the second year of his reign, attacked the *Bulgarians*, and took several of their strong holds; which, however, they soon obliged him to abandon, forcing him also to restore the captives he had taken.

He is de-
feated by
the *Sara-*
cens.

Being attended with better success against the *Sclavi*, whom he defeated in several battles, he was thereby encouraged to break the treaty concluded with the *Saracens*. *Abdelmelech*, finding all his endeavours to prevent a rupture ineffectual, raised a powerful army; and his general, *Mohammed*, causing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on a spear, gave the emperor battle in the neighbourhood of *Sebastopolis*. *Mohammed* was repulsed to his camp; but, having soon after prevailed on the commander of the *Sclavi* in the emperor's service to desert with twenty thousand of his men, the *Romans* retreated in great confusion, and were pursued with great slaughter. The emperor, upon his arrival at *Leucate*, in great rage, caused the *Sclavi* who had continued with him, to the number of ten thousand men, to be cut in pieces with their wives and children.

He ren-
ders him-
self odious
to the peo-
ple.

On his return to *Constantinople*, he suffered the *Saracens* unmolested to ravage the eastern provinces, and to reduce *Armenia*; and employed himself in embellishing his metropolis with new buildings. As he pulled down a church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, to make room for a theatre, the people began to murmur against him, especially as he allowed his two chief ministers cruelly to oppress them, and to put many of the nobility to death.

Justinian

Justinian being sensible that he was the object of their hatred, in an inhuman manner gave secret orders to some of his officers to fall upon the inhabitants of *Constantinople* in the night-time, and to massacre them in their houses. The execution of his cruel design, however, was prevented by *Leontius*, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the East, who being appointed governor of *Greece*, assembled his troops in the *forum*, and being joined by the people, was proclaimed emperor. The mob immediately ran by whom to the palace, and carrying *Justinian* to the *circus*, after many he is de- indignities, cut off his nose, and banished him to *Chersona*. posed and His two ministers, at the same time, were dragged to the fo- banished, *rum*, where they were burnt alive. This revolution hap- *Leontius* pened in the tenth year of *Justinian's* reign. In the second being de- year of the reign of *Leontius*, the province of *Lazica* was be- clared em- trayed to the *Saracens*, who, the year following, made them- peror. selves masters of *Carthage*, and over-ran all *Africa*; but they were soon after driven out by *John* the patrician, whom the A.D.697. emperor sent against them. The *Saracens*, however, returning again with a powerful fleet, obliged *John* to evacuate the country, and to embark with his troops. The *Roman* troops upon their arrival at *Crete*, fearing to be called to an account for their conduct, proclaimed *Apfimar*, one of *Leontius's* generals, emperor, who taking the name of *Tiberius*, sailed directly to *Constantinople*, and surprising *Leontius* in the third year of his reign, caused his nose to be cut off, and confined him to a monastery in *Dalmatia*.

Tiberius having secured himself on the throne, sent his He is sur- brother *Heraclius* against the *Saracens*. That general pene- prised by trated into *Syria*, and, after cutting off no fewer than two *Apfimar*, hundred thousand of the enemy, returned loaded with booty who as- to *Cappadocia*. The *Saracens*, notwithstanding this loss, the sumes the following year reduced *Mopsuestia* in *Cilicia*. Two years af- title of em- ter, *Armenia* was betrayed to the *Saracens*, who, however, peror. held it only a few months, the *Armenians* taking arms and A.D.700. driving them out with great slaughter. *Tiberius* giving the *Armenians* no assistance, the *Saracens* again reduced them, and caused the authors of the revolt to be burnt alive. Encouraged by this, the *Saracens* again invaded *Cilicia*; but 10,000 of them were partly cut in pieces and partly taken prisoners by *Heraclius*.

Mean while, *Justinian*, having made his escape from *Cher-* *Justinian* zma, fled to the *chagan*, or king, of the *Chazari*, who gave is restored him his sister *Theodora* in marriage: but that prince after- by the as- wards designing to give him up to *Tiberius*, *Justinian* fled to sistance of *Trebelis*, king of the *Bulgarians*; who soon after conducted the king of him, at the head of a powerful army, to *Constantinople*. The *Bulgaria*. inhabitants reviled both princes from the walls; but, on the third day of the siege, some of the besiegers having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the rest; upon which *Tiberius* immediately fled with his treasures to *Apollonias*. *Justinian* being thus restored to his former dignity, dismissed *Trebelis*, loaded with presents; and bestowed

His cruelty.

upon him part of the *Roman* dominions called afterwards *Zagoria*. Having gotten into his power *Leontius*, by whom he had been driven out, *Tiberius*, and his brother *Heraclius*, he placed his feet upon the necks of the two former in the *circus*, while he was beholding the public shews; the inconstant multitude repeating, in the mean time, that verse of the Psalmist, *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder*: Their heads, and that of *Heraclius*, being afterwards cut off, *Justinian* began to rage with implacable fury against all who had adhered to them, dispeopling, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once. In the third year of his restoration, he broke the alliance concluded with *Trebelis*, and invaded *Thrace*, with the design of recovering the country he had yielded to him: but his army being entirely defeated, he was forced to make his escape in a light vessel to *Constantinople*.

The year following, he equipped a powerful fleet, with the design of revenging himself on the inhabitants of *Chersona* and the *Bosphorans*, who had formed a design of dispatching him while he lived in exile among them. His troops having express orders to put all the inhabitants of those parts to the sword, accordingly massacred them with the greatest barbarity. They at first, however, spared the children; but, upon second orders from the emperor, these also shared the fate of their parents. Some of the leading men having made their escape, procured succours from the *Chazari*; and, after defeating the emperor's forces, proclaimed *Philippicus*, the son of *Bardanes*, emperor. The *Roman* army, dreading the resentment of *Justinian*, because they could not reduce *Chersona*, declared for *Philippicus*, who soon after took possession of *Constantinople*.

Philippicus proclaimed emperor, but deposed and succeeded by *Anastasius*.

Justinian was then at *Sinope*, on the *Black Sea*, with a body of *Thracians*, who being prevailed on to desert him, he was taken prisoner, and his head sent to *Philippicus*, in the eighth year after his restoration. *Philippicus* had scarce taken possession of the throne, when the people were disgusted with his government; and his eyes being put out by some conspirators, *Artemius*, or *Anastasius*, his chief secretary, was proclaimed emperor.

Anastasius immediately appointed one *Leo*, an *Isaurian*, commander in chief of all his forces; and sent him to *Syria* with a powerful army against the *Saracens*. As *Constantinople* was threatened with a siege, he made great preparations for the defence of the place, and ordered such citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years, to depart the place: but news being brought that the enemy's fleet had sailed for *Phœnicia*, he ordered all his ships to assemble at *Rhodes*. While the fleet continued at *Rhodes*, the sailors in a mutiny killed the admiral; and, to avoid being called to an account for their crime, obliged one *Theodosius*, a person of a mean extraction, and then receiver of the revenue at *Adramyttium*, to accept the purple. *Anastasius* having fled from *Constantinople*,

Theodosius declared emperor.

people, *Theodosius*, after a siege of six months, made himself master of that city. *Anastasius* soon after renounced all claim to the empire; and, taking the habit of a monk, delivered himself up to the new prince; by whom he was banished to *Thessalonica*, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years. *Leo*, whom *Anastasius* had appointed commander in chief of all his forces, refusing to acknowledge *Theodosius*, marched from the East, at the head of a considerable army, to *Constantinople*; and assuming the purple, at the instigation of the prince of the *Saracens*, was acknowledged as emperor in all places through which he passed. *Theodosius*, seeing it in vain to contend, resigned the purple; and entered, with his son, into orders, after reigning one year. *Leo*, after binding himself by a solemn oath to defend the orthodox faith, was crowned by the patriarch *Germanus*. He was a native of *Istauria*, of a mean extraction; and had been raised from a common soldier to be one of the *spatarii*, or emperor's guards, by *Justinian II.* on account of the tallness of his stature and comeliness of his person.

A.D. 716;

In the first year of *Leo's* reign, *Masalmias*, prince of the *Saracens*, surprised and took the city of *Pergamus*; and the year after, *Solyman*, one of their generals, broke into *Thrace*. *Haumar*, who succeeded on the death of *Solyman*, lost most of his army by the severity of the winter: but nevertheless, the following spring, he invested *Constantinople* by land; while *Subhian* and *Izeth*, with two fleets from *Egypt* and *Africa*, blocked it up by sea. The *Saracens*, after lying before the city thirteen months, or, according to some, two years, were obliged, by the loss of most of their ships, to abandon the siege; during which, sixty thousand of the inhabitants are said to have perished by a plague and famine. *Haumar*, in resentment for the bad success of his arms, cruelly persecuted the Christians in his dominions. The same year, *Sergius*, governor of *Sicily*, revolting, declared one *Basilus* emperor; but a few months after the usurper was cut off, and *Sergius* obliged to take refuge among the *Lombards* in *Italy*.

The *Saracens* besiege *Constantinople* but without success.

A.D. 719.

Mean while the city of *Constantinople* was besieged by a numerous army of *Bulgarians*, headed by the late emperor *Anastasius*: who was in hopes, by their means, and the assistance of his partizans in the city, of recovering his former dignity: but the *Constantinopolitans* making a vigorous defence, the *Bulgarians* seized on *Anastasius*, and delivered him up to *Leo*, who caused him to be put to death. *Leo*, soon after, caused his infant son, *Constantine*, to be solemnly crowned emperor. The *Saracens*, in the mean time, under the conduct of *Ized*, who had succeeded *Haumar*, ravaged the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and made a descent in *Sardinia*, where they put all to fire and sword: but intestine divisions soon after arising among them, prevented them from molesting the empire for some time,

The *Bulgarians* make an attempt in behalf of *Anastasius* but deliver him up.

time, and gave the emperor leisure to reform several great abuses.

Leo publishes an edict against images,

Leo, in the tenth year of his reign, published the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches; and forbidding any kind of worship to be paid to them. *Germanus*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Jannes Damascenus*, vigorously opposed the edict: but *Leo* having deposed *Germanus*, and appointed *Anastasius* as his successor, caused the images to be pulled down and destroyed throughout the city, without sparing the statue of our SAVIOUR, which had been placed above the gate of the imperial palace by *Constantine the Great*. The people, though they at first rose in a general insurrection, yet, being dispersed by the guards, were forced to suffer the edict to take place.

which is zealously opposed by the pope.

The edict was also looked upon with abhorrence by the people of *Italy*, who, renouncing their allegiance to the emperor, thereby gave *Luitprand*, king of the *Lombards*, an opportunity of seizing on *Ravenna*, and several other cities of the *Exarchate*. The imperial edict was also most strenuously opposed by pope *Gregory II*. but the growing power of the *Lombards* likewise giving him no small offence, he prevailed with the *Venetians* to assist the *exarch* in the recovery of *Ravenna*; in which enterprize they succeeded. Notwithstanding this service the pope had performed, the emperor still peremptorily urged obedience to his edict; and ordered the *exarch*, and the duke, or governor, of *Rome*, to seize the pope, and send him, dead or alive, to *Constantinople*. The populace of *Rome*, however, protecting and supporting the pope, he solemnly excommunicated the *exarch*; and wrote to the *Venetians*, the *Lombards*, and all the cities of the empire, a general exhortation to oppose the execution of the impious edict, as he styled it.

Almost all *Italy* detached from the empire.

In consequence of those letters, the people of *Italy*, tho' of different interests, unanimously agreed to oppose the edict with all their might; and the people of *Rome*, and those of *Pentapolis*, now *La Marca*, pulled down the emperor's statues, and openly revolted. The inhabitants of *Ravenna*, after having in a tumult slain the *exarch*, submitted to *Luitprand*. The *Neapolitans* also murdered their duke for urging their submission to the edict; but, as they hated the *Lombards*, they continued firm in their obedience to the emperor. The people of *Rome*, finding the emperor inflexible in his design against the worship of images and the life of the pope, entirely renounced his authority, and elected magistrates of their own. *Leo*, during the remaining part of his reign, was wholly taken up in suppressing the worship of images throughout his dominions; while the *Saracens* annually ravaged the eastern provinces, carrying off much booty and great numbers of captives. In the seventeenth year of his reign, he married his son *Constantine* to the daughter of the king of the *Chazari*, who

who, having embraced the Christian religion, took the name of *Irene*. The same year, the emperor sent a powerful fleet to reduce the revolted cities in *Italy*; but this armament being destroyed in the *Adriatic* sea, *Leo* found no other means of being revenged on the pope, than by causing the revenues of the *Roman* see in *Calabria* and *Sicily* to be confiscated. *Leo* died in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, a dreadful earthquake having some months before happened at *Constantinople*, by which many buildings were overturned, and great numbers of people killed. *Leo dies,*

Constantine, surnamed *Copronymus*, because he defiled the sacred font at his baptism, succeeded his father *Leo*, and soon after marched into the East against the *Saracens*. In his absence, *Artabazus*, who had married his sister, giving out that he was dead, was proclaimed emperor. Having gained over the patriarch *Anastasius*, who solemnly swore in an assembly of the people that *Constantine* had denied CHRIST to be the Son of GOD, he was confirmed in his authority, and took *Nicephorus*, his eldest son, for his partner in the empire. *Constantine* immediately turned his arms against *Artabazus*; and, having defeated him and his son in several battles, shut them up in *Constantinople*; which city, after some time, was obliged to surrender. The emperor caused the eyes of *Artabazus* and his two sons to be pulled out; gave the city up to be plundered by his soldiers; and either banished, maimed, or put to death, all who had been concerned in the revolt. The patriarch, after being publicly beaten with rods, was conducted through the streets in an ignominious manner, but was nevertheless continued in his see. *and is succeeded by Constantine Copronymus.* He defeats *Artabazus*, reduces *Constantinople*.

Constantine having thus restored his authority in the capital, marched once more against the *Saracens*, whom he defeated in several battles in *Syria*, making himself master also of several strong holds. The *Saracens*, to divert the emperor, fitted out a powerful fleet, as though they intended to attack *Constantinople*; but the *Romans* falling unexpectedly upon them in a harbour of the island of *Cyprus*, destroyed the whole navy, except three ships, which they suffered to escape. The emperor, notwithstanding his success, was diverted from pursuing the war, by the frequent and terrible earthquakes that happened about this time. In *Syria* and *Palestine* several cities were swallowed up, others entirely ruined, and some, according to *Nicephorus*, removed without any considerable damage, six miles and upwards from their former seats. At the same time there was such an extraordinary darkness from the fourth of *August* to the first of *October*, that the day was hardly distinguished from the night. A dreadful plague followed this calamity, which breaking out in *Calabria* soon spread over *Sicily*, *Greece*, the islands in the *Ægean* sea, and at length reached *Constantinople*, where it raged with great fury for three years. *and gains several advantages over the Saracens.*

When the plague had ceased, *Constantine* caused his son *Leo* to be proclaimed emperor, and marched with an army into *Armenia*, where he took several places from the *Saracens*. The *Bulgarians*, in the mean time, making an irruption into *Thrace*, *Constantine* was obliged to march against them in person. In this expedition, he suffered himself to be surprised; He is de- and, his army being entirely defeated, he was forced to save feated by himself by flight. Soon after his return to *Constantinople*, he the *Bul-* renewed the edict against images; forbidding, at the same garians. time, any worship to be paid to the saints or their relics. Such of the bishops as opposed this edict were driven from their sees; and the monks who preached against it, were

He pro- either sent into banishment or sentenced to death. An edict hibits the was at the same time published in all the cities of the empire, worship forbidding, under the severest penalties, any one to embrace of images. a monastic life; and at *Constantinople* most of the religious houses were suppressed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the streets.

An extra- The twenty-third year of *Constantine's* reign was remarka- ordinary ble for a most extraordinary frost; a particular account of frost. which our readers will find in *Theophanes*, who passed over from *Europe* to *Asia* on the ice.

The *Bulgarians*, in the mean time, ravaging some of the provinces of the empire, *Constantine* marched in person against them, and cut them all off to a man, without the loss of one Christian; on which account the emperor styled this expedition his *noble war*. The following spring he again marched against the *Bulgarians*; but before he came up with the enemy he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in the *September* following, in the the twenty-fifth year of his reign. As *Constantine* was a zealous *iconoclast*, or *image breaker*, *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, and the other writers of those times, have drawn his character in no very favourable light: but, even according to their own accounts, he must have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, and well skilled in war and the art of governing.

Constantine dies.

Leo III. *Leo* succeeding his father in the empire, chose his son *Constantine* for his partner in the government, and caused him to be crowned by the patriarch in the *Hippodrome*. Soon after, *Elerick*, king of the *Bulgarians*, who, in the preceding reign, had done great mischief to the empire, being moved with a strong desire of embracing the Christian religion, resigned his crown, and repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was received by *Leo* with the greatest kindness; and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress *Irène*.

As the *Romans*, in the third year of *Leo's* reign, gained some advantages over the *Saracens*, the infidels, in revenge, persecuted the Christians in *Syria* in a most cruel manner, and caused all their churches to be levelled with the ground.

The

The following year, *Leo* revived the edicts of his father and He pub-
grandfather against images ; and likewise forbad the worship lishes an
of saints or the Virgin *Mary*. Having found two images in edict
the closet of the empress *Irene*, he never after admitted her to against
his bed, and caused those who ha^d conveyed them to her to images.
be racked to death. Not long after, he was seized with a
violent fever, which carried him off after he had reigned five His death
years.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, on the death of his father *Leo*, *Constan-*
was declared emperor ; but, as he was then only ten years *tine Por-*
old, his mother *Irene* took upon her the administration ; and, *phyrogeni-*
having discovered a conspiracy against her son, in the behalf *tus* and
of his uncle, in the second month of his reign, she banished *Irene*.
the conspirators to different islands. To prevent any attempt
of the like nature, she obliged all the late emperor's brothers
to take holy orders. Mean while the *Saracens* made an incur-
sion into the eastern provinces ; but were driven back, with
great loss, by the troops which *Irene* had sent thither. The
empress, the following year, sent ambassadors to *France*, to
propose a match between her son and one of the daughters
of *Charles*, afterwards surnamed *the Great* ; who agreeing to
the proposal, an eunuch, named *Eliseus*, was left at his
court to teach the princess, named *Rotdrudis*, the *Greek*
tongue. During this negotiation, *Helpidius*, governor of *Si-* *Helpidius*
ciy, revolted ; but, being driven out of the island, he took revolts,
refuge among the *Saracens* ; who, acknowledging him for and is sup-
emperor, broke with great violence into the eastern pro- ported by
vinces ; so that *Irene* was forced to appease them by obliging the *Sara-*
herself to pay them an annual pension. The peace with the *cens*.
Saracens was scarce concluded, when the *Sclavi* broke into
Greece and the *Peloponese*. Though the *Romans* gained seve-
ral victories over them, yet they were forced to suffer them
to continue in the countries they had seized upon, on their
promising to acknowledge the authority of the empire by the
payment of an annual tribute

In 779, *Irene*, probably incensed at *Charlemagne* for his in- A misun-
terfering in the affairs of *Italy*, and making a conquest of derstand-
that country, broke off the match between *Constantine* and ing be-
Rotdrudis, much against the inclination of her son, and forced tween *Con*
him to marry a woman of a mean descent, named *Mary* ; *stantine*
on which account he was never afterwards truly reconciled to and *Irene*.
his mother. Some courtiers, taking the advantage of the
misunderstanding between the mother and son, urged *Con-*
stantine to take the administration into his own hands ; and,
finding that he hearkened willingly to their counsels, they
resolved to seize *Saturacius*, who had the direction of affairs
under *Irene*. *Saturacius*, however, having notice of their de-
sign, imparted it to *Irene*, who caused all those who had
been privy to it, to be beaten with rods and sent into banish-
ment. She chastised her son with her own hands, and, hav-
ing confined him to his apartment, obliged the senate and
soldiery

Constantine assumes the whole administration.

soldiery to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge *Constantine*, but her alone, for their sovereign, so long as she lived. Some legions in *Armenia*, however, refusing to take the oath, this firmness encouraged the other troops, notwithstanding their late oath, to proclaim *Constantine*, and *Irene* not daring to oppose them, the young prince accordingly assumed the administration, when he recalled those who had been banished on his account, and sent into exile *Saturacius* and his mother's other favourites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. *Irene* was conducted by him with great respect from the palace to an house built by herself. The same year, great part of *Constantinople* was consumed by a dreadful fire, and, a few months after, the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake, which obliged the inhabitants to retire for some time into the open fields. *Constantine*, about the same time, marched against the *Bulgarians*, who had made an irruption into *Thrace*, and, according to *Cedrenus*, he gained a great victory over them; but *Zonaras* says, that the two armies parted on equal terms. Upon his return to *Constantinople* he was prevailed upon to recal *Irene* to court, and to restore her to her former authority, which the *Armenian* legions, however, would never acknowledge.

Constantine defeated by the Bulgarians.

Constantine now trusting the administration to his mother, marched once more against the *Bulgarians*; but as he confidently assured himself of victory, on the promise of some mathematicians, he gave the enemy an opportunity of surprising him by his negligence, and was defeated with great slaughter. The emperor growing jealous and distrustful upon this defeat, was persuaded by some malicious and designing courtiers, that a plot was forming in behalf of his uncle *Michael*, whose eyes he thereupon caused to be put out, treating his other three uncles also in the same manner, tho' nothing had been alledged against them. *Alexius Mosoles*, whom the *Armenian* legions had demanded for their leader, being treated in the same manner, those troops revolted. *Constantine* was obliged to march against them in person, and having defeated them, put their officers to death, and banished the soldiers into different islands.

His cruelty.

He divorces the empress Mary, and marries Theodora.

Irene being now under no restraint, began to put the emperor upon such measures as she thought would render him odious to the people. She persuaded him to divorce the empress *Mary*, and to marry *Theodora*, or *Theodota*, one of the maids of her chamber. Great contests arising among the clergy concerning the lawfulness of this marriage, *Irene* artfully sided with those who opposed her son, and privately employed several emissaries to stir up the people against him; but the success that attended his arms both against the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*, prevented the people from revolting. *Constantine* having repulsed the *Bulgarians*, upon his return to the capital, went with his mother to the baths of *Prusa* in *Bithynia*;

Bithynia ; but he quickly returned to *Constantinople*, upon the joyful news that the empress was delivered of a son. After his departure, *Irene* gained over the chief officers of the army, who undertook to depose him, and some of them accordingly returned to *Constantinople*, and seizing on the unhappy prince, pulled out his eyes in such a cruel and barbarous manner, that he died a few days after in the utmost agony, having reigned seven years alone, and ten with his mother. He is murdered.

Irene no sooner heard of the death of her son, than she repaired to *Constantinople*, entering the city in a gilded chariot, drawn by four horses, several patricians attending as her slaves on either side, while she threw money among the people, as was usual at the solemnity of a coronation. The *Saracens*, in the mean time, hearing that the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eastern provinces, and even passed over into *Thrace*, and made incursions to the very gates of *Constantinople*, returning home with an immense booty, and great numbers of captives. *Irene*, in the second year of her reign, discovered a conspiracy formed against her by her favourite *Saturacius* ; but, instead of punishing him with severity, she only prohibited any one to keep him against company. This lenity, joined to a lively sense of his ingratitude, made such an impression upon his mind, that he died of grief soon after. *Saturacius* conspires against *Irene*.

The empress, convinced that it was in vain to trust to favourites, made it her chief study to gain the hearts of her people, and with this view encouraged commerce, remitted to the citizens of *Constantinople* an annual tribute that had been long paid by them ; and, what most of all obliged the people, promoted to the utmost of her power, the worship of images. In the sixth year of her reign ambassadors arrived at *Constantinople* from *Charles the Great*, king of *France*, to propose a match betwixt him and *Irene*. The proposal was very acceptable to the empress ; but *Aetius*, an eunuch, who bore the chief sway at court, and had formed a design of procuring the empire for his brother *Leo*, then governor of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, put off, from time to time, the conclusion of the treaty, by daily starting new difficulties. *Aetius*, however, being hated by the nobility, who suspected his design, they, to dispose the people to a revolt, gave out, that *Irene* not only designed to marry *Charles*, but to transfer the seat of the empire to the West. Soon after, they went in a large body to the palace, and seizing *Irene*, caused *Nicephorus*, a patrician, to be crowned emperor. A match proposed between the empress and *Charles the Great*. *Nicephorus* proclaimed emperor. A.D. 793.

C H A P. II.

The Constantinopolitan History, from the Death of Irene, and Revival of the Western Empire, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the total Extinction of the Western Empire.

He concludes a treaty with Charles the Great.

NICEPHORUS, in the beginning of his reign, concluded an alliance with *Charles the Great*; for though the *French* ambassadors, by the deposition of *Irene*, had been disappointed as to the main part of their embassy, yet having been enjoined to conclude a firm and lasting peace with the eastern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince. The treaty was concluded the year following, and by it *Charles* was acknowledged emperor of the West, and of all *Italy* to the rivers *Vulturnus* and *Ausidius*.

Nicephorus, after he had prevailed with *Irene* to discover to him the place where her treasures lay concealed, confined her to a monastery, which she herself had built in an island, and soon after removed her to the island of *Lesbos*, where she died of grief, after having reigned ten years with her son, and five alone. *Nicephorus* having by his cruel suspicions and covetous temper, made himself odious to the people, *Bardanes*, a governor of one of the eastern provinces, revolted in the third year of his reign, and assumed the title of emperor: but two chief officers, who found him unequal to that great charge, abandoning his party, he thought proper to submit to the emperor, and, upon a promise of pardon, retired into a monastery; though *Nicephorus*, in a short time, invited him to *Constantinople*, and on his journey caused his eyes to be put out.

He is defeated by the Saracens.

The emperor, soon after, took his son *Saturacius* for his partner in the empire, and settling affairs at *Constantinople*, marched against the *Saracens*, by whom he was intirely defeated. The year after, the infidels, to the number of three hundred thousand men, invaded the empire, and after making themselves masters of *Tyana*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia Minor*, and several other fortified places, extended their ravages to *Galatia*. *Nicephorus* marched against them, but not daring to venture an engagement, consented to a most dishonourable treaty, by which he agreed to pay the infidels annually thirty thousand pieces of gold, besides three thousand for his own head, and as many for that of his son, and not to repair such forts as had been dismantled.

He violates a treaty

Upon the departure of the enemy the emperor immediately violated the treaty by rebuilding the forts that had been demolished, which so provoked the *Saracens*, that they returned

turned the same year, and put all to fire and sword. The concluded island of *Rhodes*, was next year ravaged by the infidels, who with them carried off from thence a great number of captives. *Nicephorus*, about the same time, marrying his son *Saturacius* to a near relation of the late empress *Irene*, who had been some time before contracted to another, great murmurings ensued among the people, and some conspired against him; but the plot being discovered, not only the guilty, but many innocent persons, were put to the most cruel deaths.

In the seventh year of his reign the *Bulgarians* surprised The *Bul-Sardica*, the capital of *Mœsia*, and put the whole garison, *garians* consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. *Nicephorus* take *Sar-* imposing a new tribute upon the *Constantinopolitans* for the *dica*. repairing of *Sardica*, the inhabitants in a tumultuous manner attacked the palace, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The emperor, two years after, marched at the head of a powerful army, and ravaged the country of the *Bulgarians* with fire and sword; and refusing to grant them a peace, which they submissively begged of him, he put the inhabitants to death, without distinction of sex or age. *Craunus*, the *Bulgarian* king, pushed on by despair, attacked the *Romans*, and cut them almost all off, with the emperor himself, *Nicephorus* slain He is said to have been strangely inclined to the execrable by them. doctrine of the *Manichees*, and to have exceeded all the A.D.801. princes who reigned before him in lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries.

Saturacius, though dangerously wounded in the neck, yet escaped in a litter to *Adrianople*, where he was acknowledged emperor: but as his wound hindered him from appearing in public, and he knew himself universally hated, he resolved to confer the empire on his wife *Theophania*. Mean while, *Michael* however, *Michael*, who had married his sister *Procopia*, was proclaimed emperor by the senate; upon which, *Saturacius* ed emperor immediately retired with his wife into a monastery, where he died soon after, having reigned two months and ten days. *Michael*, having obliged himself by a solemn promise under his own hand to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abstain from shedding Christian blood, was solemnly crowned by the patriarch. A few days after, he caused his wife also to be crowned, with his son *Theophylact*, whom he took for his partner in the empire.

In the beginning of his reign, the *Saracens* breaking into He is defeated by the empire in the East, were defeated with the loss of two thousand men by *Leo*, who commanded in those parts. The the *Bulgarians*, at the same time, invading the western provin- *garians*, ces, *Michael* marched against them in person, and gained and re-some advantages over them; but venturing a general en- signs the gagement, he was intirely defeated; which disgrace so af- empire. fected him, that, according to *Theophanes*, a cotemporary A.D.803. writer, he voluntarily resigned the empire to *Leo*, and retired with

with his wife and children to the monastery of *Pharus* where he took the monastic habit, after having reigned near ten years. *Leo*, *Theophanes* says, was with difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the empire ; but, according to *Cedrenus*, it was owing to his treachery that the *Bulgarian* gained the victory, and he, after the defeat, debauched the army from the emperor, who, though encouraged by his friends to maintain his title by the sword, refused to involve the empire in a civil war, and sent the royal ensign to *Leo*.

Leo acknowledged emperor.

The new emperor, upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, confined *Michael* to a monastery on the island *Prota*, and banished *Procopia* with her children to another place, having first caused *Theophylact*, their eldest son, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no issue. *Leo*, soon after he had entered upon the administration, gained a most signal victory over the *Bulgarians*, who were so disheartened by the defeat, that they made no more inroads into the empire for some years after.

He opposes the worship of images.

As the *Saracens* were at this time at variance among themselves, *Leo* having nothing to fear from them, applied himself wholly to the suppressing of the worship paid to images. He enforced the observance of the canons of the last general council held at *Constantinople*, and published an edict for the destroying of images. *Nicephorus* the patriarch, *Theophanes* the historian, and many others, were banished for refusing to comply with the emperor's edict.

A conspiracy against him.

While *Leo* was wholly intent upon redressing the abuses both in church and state, he discovered a conspiracy formed against him by one *Michael*, surnamed *Balbus*, or *The Stammerer*, whom he had promoted to the first employments. *Michael* was ordered to be executed on *Christmas* eve ; but *Leo* being upbraided by the empress *Theodofia* with cruelty and irreligion, for not respecting that holy time, was prevailed upon to respite the execution, and, in the mean time, loaded the criminal with irons, of which he kept the keys himself. Some religious people being admitted to *Michael*, he by their means acquainted his accomplices, that unless they speedily procured his release, he would discover them to *Leo*. The conspirators being alarmed at this message, mixed themselves with those who were to perform divine service in the emperor's chapel, and early next morning assassinated him at the altar, in the eighth year of his reign. *Leo* was allowed by his enemies to have been an active and vigilant prince, quite free from avarice, and forward to reform abuses of every kind.

He is murdered A.D. 812.

Michael Balbus proclaimed emperor.

The conspirators, after exposing *Leo's* body to public view, confined *Theodofia* to a monastery, and banished her four sons to the island *Prota*, where they were afterwards made eunuchs, in which cruel operation one of them died. *Michael*, in the mean time, being set at liberty, was crowned by the

the patriarch. He was a native of *Amorium*, a city of *Phrygia*, and observed the Jewish sabbath, denied the resurrection of the dead, and held several other tenets condemned by the Catholic church. In the first year of his reign he recalled a great number of bishops, monks, and others, whom *Leo* had banished for not complying with his edict against images; but at the same time he would not allow any images to be set up within the city.

A few months after, one *Thomas* raised a civil war in the *Thomas* East, which involved the empire in endless calamities. According to some authors, this *Thomas* had been a menial the East. servant to a senator at *Constantinople*, but having debauched his master's wife, fled to the *Saracens*, among whom he lived twenty-eight years as a proselyte to their religion. Having boasted that he would easily subdue the whole *Roman* empire, he obtained from the Kalif a considerable body of troops, and enticed the *Romans* to his interest by giving out that he was *Constantine* the son of *Irene*. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the East, and that he took arms to revenge the death of *Leo*. He was a man of a grave aspect, of extraordinary strength and courage, and being acceptable to the soldiers and the inhabitants of the eastern provinces, on account of his affable and engaging behaviour, he quickly raised a numerous army, and over-ran all *Asia*, seizing every where on the public revenues, and plundering such cities as refused to submit to him. Having assumed the purple and diadem, he defeated the troops sent against him by the emperor, and likewise gained a signal victory over *Michael's* fleet; after which he proceeded to *Thrace*, and laid siege to *Constantinople*. The He besieges inhabitants making a vigorous defence, and his fleet being dispersed in a storm, he was obliged to raise the siege; but *Constantinople*. the following spring he returned before the city, when his army was defeated with great slaughter, and his fleet driven ashore by that of the emperor.

One *Gregory*, a relation of the late emperor, having been banished by *Michael*, had joined *Thomas*, but seeing that his good fortune began to forsake him, he now entered into a negotiation with the emperor, to join him with twelve thousand troops whom he commanded. *Thomas* having intelligence of his design, marched against him, and having defeated his party, took him prisoner, and put him to death. *Mortægan*, king of the *Bulgarians*, soon after approaching to the relief of the emperor, *Thomas* again raised the siege, and marched against him, but was defeated by him with great slaughter. His fleet before *Constantinople*, upon the news of his defeat, revolted to the emperor, who soon after besieged He is de- him in *Adrianople*, when his own troops, no longer able to livered to endure the hardships of the siege, delivered him up to *Mi- the empe- chael*. After his hands and feet were cut off, he was carried ror, and upon an ass round the camp, and died a few days after. put to death. Though the usurper perished thus miserably, yet some ci- ties

ties and castles continued to hold out, from their hatred to *Michael*; but they were all in the end reduced, and the civil war was entirely extinguished.

The *Saracens* make a conquest of *Crete*.
A.D. 812.

Mean while, the *Saracens* who had settled in *Spain*, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, ravaged most of the islands of the *Mediterranean*, and the year after sailed to *Crete* with a fleet of forty ships. *Aspachapsus*, their commander, being informed by his spies, that there were very few soldiers on the island, immediately ordered his ships to be burnt, that his men might lay aside all thoughts of returning home. *Damianus*, an imperial general, soon after landed with some troops to oppose them; but the *Saracens* defeated him entirely at the first onset; after which they built and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called *Chandax*, from whence, by their frequent incursions, they soon reduced the whole island, to which they gave the name of *Chandax*, and others *Candia*. The emperor had no sooner put an end to the civil war, than he sent another body of troops to attempt the recovery of *Crete*. These forces, after an obstinate action, defeated the *Saracens*, and drove them with great loss into their city: but, instead of pursuing their victory, they gave themselves up to rioting and drinking, and suffered themselves to be surprized at night by the infidels, who cut them almost all off.

Besides the loss of the pleasant and fruitful island of *Crete*, several other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, namely, great conflagrations, destructive earthquakes, inundations, general dearth and scarcity of provisions, violent storms, &c. But these calamities did not reclaim him from his loose and dissolute life. In the sixth year of his reign, his wife being dead, he forced *Euphrosina*, the daughter of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, out of a monastery, and married her.

Euphemius acknowledged emperor by the *Saracens*,

Euphemius, an officer of great interest and authority in the army, encouraged by the example of the prince, took another sacred virgin by force out of a monastery in *Sicily*, and debauched her. Her brothers making loud complaints to the emperor, he ordered the matter to be examined into. *Euphemius*, to avoid the punishment due to his crime, revolted, and flying to the *Saracens* in *Africa*, promised to betray *Sicily* into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the *Romans*. The *Saracen* governor agreeing to his proposal, sent him back to *Sicily* with a large body of troops. When he arrived at *Syracuse*, he endeavoured to prevail with the inhabitants to open their gates to him, but imprudently trusting himself to two brothers, he was slain by them before the walls. The *Saracens*, however, did not return to their ships, but by degrees made themselves masters of the whole island; soon after also driving the *Romans* from *Calabria*, and the adjoining provinces in *Italy*. About the same time, the emperor died

who make themselves masters of *Sicily*.

died of a flux, before he had compleated the ninth year of his reign.

Theophilus succeeded his father *Michael*, and in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people, he pretended to be a strict observer of justice. Accordingly, he assembled all the nobility, and though his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of *Leo*, he caused all those concerned in that assassination to be put to death, after having tempted them to confess the fact voluntarily, by pretending a design to reward their services. He also sent *Euphrosine* back to the monastery, from whence his father had taken her, and applied himself with great diligence to public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought against his ministers, administering justice with the utmost impartiality, and frequently visiting, in person, the markets, to settle the prices of provisions.

Theophilus
succeeds
his father
Michael.
A.D.820.

In the third year of his reign he married his favourite daughter to *Alexius Moseles*, an *Armenian*, endowed with many excellent qualities, and then in the flower of his age. He conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, and at last, as he had no issue male of his own, created him *Cæsar*, and sent him at the head of a numerous army to restrain the *Saracens* in *Italy*, where he was attended with uncommon success. His great reputation drawing upon him the envy of the courtiers, who represented him as one who aspired at the empire, *Alexius*, to stifle their malice, begged leave of the emperor to embrace a monastic life: but *Theophilus* reposing an entire confidence in him refused to grant his request. Soon after, however, a son being born to the emperor, and *Alexius* losing his wife, he at length obtained leave to retire.

The *Saracens* by this time having made themselves masters of the kingdom of *Persia*, the few *Persians* that survived sent to the emperor, desiring one of his generals, named *Theophobus*, for their king, who was the natural son of a *Persian* ambassador who had died at *Constantinople* when he was an infant. The emperor, rather than part with *Theophobus*, raised him to the rank of a patrician, and gave him one of his sisters in marriage, at the same time publishing an edict, allowing all his subjects to intermarry with the *Persians*, which brought great numbers of that nation over to the *Romans*, who formed them into one body, called the *Persian* legion.

The *Saracens* having then invaded the *Roman* territories, the emperor marched in person against them, attended by *Theophobus* and another general named *Manuel*. In the battle which ensued, the *Romans*, after an obstinate engagement, were totally routed; and the emperor, with his guards, two thousand *Persians*, and *Theophobus*, retired to a neighbouring hill, where they were surrounded by the enemy. When night came on, the *Romans*, by the advice of *Theophobus*, set up

up a great shout, and at the same time sounded their trumpets, and other warlike instruments; whence the *Saracens* concluding that they had received some reinforcements, retired in great haste.

The emperor defeats the *Saracens*.
A.D. 824.

The following year the emperor was attended with better success; for having engaged the *Saracens*, he gained a complete victory, killed great numbers of them, and took above twenty thousand prisoners. This encouraged him to make another attempt the spring following; but his army was then utterly defeated, and he himself in great danger of being taken prisoner, by advancing too far before the rest of his army. At first he refused to return, lest his retreat should discourage his men: but *Manuel* threatening to kill him if he did not withdraw from the danger, he at length complied; his faithful general, with his chosen band, cutting him a way through the enemy. Though *Theophilus*, at first, had a just sense of this eminent service; yet, through envy, he soon after hearkened to the malicious insinuations of some, and resolved to deprive *Michael* of his sight: but he being informed of his design, fled to the *Saracens*; who, without insisting upon his changing his religion, promoted him in their service, and gave him the command of an army against the *Cermatae*, whom he overcame in several battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching *Constantinople*, the emperor wrote a letter to him with his own hand, inviting him home, and promising to reinstate him in all his honours. *Manuel* received this letter with unspeakable joy; and, pretending a desire of being revenged on the *Romans*, obtained the command of an army to invade *Cappadocia*. When he arrived at that province, he abandoned his troops, and returned to *Constantinople*; where he was received in the church of *Belchernaë*, with great solemnity, by the emperor, who raised him to the highest post in the army.

The *Saracens* invade *Cappadocia*.

The year following, the *Saracens* invading *Cappadocia*, under a general of their own nation, the emperor marched against them in person; but both armies, when they came within sight of each other, being seized with a pannaic, returned home without coming to an engagement. The year after, *Theophylus* made himself master of several strong holds, in *Syria*, and upon his return to *Constantinople* left *Theophobus* to command the army. After his departure, the *Persians*, now increased to thirty thousand, seized on *Theophobus* at *Sinope*, and notwithstanding all his remonstrances and intreaties, declared him emperor. *Theophobus*, having privately assured the emperor of his loyalty, took the first opportunity of escaping to *Constantinople*, where the emperor received him with the greatest kindness, continued him in his former honours, and pardoned the rebellious *Persians* at his request.

Theophilus, in ravaging *Syria*, having destroyed *Sozopetra*, the birth-place of the prince of the *Saracens*, he in revenge made

made great preparations for an expedition against *Phrygia*, proposing to destroy the emperor's birth-place *Amorium*, which name he ordered his soldiers to engrave upon their shields. The emperor, to protect *Phrygia*, marched thither with a considerable army; but being defeated by the *Saracens*, who were joined by a body of *Turks*, he could not hinder them from besieging *Amorium*, which was betrayed into their hands by one of the citizens, and by them levelled with the ground. The loss of the place so affected the emperor, that falling into a deep melancholy, he abstained from all nourishment, and drinking only snow-water, threw himself into a dysentery, which soon carried him off in the thirtieth year of his reign. As he was a great enemy to the worship of images, the writers of those times, who were of a different opinion, have endeavoured to blacken his character: but even from their accounts he appears to have been an exact observer of justice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy to covetousness. He beautified the city of *Constantinople* with many stately edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which were so high that they could not be scaled. We have the following instance of his disinterestedness in *Cedrenus*. One day, observing a large ship entering the harbour of *Constantinople*, he asked the mariners *To whom the cargo belonged?* They answering, *To the empress*, he replied with great indignation, *God has made me a prince, and my wife a merchant! Was ever any emperor before married to a merchant!* He then ordered fire to be set to the vessel, saying, *If princes apply themselves to trade, their subjects must starve.*

and defeat
the emperor,

who dies
of grief.
A.D. 832.

Theophylus was succeeded by his son *Michael*, but he being only six years of age, his mother took upon her the administration, which she began by exerting her zeal for the worship of images, recalling all those who had been banished on that account in the late reign, and banishing such as differed in opinion from her. Having by her ardent zeal, in a few years, utterly suppressed the *Iconoclasts*, whose doctrine had prevailed in *Constantinople*, and most cities of the *Impru-* East, she next fell upon the *Manichees*, of whom no fewer than one hundred thousand are said to have been destroyed. This severity driving the rest into despair, they revolted, and four thousand of them fled to the *Saracens*, who being conducted by them into the *Roman* territories, ravaged and uncoupled whole provinces.

Michael
succeeds
his father
Theophilus
Impru-
dent go-
vernment
of *Theode-*
ra.

The emperor, in the mean time, having attained the twentieth year of his age, was instigated by *Bardas*, brother to *Theodora*, to assume the reins of government. The designs of *Bardas* were forwarded by a misunderstanding between *Manuel* and *Theodotus*, the tutors of the prince, the former of whom retired from court to a private life. *Theodotus*, by the young prince's orders, was soon after murdered, *Bardas* having falsely accused him of aspiring to the purple.

She is obliged to resign the administration. purple. *Theodora* now thought it proper to retire, and having assembled the senate, shewed them how careful and frugal she had been during her administration ; she having, by a commendable oeconomy, not only spared the immense treasure left her by her husband, but greatly improved it. After she had retired from court, her son, lest she should attempt to resume her former power, ordered her and her three daughters to be shut up in a monastery, where she died soon after of grief.

Michael indulges himself in many vices. *Michael* was no sooner freed from restraint, than he abandoned himself to the most infamous debaucheries, taking pride in imitating *Nero*, whom he proposed to himself as his pattern. He in a short time squandered away the immense treasure left him by his mother, and being always attended by a crew of most extravagant, debauched, and profligate wretches, he, to ridicule the most sacred things, often caused his associates to appear in caps and other vestments, in which priests used to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the most holy functions and ceremonies. Having in a short time wasted all his treasures, he was reduced to the necessity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a bishop, named *Leo*, the greatest man of his age. Among the boughs were dispersed several golden birds, which, by the help of an organ, sung melodiously, while the spectators were at the same time no less agreeably surprized and frightened by the roaring of a golden lion, effected by the same artifice.

He is defeated by the *Saracens*. The prodigal emperor, in the second year of his reign, undertook an expedition against the *Saracens*, and besieged one of their cities on the *Euphrates* ; but his troops being surprized on a *Sunday*, while they were at their devotions, were intirely defeated, and driven from their camp, which was plundered by the infidels. Two years after, the *Saracens* invaded the *Roman* dominions, and defeated the emperor ; but the loss of that battle was soon repaired by *Petronas*, the emperor's brother, who surprized the *Saracens* near *Ephesus*, cut off the Kaliff himself, and his whole army, and took his son prisoner.

Bardas created *Cæsar*. A.D. 849. The emperor, about the same time, raised his uncle *Bardas* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, in which high station he acted in a most arbitrary manner, without the least regard to the laws and customs of the empire. Having divorced his wife, without accusing her of any fault, and married his own niece, the holy patriarch *Ignatius* refused to communicate with him, which provoked him to such a degree, that he suborned false witnesses, who accused *Ignatius* of having murdered his predecessor *Methodius*. On this accusation *Ignatius* was deposed, and thrown into prison ; and *Photinus* being raised to the patriarchal see, great disturbances were thereby occasioned at *Constantinople*.

As the *Saracens* settled in *Crete* had this year ravaged *Thrace*, the emperor marched against them, accompanied by *Bardas*. When the army was encamping, the servants of *Bardas*, whether on purpose, or unadvisedly, is uncertain, pitched their master's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion. The emperor seeming to resent this, was soon more inflamed by the envious courtiers against *Bardas*, and gave them orders to murder him, which they soon put in execution. *Basilus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, murdered who was the chief promoter of the murder of *Bardas*, was soon after entrusted with the whole management of public affairs, and even declared partner in the empire. *Basilus*, tho' born in *Macedon*, was by extract an *Armenian*, and, according to *Cedrenus*, descended from the royal family of the *Arscidae*; but others affirm that he was come of obscure parents. In his youth he served a nobleman of great distinction as his master of the horse; and being afterwards taken into the emperor's service, he gained by degrees a great ascendant over him, which at length raising the jealousy of *Bardas*, made him resolve to cut him off, though, as we have mentioned, his plot turned upon himself. *Basilus* was no sooner advanced to the imperial dignity, than he did all that lay in his power to redress the abuses that had crept into the state, and to reclaim *Michael* from his vicious courses: but the dissolute prince, instead of following his wholesome counsel, resolved to rid himself of so troublesome a censor. *Basilus* finding that he had no means to save himself but by destroying his colleague, entered his room in the night, while he was drunk and asleep, and dispatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years and three months alone. *Basilus*, now sole master of the empire, governed with great justice and moderation, and by allowing all his subjects free access to him, greatly endeared himself to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. Some patricians, nevertheless, conspired against him; but their plot being discovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices banished. In the second year of his reign *Basilus* raised his eldest son *Constantine* to the imperial dignity, and in the third, he created *Leo* and *Alexander*, his second and third sons, *Cæsars*. *Stephen*, his fourth son, entered into orders, with the design of succeeding to the patriarchal see, and his four daughters took the religious habit.

As many of the *Manichees* had taken possession of three strong holds in *Armenia*, yielded to them by the *Saracens*, from whence they made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories, *Basilus* marched in person against them, took or killed their best commanders, and laid waste their country. The *Manichees*, to revenge the losses they had sustained, broke unexpectedly into the empire the following year,

but being met by the imperial troops, they were almost to a man cut off.

His suc-
cess a-
gainst the
Saracens.

Basilus, encouraged by his success against the *Manichees*, entered *Syria* the year after, where he recovered several strong holds out of the hands of the *Saracens*, and took an incredible number of prisoners, many of whom he caused to be put to the sword, which struck such terror into the *Saracens*, that some of their governors not only submitted, but joined the emperor against their own nation. The *African Saracens*, and those of *Crete*, who attempted to invade the empire, were defeated with great slaughter, the fleet of the former being entirely destroyed: but these great advantages were, in some degree, counterbalanced by the loss of *Syracuse*.

A conspi-
racy a-
gainst him
is disco-
vered.

Basilus, at such times as he was not engaged in wars, busied himself in building and repairing churches, of which *Cedrenus* mentions a great number. His eldest son, *Constantine*, being dead, he raised his second son *Leo* to the imperial dignity, who being offended at the great sway which *Theodorus Santabareus*, by profession a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's presence. The monk guessing his design, laid a snare to destroy him, and, by pretending to have received intelligence of a conspiracy against the emperor, to be put in execution while he was hunting, he persuaded the young prince to arm himself privately, that he might be in a condition to defend his father. The prince following his advice, he immediately accused him to the emperor of a design upon his life, and a dagger being found under his garments, he was instantly committed to prison, where his eyes would have been put out, at the instigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the senate interposed in his behalf. He was, nevertheless, long kept under close confinement, but at length was released at the earnest and repeated intreaties of the senate, and restored to his former dignity. *Basilus*, not long after, died, before he had completed the nineteenth year of his reign; during the latter part of which, he addicted himself entirely to the conversation of monks, and to works of piety. To his son *Leo* he left, with the empire, some excellent maxims or rules of government, which are comprized in sixty-six chapters, and are truly worthy of a great prince, and Christian philosopher. He made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of *Basiliæ*, that is, *royal*, or *imperial* laws. They were written in the *Greek* tongue, the *Latin*, in which the laws of *Justinian* were compiled, being at this time scarce understood in the empire.

*Leo suc-
ceeds his
father Ba-
silus.*

Leo, the son and successor of *Basilus*, was a great lover of learning, and so well versed in all the branches of literature, that he deservedly acquired the surname of *Philosophus*. His first

first care was to punish the monk *Theodorus Santabareus*, who being whipped in an ignominious manner, was banished to *Athens*, where his eyes were put out. As *Photius*, the patriarch, had conspired with *Theodorus* to raise a kinsman of his own to the throne, *Leo* banished him into *Armenia*, and raised his own brother *Stephen* to the patriarchal see.

In the eighth year of *Leo's* reign a war broke out between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*. A great trade had long been carried on between the two nations; but the public mart having been lately removed from *Constantinople* to *Thessalonica*, the *Bulgarian* merchants were there so grievously oppressed, that *Simeon*, their king, was obliged to apply to the emperor for redress. His complaints not being attended to, he entered *Macedon* at the head of a powerful army, and having defeated the *Romans*, sent his prisoners to *Constantinople* with their noses cut off. *Leo*, highly provoked at that outrage, prevailed upon the *Ungri*, or *Hungarians*, whom our author styles *Turks*, to invade the *Bulgarians* on one side, while he should attack them on the other. *Simeon* being defeated by the *Hungarians*, sued for a peace, which *Leo* granted him; but the imperial troops had no sooner retired, than he fell upon the *Hungarians*, and having put them to flight, ravaged their country. *Leo* sent a powerful army into *Bulgaria*, to punish the perfidy of *Simeon*; but the imperial troops being defeated by the *Bulgarians*, he was obliged to submit to the best terms he could obtain.

The *Romans* defeated by the *Bulgarians*.

Their treachery.

During these transactions, several conspiracies were formed against the emperor, which, however, being seasonably discovered, the conspirators were sent into exile, *Leo* being averse to the shedding of blood. The empress being dead, *Leo* married one *Zoe*, the most beautiful woman of her age, whom he had kept in his wife's life-time, and caused her to be crowned with the usual solemnity: but she dying soon after, he married to his third wife, a lady of extraordinary beauty, named *Eudocia*. As she died in child-bed, together with the infant, *Leo*, who had yet no issue male to succeed him, married to his fourth wife, another *Zoe*, who brought him a son, called *Constantine*. As some ancient councils decreed penalties against those who married three times, the patriarch *Nicolaus Mysticus* excommunicated the emperor, who thereupon conferred the patriarchate on one *Eythymius Syncellus*, which occasioned a schism in the church. Some time before his fourth marriage, as the emperor was going in a solemn procession to the church of St. *Mocius*, just as he entered the church, a person of a mean condition gave him such a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and those about him believed him dead. *Alexander*, the emperor's brother, was thought to have been privy to this attempt; but the traitor made no discovery of his accomplices, and was burnt to death in the *circus*.

Several conspiracies against the emperor.

The *Saracens* continue to diminish the empire,

The following year, which was the sixteenth of *Leo's* reign, the *Saracens* took *Tauroninium* in *Sicily*, reduced the island of *Lemnos*, and after ravaging the coasts of *Asia*, in the end of summer made themselves master of *Thessalonica*. *Leo*, not able to make head against the *Saracens* by sea, sent a powerful army into the East, under the conduct of *Eustatius Argyrus*, and *Andronicus Ducas*, who defeated the infidels in several battles. The *Roman* territories, however being invaded by them the year after, *Andronicus Ducas* and *Himerius* were dispatched against them : but one *Samonas*, a *Saracen*, who had discovered a conspiracy against the emperor, and had been advanced by him to the first employments in the state, now put a stop to the progress of the imperial arms, by preventing the generals from acting in conjunction. As the son of *Andronicus*, some time before, had prevented his escape into his own country, he, in resentment, treacherously persuaded *Andronicus* that *Himerius* intended to put out his eyes. *Himerius*, though *Andronicus* refused to join him, engaged and defeated the *Saracens*, on the news of which, *Andronicus*, dreading the emperor's indignation, seized a castle near *Iconium*, with a design to revolt. *Samonas* exaggerating his offence to the emperor, prevailed on him to declare him a traitor, and to send an army against him.

Andronicus Ducas takes refuge among the *Saracens*.

Andronicus flying to the *Saracens*, was received by them with the greatest demonstrations of esteem. Soon after, the emperor, who regretted the loss of so able a general, sent a letter to him by a *Saracen* captive, promising to restore him to his former honours ; but the captive, bribed by *Samonas*, delivered the letter to the kalif, who caused the unfortunate *Andronicus*, with his son *Constantine*, and the rest who attended him in his flight, to be thrown into prison. *Andronicus* soon perished under the hardships he endured ; several others, by renouncing their religion, obtained their liberty ; but *Constantine*, the son of *Andronicus*, made his escape with a few attendants, and arrived at *Constantinople*, where he was kindly received by the emperor.

His enemy *Samonas* disgraced.
A.D.887.

The treacherous *Samonas*, about this time, by his arrogance, drew the emperor's resentment upon himself. Having recommended a *Paphlagonian* youth, named *Constantine*, to wait on the empress, he soon became jealous of the interest and authority that he had acquired by his address and other good qualities. He accused the empress of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldness to publish a libel against the emperor himself, who discovering him to be the author of it, confined him to a monastery, and made *Constantine* great chamberlain in his room. The *Saracens*, in the twenty-sixth and last year of *Leo's* reign, ravaging the coasts and islands of the *Ægean* sea, *Himerius* was sent against them ; but his fleet was entirely defeated by that of the enemy near the island of *Samos*.

The

The emperor died soon after, bequeathing the empire to his brother *Alexander* ; but earnestly entreating him to leave it, at his death, to his son *Constantine*, who was then scarce five years of age. As *Leo* was a man of great learning, he left several works behind him, namely, a letter to *Omarus*, king of the *Saracens*, concerning the mysteries and truth of the Christian religion, and the heresies and blasphemies of the *Saracens* ; a book of military discipline ; another on hunting ; several theological and historical tracts, still to be seen in the *Vatican* library ; a circular letter, which he wrote to all his subjects, encouraging them to the practice of every Christian virtue. But as he applied himself chiefly to the law, he new-modelled the *Roman* jurisprudence. His laws, which he entitled *Basilicæ*, consisted of six volumes, and were divided into sixty books.

Upon the death of *Leo*, the senate and people acknowledged *Alexander* as emperor ; who, in the very beginning of his reign, gave such instances of his cruelty, avarice, and debauchery, as rendered him odious to all his subjects. He suffered himself to be entirely governed by debauchees and prostitutes, and banished those who seemed to discountenance his wild and vicious excesses. One *Basilitzas*, a person of a mean descent and most dissolute life, became so much his favourite, that he resolved to settle the empire upon him ; and, by castrating his nephew *Constantine*, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of succession : but some of the late emperor's friends diverted him from so unpopular an attempt, by representing to him, that the child was of so weakly a constitution that he was not likely to live.

Instead of cultivating the friendship of *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, he dismissed his ambassadors, who came to renew the alliances between the two nations, in an ignominious manner ; which provoking *Simeon*, he invaded the *Roman* territories with a numerous army. *Alexander*, instead of opposing him, pursued, without interruption, his dissolute course of life ; but one day using violent exercise, after he had eaten and drank to a great excess, he burst one of his vessels ; which occasioned his death, after he had reigned about thirteen months.

Before he died, he declared *Constantine* his successor ; but appointed him, for his governors, such persons as had been most subservient to him in his infamous pleasures. *Constantine*, the son of *Andronicus Ducas*, reflecting that the king's governors were universally despised, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his friends in the *circus* ; but, as he was attempting to force the imperial palace, he was seized by the guards, who cut off his head and carried it to the emperor. Most of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being discovered, were punished either with death or banishment.

The Bulgarians besiege Constantinople.

Mean while, *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, having ravaged *Thrace*, laid siege to *Constantinople*; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, he soon retired to *Heldemon*; from whence he sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, with offers of an accommodation; which, according to *Cedrenus*, was soon concluded; though *Zonaras* affirms, that the negotiations were broke off. The regents soon after disagreeing among themselves, the empress *Zoe* was recalled to court; who, having soon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's presence the favourites of *Alexander*.

The Romans defeated by the Bulgarians.

Zoe had scarce taken upon herself the administration, when the *Bulgarians* invaded *Thrace*, and made themselves masters of *Adrianople*; while the *Saracens*, having equipped a powerful fleet, committed great devastations on the coasts. The empress, resolving to punish the *Bulgarians*, prevailed with the *Saracens* to agree to a treaty, and sent a powerful army against the former under the conduct of *Leo Phocas*. In the engagement which ensued, the *Bulgarians* were routed; but, during the pursuit, *Leo*, the Roman general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought, his horse broke loose, and being known by the soldiers, they concluded that their general was slain, and retreated in a disorderly manner: which being observed by *Simeon*, he faced about, and put the Romans to flight with great slaughter. This is the account of *Curopolates*; but *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, and others, relate, that *Leo*, upon intelligence that *Romanus Lacapenus*, the admiral, had sailed to *Constantinople* to seize the empire, returned instantly to the camp, to enquire more fully into the matter, as he had formed the same design himself: and the soldiers, thinking he retired through fear, turned their pursuit into a sudden and disorderly flight. Two strong detachments of the *Bulgarians* being soon after defeated, they thought proper to return home.

Romanus crowned emperor.

Leo and *Romanus*, upon their return to *Constantinople*, began to plot not only against the emperor, but against each other. The faction of *Romanus* prevailing, *Leo* was declared a traitor, and, by the emperor's orders, was deprived of his sight. *Romanus* soon after persuaded *Constantine* to marry his daughter, and to appoint his son *Christopher* commander in chief of the allies. He also drove the empress *Zoe* from the palace; and, not long after her departure, caused himself to be first declared *Cæsar*, and afterwards to be solemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch. The year after, he also caused his two sons, *Stephen* and *Christopher*, to be crowned; reserving the other, by name *Theophylactus*, for the patriarchal dignity. The friends of the young *Constantine* formed several designs to deliver him from the captivity in which he lived; but their plots being discovered, they were punished with great severity.

Simeon

Simeon, king of the *Bulgarians*, in the mean time, having defeated the *Romans*, again appeared before *Constantinople*; but despairing of reducing the place, he desired an interview with *Romanus*; which being readily granted, a peace thereupon ensued between the two nations. About the same time, the *Saracens*, who had long infested the coasts and the islands, were surprised in the harbour of *Lemnos*, and cut off, almost to a man, by the *Roman* admiral. *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, dying soon after, his son and successor *Peter*, without regarding the late treaty, broke into the *Roman* dominions: but when he heard that *Romanus* was marching against him, he sent offers of peace, which he desired might be strengthened and confirmed by a marriage. This overture being well received by *Romanus*, *Peter* was entertained by him in a magnificent manner at *Constantinople*; and with great solemnity married to *Mary*, the daughter of *Christopher*, the emperor's son.

A peace between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*.

The nuptial solemnities were scarce over, when the *Saracens* in *Syria* invaded the *Roman* territories; but the imperial general not only drove them back with great loss, but, having taken the city of *Melitena*, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. The following winter is remarkable for a frost which is said to have lasted one hundred and twenty days. It was followed by terrible earthquakes and a dreadful plague, which swept off great numbers of people. *Christopher*, the son of *Romanus*, died also the same year, to the great grief of his father. A few months after, an insurrection was raised by one *Basilus*, a native of *Macedon*, who gave out that he was *Constantine Ducas*. Being seized and brought to the emperor, he ordered one of his hands to be cut off, and set him at liberty: but he still assuming his former character, and his followers making incursions into the neighbouring country, *Romanus*, after apprehending him, ordered him to be burnt alive.

In 915, the *Rossi*, who inhabited the *European Sarmatia*, ravaged the coasts of the empire with a fleet of ten thousand vessels; but, according to some, of fifteen thousand. Their whole fleet, however, was destroyed by the *Roman* admiral; and those who saved themselves ashore were almost wholly cut off. The emperor *Constantine* all this while had remained only with the shadow of authority; but, having some years after gained over persons in great credit with *Romanus* and his sons, they prevailed on *Stephen* to seize his father *Romanus*, and confine him to a monastery. *Stephen*, after removing his father, caused himself to be crowned; obliging his brother *Constantine*, who had been raised to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner.

The *Rossi* defeated by the *Romans*.

Romanus confined in a monastery.

Constantine, the son of *Leo*, inviting the two brothers to an entertainment, under pretence of reconciling them, caused them both to be seized, and to be conveyed to places distant from the capital, where they were ordained priests. *Roma-*

Constantine died in the beginning of the fourth year of his exile. A.D. 928. *Constantine* was killed in *Samothrace* by his keepers; and *Stephen* died in *Lesbos*, after he had borne his misfortunes many years with great firmness and resolution.

The emperor *Constantine* had no sooner recovered his authority, than he amply rewarded those who had been instrumental in his restoration. Soon after, having caused his son *Romanus* to be crowned, he ordered some of the descendants of *Romanus* the elder to be made eunuchs, and to enter into orders. The *Saracens*, the same year, broke into the empire with a mighty army, but were several times defeated by *Leo* and *Nicéphorus*, the sons of *Bardas Phocas*. *Leo*, in one of his battles, having taken prisoner a near relation of the kalif, the emperor caused him to be led in triumph through *Constantinople*, and, in an insulting manner, tied upon his neck. The kalif, to revenge this indignity, used in a barbarous manner *Constantine*, one of the sons of *Bardas*, whom he had taken prisoner, in order to make him abjure the Christian religion; but not being able to prevail with him, he caused him to be poisoned.

The *Saracens* invade the empire but are defeated.

To revenge his son's death, *Phocas* put to the sword all the relations of the kalif who fell into his hands; and, not long after, gained a signal victory over the kalif, who escaped with only a few of his troops. After this victory, *Phocas* invaded the territories of the *Saracens*, took several strong holds, and laid waste whole provinces. The *Saracens* of *Crete*, in the mean time, ravaging the coasts of the empire, the emperor sent a powerful fleet and army thither. The *Romans*, upon their arrival, found the *Saracens* struck with great consternation; but their general, who was one of the chamberlains of the court, instead of improving his advantages, suffered himself to be surprised, and his troops cut off by the infidels.

Constantine dies.

Not long after this defeat, *Romanus*, the emperor's son, at the instigation of his wife *Theophania*, conspired against his father, and caused poison to be administered to him instead of a potion prescribed by a physician. The emperor, however, accidentally spilling great part of the draught, what remained had not the desired effect, though his life was for some time in great danger. He died in the month of *November* of the same year, after having lived forty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle, and mother; twenty-five with *Romanus*, and fifteen alone. He is accused by *Curopolates* of having been too much addicted to wine; and of committing the whole management of affairs to his wife *Helena* and his favourite *Basilus*, who set every thing to sale, and by that means filled all the offices with persons no ways qualified for them. On the other hand, he was a great encourager of learning; which he is said to have revived after letters had been long neglected: and by *Zonaras* he is commended for his piety.

Constantine

Constantine was succeeded by his son *Romanus*, surnamed *the Romanus*, a Boy; who is reckoned to have been one of the most lewd and debauched princes that ever reigned. He wallowed in all manner of debaucheries; and, that he might pursue his vicious pleasures without interruption, he committed the whole management of affairs to his chief chamberlain, named *Joseph*; though he was himself capable of governing well, being endowed with uncommon parts. Having caused his young son, *Basilus*, to be crowned, he imagined that he had thereby secured the empire to his posterity, and took no further care either of his family or of the public.

In the second year of his reign, *Nicephorus Phocas* obtained his permission, and that of the senate, to undertake an expedition against the *Saracens* of *Crete*. Having accordingly landed his troops, he defeated the *Saracens* in several engagements, and in the space of seven months reduced the whole island; but before he could settle affairs there, he was recalled by the emperor; *Joseph* having alarmed him with a pretended prediction, *That he who conquered Crete, should become master of the whole Roman empire*. While *Nicephorus* was signalizing himself in *Crete*, his brother *Leo* in the East gave the *Saracens* the greatest blow they had ever received. Such numbers of captives were sent by him to *Constantinople*, that all the houses both in the city and country were filled with *Saracens* and slaves. *Leo*, on his return to *Constantinople*, was honoured with a triumph; but his brother, *Nicephorus*, was not allowed to come to court, being ordered to march into *Syria*, to oppose the kalif, who had again assembled a powerful army. *Nicephorus* defeated the *Saracens* on the borders of *Syria*, and made himself master of *Berea*, in which he found great wealth. Before the news of this victory reached *Constantinople*, the emperor died, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the fourth of his reign alone after his father's death.

The island of *Crete* recovered
The *Saracens* defeated.

Romanus dies.
A.D. 954.

He left two sons behind him, *Basilus* and *Constantine*; but, as they were very young, the empress *Theophania* took upon her the administration, and immediately after sent for *Nicephorus* to *Constantinople*, and honoured him with a triumph, much against the will of *Joseph*, the prime-minister. *Nicephorus*, to lull the suspicions of *Joseph* asleep, obtained of him a private audience, when, having told him that he had long panted after a retired and monastic life, he shewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore constantly next to his skin. Having by this device gained the good opinion of *Joseph*, he was suffered to return to the army in the East; but *Joseph* soon after becoming jealous of the esteem he was in with the troops, wrote to two principal commanders, offering them greater preferments if they would secure *Nicephorus*. These two officers, however, delivered the letters to *Nicephorus*; urged him, for his own safety, to assume the imperial

Nicephorus is proclaimed emperor. rial dignity; and, upon his pretending to reject their proposal, threatned him with their drawn swords; so that he, at length, suffered himself to be proclaimed. Some writers relate, that he was chiefly prompted to usurp the sovereignty from his love for the empress *Theophania*, with whom he had long maintained a private correspondence.

A.D. 957. The news of what had happened in the East, no sooner arrived at *Constantinople*, than the tumultuous rabble levelled the house of *Joseph* and those of his friends. *Nicephorus* arriving at *Hebdomon*, was there crowned by the patriarch, in the presence of the chief nobility; and soon after banished *Joseph* to *Paphlagonia*, where he was confined to a monastery. In the second year of his reign, he married the empress *Theophania*; for which he was excommunicated by the patriarch; who alledged that the marriage was unlawful, because *Nicephorus* had been married before, and was said to have stood godfather to one of the empress's children. The affair, however, being examined in a synod, held for that purpose at *Constantinople*, *Nicephorus* was restored by the assembled bishops to the communion of the church.

The Saracens defeat the Romans in Sicily. In the third year of his reign, the emperor sent a powerful army into *Sicily* against the *Saracens*; but his general, who was unskilled in the art of war, suffering himself to be drawn into the mountainous parts of the island was there cut off with all his men. The *Saracens* who had invaded *Cilicia*, however, were defeated with such slaughter by *John Zimisces*, that the hill on which the battle was fought, was from that time called *the bloody hill*. The same year the island of *Cyprus* was recovered from the *Saracens*, and reunited to the empire. The year after, the emperor marched in person against the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*; took three of their strongest cities; and, having wintered in *Cappadocia*, took *Mopsuesta* and *Tarsus* the spring following. A fleet which had come too late to the relief of *Tarsus*, in its return to *Egypt* was almost entirely destroyed by a storm. The following year, *Nicephorus* broke into *Syria*; and, after having reduced great numbers of fortresses, laid siege to *Antioch* itself: but, after he had continued three months before it, he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to drop the enterprize, and returned to *Constantinople*. After his departure, *Burtzas*, a patrician, suddenly drew together the forces left under his command, and surprised the city of *Antioch*.

Antioch recovered from the *Saracens*.

Nicephorus, according to *Cedremus*, dropped his design against *Antioch* on account of an old prediction, *That the prince who took that city should not long enjoy his conquest*. He was therefore dissatisfied with *Burtzas*, and forbid him the court; treating *John Zimisces* also in the same manner. These two disgraced courtiers formed a conspiracy, with many others, against the emperor; and drawing the empress into their designs, who was incensed against her husband from a suspicion that he intended

tended to make her two sons eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother *Leo*; they were conducted by her into the royal apartments, and assassinated the emperor, in the fifty-fourth year of his age and seventh of his reign. His covetousness and the grievous taxes with which he had loaded his subjects, estranged from him the minds of the people; so that, notwithstanding the glory he had acquired in arms, he was universally hated both by the nobility and populace. *Nicephorus murdered* A.D. 961.

Upon the death of *Nicephorus*, *John Zimisces* being proclaimed emperor by the conspirators, and acknowledged as such by the people, began his administration with removing all the friends of the deceased emperor from their employments both in the state and army; recalling at the same time all whom his predecessor had banished. He then proposed to receive the crown at the hands of the patriarch, who, however, refused him admittance into the church, as a person whose hands were embrued in the blood of his sovereign. *John* alledging in his defence, that the emperor had not been murdered by him, but by *Abdantius*, at the instigation of the empress; the patriarch commanded him to banish them both, and to revoke all the edicts of his predecessor to the prejudice of the church; which he readily complying with, and promising also to settle his paternal estate on the poor, he was admitted into the church, and crowned with great solemnity on *Christmas-day*. According to some writers, the opposition made by the patriarch was merely feigned, and concerted between him and *Zimisces*, who only wanted a pretence to remove the empress. *John Zimisces proclaimed emperor.*

The new emperor took *Basilus* and *Constantine*, the sons of *Theophania*, for his colleagues; and, being informed that the *Saracens* had besieged *Antioch* with a numerous army, he declared *Nicholas*, an eunuch, general in the East; who, drawing together what forces he could, attacked the infidels engaged in the siege, and obliged them to retire with great loss. The following year, the *Rossi*, who had seized on the country of the *Bulgarians*, ravaged *Thrace* with an army of above three hundred thousand men, and laid siege to *Adrianople*. *Bardas Sclerus*, or *the Bold*, the brother of the empress, went against the barbarians with thirteen thousand men only, and having recourse to stratagems in two engagements entirely defeated the enemy, the greatest number of whom were put to the sword, and many of the rest taken prisoners. The *Romans* are said to have lost but twenty-five men in both engagements. *The Saracens defeated before Antioch.* A.D. 963.

Mean while, *Bardas Phocas*, the nephew of the late emperor, encouraged by many of the nobles, fled from the place of his banishment, and making himself master of *Cæsaræa* in *Cappadocia*, took upon him the imperial title and ensigns. *Leo*, the father of *Phocas*, made an attempt to escape from *Lesbos*, where he was confined; for which he was sentenced

tenced to death, but was soon after pardoned by the emperor, *Bardas Sclerus*, in the mean time, was sent against *Thocas*, who being quickly deserted by his followers, submitted to the emperor's general, upon his undertaking to obtain his pardon. The emperor accordingly granted him his life, but confined him to the island of *Cibios*. The rebellion being thus suppressed, *John* married *Theodora*, the sister, or, according to some, the daughter of the late emperor *Romanus*.

The emperor
invades
the country
of the
Rossi.

A.D. 964.

A few months after, news arriving at *Constantinople* that the *Rossi* intended to invade the empire anew, the emperor resolved to anticipate them; and raising a powerful army, marched in person, early in the spring, over Mount *Hæmus*, and laid siege to *Presbalba*, the principal city of *Bulgaria*. The *Romans* having cut off eight thousand *Rossi*, who attempted to throw themselves into the place, two days after took the city by storm; when great numbers of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, were put to the sword. Eight thousand *Scythians*, who were part of the garison, fortified themselves in the citadel, which was built on a steep rock. As the *Romans* were already greatly fatigued, they seemed inclined to put off the assault to the next day; but *Zimisces* advancing in person against the enemy, the whole army instantly crowded after him; and, after a most desperate and bloody attack, made themselves masters of the place. Among the captives was *Borises*, king of the *Bulgarians*, whom the emperor, after magnificently entertaining him, dismissed with his wife and children, and all the *Bulgarians*, declaring he was at war with none but the *Rossi*. The emperor caused the city of *Presbalba*, which was destroyed in the attack, to be rebuilt; and called it, after his own name, *Joannopolis*.

The *Rossi*
defeated.

When he advanced to *Dorostorum*, a strong city on the *Danube*, he was met by the army of the *Rossi*, three hundred and thirty thousand strong; whom he defeated with great slaughter, after a most bloody engagement which continued from morning to night. The emperor pursued the enemy to *Dorostorum*, and laid close siege to the place; which brought on a second battle, wherein the *Rossi* were again defeated. They nevertheless still held out, and in their daily sallies made dreadful havock of the *Romans*. Their provisions at length failing them, they cut their way through the *Romans* sword in hand, though many of them were cut to pieces in that attempt. Their general, *Spendosthalbus*, now sent ambassadors to the emperor, offering to relinquish *Bulgaria*, and conclude a peace upon the following terms: namely, That he should be acknowledged a friend and ally of the *Romans*: that he and his countrymen should be allowed to return home unmolested: and, that a free commerce should be settled between the two nations. The emperor being grown weary of the war, readily agreed to those articles; and, after the departure of the *Rossi*, the greatest part of whom was cut

A peace
concluded

to pieces as they were passing through the territories of the between *Patzinacæ*, he caused all the cities and towns on the *Danube* them and to be fortified, and then returned to *Constantinople*. the emperor.

As several cities in the East, which had been reduced by his predecessor, revolted during the war with the *Rossi*, *Zimisces* soon left *Constantinople*, and, marching into the East, made himself master of several cities; partly by force, and partly by persuasion. He took up his chief residence at *Damascus*, where he applied himself, with great care, to the affairs of the state. During his stay in the East, he learned that *Basilus*, the eunuch, who was then prime-minister, had engrossed almost the whole wealth of those provinces to himself; that most of the fine palaces and fruitful territories which he observed on the road belonged to him; and, that in the reign of *Nicephorus*, by whom he had been promoted for his services in the wars against the *Saracens*, he had most cruelly oppressed the people: upon which he broke out with a sigh into this expression: *How unhappy is the present condition of the Roman empire, which is thus cruelly pillaged by an avaricious and aspiring eunuch!*

Basilus, who by his friends was informed of the emperor's reflection, apprehending he might be called to an account, which would end in his disgrace, prevailed, by large presents and greater promises, upon the emperor's cup-bearer to administer him poison; which brought him to his end before he reached *Constantinople*. Though he mistrusted his prime-minister, yet he would not suffer any enquiries to be made about the treason, but spent the short time he lived in exercises of Christian piety. He died in the seventh year of his reign, greatly lamented by the inhabitants of *Constantinople*; and is deservedly reckoned among the best and greatest emperors, on account of his equity, moderation, courage, and piety. He is poisoned. A.D. 968.

Basilus and *Constantine*, the sons of the late emperor *Romanus* by *Theophania*, were appointed by *Zimisces* as his successors; but, as they were under age, *Basilus*, the eunuch, took upon him the administration; and, to establish his authority, recalled *Theophania*. His next care was to remove *Bardas Sclerus*, who, on account of his bravery, was greatly beloved by the soldiery, and was left by *Zimisces* commander in chief of the forces in the East. *Sclerus*, upon being ordered into *Mesopotamia*, broke out into bitter invectives against *Basilus*; but the prime-minister threatening to deprive him of his employments and confine him to his house, he thought it adviseable to obey the orders he had received: but departed with a firm resolution of being revenged on his rival. He accordingly acquainted the chief officers of the army with his design, and, being encouraged by them, assumed the purple. *Basilus* and *Constantine* emperors.

Having spent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the *Saracens*, who sent him large supplies *Bardas Sclerus* revolted,

defeats
the impe-
rial army,

supplies of money and horses, he began his march in the spring for *Constantinople*. *Basilus*, struck with terror and dismay at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to divert the impending storm. *Peter*, the commander of the forces in the East, attempted to stop the progress of *Sclerus*; but his troops were driven from the passes, and *Sclerus* having entered *Cappadocia*, soon after entirely defeated the imperial army, and made himself master of their camp; in which he found great sums of money, and an immense quantity of arms.

Most of the eastern provinces, on the fame of this victory, declared for *Sclerus*; who, elated with his success, would not so much as grant an audience to the ambassadors who came from *Constantinople* with very honourable and advantageous proposals. *Leo* being appointed to succeed *Peter* in the command of the army, marched into the eastern provinces which had submitted to the usurper: which obliged *Sclerus* to send a strong detachment of his army to cover those countries. This detachment being routed by the imperialists, *Sclerus* left *Cappadocia* and hastened after *Leo*; and coming up with him in a few days, gained a compleat victory over him. Most of the chief officers in the emperor's army were slain, and *Leo* himself was taken prisoner, with several other persons of great distinction. Such of the prisoners as had abandoned *Sclerus* to side with *Leo*, had their eyes pulled out, by the emperor's orders, at the head of the army.

and makes
himself
master of
Nice.

Sclerus, animated with this success, marched strait to *Nice*, and, after he had in vain attempted to reduce the place by force, resolved to reduce it by famine. The governor being informed of his design, caused the granaries to be filled with sand, and covered with a small quantity of corn, which he had still left; and shewing them to some prisoners, whom he afterwards dismissed, these declared that the place was stored with provisions for a long siege. *Sclerus*, upon this information, allowed the garison to march out with their arms and baggage, and to pass unmolested to *Constantinople*; but he no sooner took possession of the place than he discovered the deceit.

After the reduction of *Nice*, *Sclerus* prepared to march to *Constantinople*; but the emperor having in the mean time recalled *Bardas Phocas*, who had arrived with an army at *Anorium*, the usurper thought proper to march first against him, and gained a compleat victory over him. *Phocas* retiring to *Phrygia*, and recruiting his army from *Iberia* and other provinces which continued stedfast in their allegiance, advanced into *Cappadocia*, and there ventured a second engagement. His men, after a very obstinate dispute, beginning to give ground, he resolved to gain the victory or perish; and opening himself a way, sword in hand, to the enemy's ranks, engaged *Sclerus* and wounded him. *Sclerus*, however, was quickly

quickly rescued by his officers, who, finding him all over blood, carried him to a neighbouring fountain to wash his wound and refresh his thirst. His horse, in the mean time, running with his bloody mane among his troops, they concluded their general was slain, and fled in great disorder, when they were just upon the point of gaining the victory. *Sclerus*, with a small body of horse, fled to *Babylon*, to implore the protection and assistance of *Cosroes*, sultan of that place; who soon after received an embassy from the emperor, entreating him not to countenance the rebel. The imperial ambassadors at the same time offering a pardon to *Sclerus* if he renounced his pretensions and returned, *Cosroes*, finding that they privately treated with him, threw both *Sclerus* and the ambassadors into prison.

The army
of *Sclerus*
entirely
defeated.

During this rebellion, the *Bulgarians* having made frequent inroads into the empire, *Basilus*, who had taken the administration into his own hands, marched with an army into *Bulgaria*, leaving *Leo Isclijanus* to secure the narrow passes behind him. While he was preparing to lay siege to *Sardica*, *Stephen*, commander in chief of the western forces, who was a declared enemy to *Leo*, came in the night to the emperor, and assured him that *Leo* had abandoned his posts and returned to *Constantinople*, with a design to seize on the sovereignty. On this false intelligence, the emperor instantly gave orders for marching; but being attacked in his retreat by *Samuel*, king of the *Bulgarians*, many of his troops were cut off. When he had with difficulty reached *Philippopolis*, and found *Leo* carefully attending his duty, he was highly enraged against *Stephen*, and discharging him, conferred his employment on *Leo*.

Bardas Phocas, thinking himself highly neglected by the emperor, because he had not consulted him when he undertook his *Bulgarian* expedition, exaggerated his disgrace to the officers of his army, who encouraged him to usurp the supreme authority, and soon after proclaimed him emperor. At the same time, *Bardas Sclerus* being set at liberty by *Cosroes*, entered *Mesopotamia* at the head of three thousand *Roman* captives, and took upon him the title of emperor; but soon after hearing of the revolt of *Phocas*, he sent and offered to assist him, and to share the empire with him. At the same time, however, he privately advised his son *Romanus* to abandon *Phocas* and fly to *Basilus*; hoping by this means to secure his safety whoever should prevail. *Romanus* was kindly received by *Basilus*, and raised to the first employments in the state.

Bardas
Phocas pro-
claimed
emperor.

Sclerus and *Phocas* agreed to a partition of the empire: by which, *Sclerus* was to have, for his share, *Armenia*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Cœlesyria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Egypt*; and *Phocas* was to govern *Constantinople* and the rest of the provinces: but they had no sooner joined their forces than *Phocas* caused *Sclerus* to be imprisoned. Having by large promises prevailed

He agrees
to share
the empire
with *Sclerus*.

Phocas
dies.

Sclerus
submits.

on his troops to serve under him, he marched with the greatest part of his army and laid siege to *Abydos*. The emperor *Basilus* having cut off a large detachment of his troops at *Chryso-polis*, soon after was joined by his brother *Constantine*, and marched to the relief of *Abydos*. When the two armies were on the point of engaging; or, as some write, when the battle was begun, *Phocas* was suddenly taken off; being slain by *Constantine*, as he himself bragged; or in consequence of poison, as others relate; which, at the instigation of the emperor, was administered to him by one of his domestics. Upon the report of his death, his troops betook themselves to a disorderly flight; when many of them were cut off, and many of their leading men being taken, were carried to *Constantinople*, where some of them were publicly executed, and others stripped of their estates and banished. Such of the rebels as had the good fortune to escape from *Abydos*, set *Sclerus* at liberty, who renewed his former pretensions, and reduced great part of *Cappadocia*. The emperor, however, offering him good terms, and his son *Romanus* entreating him to restore peace to the empire, he submitted, and was received by *Basilus* at *Constantinople* with great civility, and declared great steward of the household.

The civil-war being thus happily ended, *Basilus* took a progress into *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and, leaving a garison in *Thessalonica*, passed over into *Asia* to settle the affairs of the eastern provinces. On his march through *Cappadocia*, *Eustathius Melchius*, governor of the troops in that province, entertained him with his whole army; which raising some jealousy in the emperor, lest, in consequence of his great wealth, he should create disturbances in the empire, he pretended a particular esteem for him, and took him with him to *Constantinople*, and after his death seized on his vast estate.

The em-
pire in-
vaded by
the *Bulga-*
rians.

A.D. 979.

During the emperor's absence, *Samuel*, king of the *Bulgarians*, had surprised the city of *Thessalonica*, and laid waste *Thessaly*, *Bæstia*, and *Attica*. *Basilus*, upon his return, dispatched *Nicephorus Uranus* against the *Bulgarians*, who, when he came within sight of the enemy, passed the river *Sperchius* in the night, and, attacking *Samuel's* camp, gained a complete victory. The following year, the emperor *Basilus* entered *Bulgaria* at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; and, having defeated *Samuel*, took several cities. Soon after, he narrowly escaped being cut off in the Straits of *Cimba*; but during the action, *Nicephorus Xiphias* falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. *Basilus* having taken an incredible number of prisoners, caused their eyes to be pulled out; and, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, sent them back to *Samuel*; who, upon seeing them, fell into a swoon, and died two days after. *Samuel* was succeeded by his son *Gabriel*, who was soon after murdered by *John Bladijthabus*; and he, having caused himself to be acknowledged prince of the *Bulgarians*, offered to submit to *Basilus* on any terms. A treaty was accordingly agreed to; but *Bladijthabus*

Bladisthlebus; under various pretences, declining to execute the conditions, *Basilus* returned with an army the year after into *Bulgaria*: and in two campaigns took most of the enemy's strong holds, and gained several battles over *Bladisthlebus*, in one of which the king was slain.

Upon his death the *Bulgarians* submitted to *Basilus*, who raised to the rank of patricians such of their nobility as seemed most forward in surrendering their strong holds. The widow of the late king, with her six sons and six daughters, submitted also to the emperor; who was now master of all *Bulgaria*, excepting a strong fortress held by *Ibatzes*, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who would hearken to no accommodation. *Eustathius Daphnomelus*, whom *Basilus* had lately appointed governor of *Achridus*, with two confidants, went to the mountain where *Ibatzes* had fortified himself, hoping to be admitted in disguise among the many strangers that flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feast of the Virgin *Mary*. The guards, however, discovering him, and carrying him before *Ibatzes*, he pretended that he came to communicate matters of great importance to him; and prevailing upon him to retire with him to a remote place, he threw himself upon him, while his two companions instantly came up, and thrusting their cloaths into his mouth, pulled out his eyes. *Daphnomelus* and his two followers got safe to an abandoned castle at the top of the hill, and were immediately besieged by the troops of *Ibatzes*, who were easily persuaded, however, to submit to the emperor. *Basilus*, being no less surprised at the boldness than success of the attempt, gave *Daphnomelus* the government of *Dyrrachium*, and all the rich moveables of *Ibatzes*.

After the conclusion of this war, the emperor undertook an expedition into *Iberia*; but with what success is not mentioned. During his absence, *Xiphias* and *Nicephorus*, the son of *Bardus Phocas*, revolted; but *Xiphias* being gained over by *Basilus*, put a stop to the rebellion by dispatching his fellow conspirator. *Basilus* proceeded with great severity against those who were so much as suspected of being privy to the conspiracy. The emperor, after he had arrived at the seventieth year of his age, resolved to engage in a war against the *Saracens* in *Sicily*; and having assembled a powerful fleet and army, he sent before him a strong body of forces under the command of his favourite eunuch *Orestes*; but before he could follow himself, he was cut off by death in the seventieth year of his age and the fiftieth of his reign. *Basilus*, who was of an active disposition, and had successfully united *Bulgaria* to the empire, thereby acquired the esteem of his subjects.

Upon his death, his brother *Constantine* remained sole master of the empire. He being an effeminate, vicious, and indolent prince, entirely neglected all public affairs, and, while he followed his private diversions, suffered his ministers to oppress the provinces without controul. By this means the empire,

Bulgaria entirely subdued by the emperor.

Basilus dies. A.D. 1018

Constantine, his wicked reign,

empire, which had begun to revive under *Nicephorus*, *Zimisces*, and *Basilus*, was, in the short reign of *Constantine*, brought to as low an ebb as ever it had been at. Those who, by their exploits or their virtues, had acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from their employments to make room for the emperor's companions in his debaucheries; and many persons of great distinction, who seemed to dislike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death or sent into exile.

Constantine
dies.

Romanus
II.
A.D. 1021

Such proceedings not only raised a general discontent at home, but encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire. *Constantine*, in the third year of his reign, falling dangerously ill, and being given over by his physicians, parties arose among the courtiers about his successor; some proposing *Constantine Delesseus* commander of the forces in *Armenia*; and others using all their interest in favour of *Romanus Argyrus*. The friends of the latter prevailing on *Constantine* to declare in his favour, he was sent for to court; and it was put to his choice, either to be deprived of his sight, or to divorce his wife, marry one of the emperor's daughters, and be raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*. *Romanus* seemed at first inclined to lose his eyes, rather than part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but she, informed of what had passed, retired immediately into a monastery, and embraced a monastic life. *Romanus* was then married to *Zoe*, second daughter of *Constantine*, who died three days after the nuptials in the seventieth year of his age.

No sooner had *Romanus* succeeded to the empire than he eased the people of the many taxes with which they had been burdened by his predecessors: his liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his indulgence to the many captives who had been taken in the late wars was no less remarkable; for he ransomed them all at his own private expence, and gave them money to defray their expences in their return to their respective countries. The *Saracens*, in the second year of his reign, breaking into that part of *Syria* which belonged to the *Romans*, and harrassing the territories of *Antioch*, *Spondyles*, who governed in that city, endeavoured to restrain them; but being worsted in several encounters, the emperor began his march for *Syria* in person, at the head of a powerful army.

During his march he received an embassy from the *Saracens* of *Barræ*, who sued for peace, and promised to pay their usual tribute. *Romanus*, though he was advised by his chief officers to accept of their submission, yet, promising himself great advantages from the expedition, dismissed the ambassadors with disdain, and advanced into *Syria*. The *Saracens*, however, having defeated his advanced parties and besieged his camp, soon reduced him to such difficulties for want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp in the night,

night, in order to retreat to *Antioch*. The infidels, who watched his motions, attacked him on his march, and cut off most of his troops in pieces. The enemy took all the emperor's baggage; and eight hundred of them, loaded with rich booty, appeared before a small town, commanded by *George Maniaces*, and affirming that the emperor was taken prisoner, summoned him to surrender. *Maniaces*, pretending that he did not know the emperor had escaped, sent them out a great quantity of provisions, and assured them that he would deliver up the town next morning: but in the middle of the night, when they were sleeping in security, he fell upon them, and cut them off to a man. Having taken two hundred and eighty camels, loaded with the spoils of the *Roman* army, he sent them to the emperor, who rewarded him for this seasonable piece of service with the government of *Media*.

Romanus, upon his return to *Constantinople*, laid aside all thoughts of any warlike attempts for the future, and made it his whole study to fill the exchequer. In order to this he renewed his claim to old debts, and proceeded with such rigour in the recovery of them, that many persons of distinction were reduced with their families to beggary. These exactions occasioned a general discontent in the people, which gave rise to several plots and conspiracies. In the fourth year of *Romanus's* reign a dreadful plague broke out in *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Armenia*, where it raged with such violence, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings, and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which destroyed several cities, and overturned many stately edifices at *Constantinople*, where it was felt for the space of forty days. *Romanus*, alarmed at these and several other public calamities and prodigies, applied himself wholly to works of piety, in hopes thereby of averting the wrath of Heaven, which seemed to threaten the empire. He erected several hospitals for the relief of the poor; repaired those destroyed by earthquakes; rebuilt the aqueducts; but, above all, enriched with large donations the monasteries, bestowing on the monks whole cities, and the most fruitful lands in the provinces, purchased by him at the public expence.

Mean while the empress *Zoe*, a most lewd and incontinent woman, despising her husband, and falling in love with *Michael*, a comely young man, and brother of *John*, an eunuch of great authority at court, she prevailed with some of her creatures to administer poison to *Romanus*. This, however, being slow in its operation, she hired an assassin, who dispatched him while he was in the bath by plunging his head under the water. The same day, the empress, by bribing the patriarch with one hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed

vailed on him to marry her to *Michael*, whom she declared her partner in the empire.

Michael
acknow-
ledged
emperor.

Michael was acknowledged as such by the great men in all the provinces, except by *Constantine Delassenus*; who being prevailed upon to come to court, by the oaths and promises of *John* the eunuch, was immediately banished to the island *Procia*. *John*, at the same time, under various pretences, sent into exile such as gave him the least umbrage. *Maniaces*, who was highly beloved and esteemed by the people, was sent into *Upper Media*, under pretence of restraining the incursions of the *Saracens*; and all the friends and relations of the late emperor, were driven from their estates and employments; and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to none but eunuchs. Distrusting the fickle temper of *Zoe*, he removed from her all the women and eunuchs in whom she reposed any confidence, and appointed others in whom he could confide to attend her; which the empress highly resenting, she endeavoured to get rid of *John* by poison.

John discovering the design, was thenceforth more on his guard; and, fearing her resentment in case of his brother's death, who began to grow discomposed both in body and mind, he prevailed upon him to prefer his nephew *Michael*, surnamed *Calaphates*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. *Michael*, conscious of the heinous crime he had committed in murdering his sovereign, applied himself wholly to his devotions and works of piety, in hopes of atoning for it. In the third year of his reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the *Saracens* of *Egypt*. Several dreadful earthquakes happened the year after.

About the same time the *Saracens* made an attempt upon the city of *Edessa*. Twelve of the chief men of their nation presented themselves before the gates with three hundred horses and as many camels, loaded with large chests; and, pretending they were carrying presents to the emperor, demanded admittance with their train. The governor received the twelve ambassadors, as they called themselves, but would by no means admit the horses and camels; and at night, being informed by an *Armenian* that they were loaded with armed men, he went out with a sufficient force and put them all to the sword, treating the ambassadors also in the same manner, sparing but one, whose hands, ears, and nose he cut off, and in that condition sent him home.

The *Bul-*
garians
revolt.

A.D. 1032

The following year, the *Bulgarians* revolting, chose one *Delianus* for their king, and murdered all the *Romans* who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. The inhabitants of *Dyrrachium*, about the same time, shook off the *Roman* yoke, and chose one *Teichomernus* for their king. *Delianus*, upon hearing of the revolt of the *Dyrrachians*, offered to take *Teichomernus* for his partner in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*, if he would

would join him with his followers. The latter, not suspecting any deceit, agreed to the proposal : but *Dolianus* was no sooner admitted into *Dyrrachium* than he caused him to be put to death. He then marched to *Thessalonica* against the emperor, whose troops, upon the approach of the *Bulgarians*, were struck with such a terror, that they retreated in confusion to *Constantinople*.

Mean while, *Alusianus*, brother of the last king of the *Bulgarians*, escaping from *Constantinople*, where he enjoyed the dignity of patrician, joined his countrymen in arms. *Dolianus*, to ingratiate himself with the people, took him for his partner, and sent him, at the head of forty thousand men, to lay siege to *Thessalonica*. *Alusianus*, though he distinguished himself greatly, yet was forced to raise the siege with the loss of fifteen thousand men. Being informed that *Dolianus*, on this account, was endeavouring to lessen his credit, in hopes of getting rid of him, he invited him to an entertainment and caused his eyes to be put out. Then, distrusting the fickle humour of the *Bulgarians*, he returned to *Constantinople* after his friends had obtained of the emperor his pardon. The *Bulgarians* were soon after entirely reduced by the emperor, who, being grievously afflicted with a dropsy, resigned his dignity upon his return to *Constantinople* ; and entering into a monastery which he himself had built, spent there the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died after he had reigned near eight years.

Michael Calaphates being acknowledged as emperor, immediately after banished his uncle *John*, and caused many of his other relations, without regard to their age or circumstances, to be made eunuchs, out of complaisance, as was supposed, to *Zoe*, who appeared zealous in his interest. Not long after, however, he caused *Zoe* herself to be confined in a monastery, alledging that she had, by witchcraft and sorcery, attempted to take away his life. His monstrous ingratitude so provoked the people, that they broke out into a general sedition ; and sending for *Theodora*, *Constantine's* youngest daughter, who had been shut up in a monastery for plotting against her father's successor *Romanus*, they saluted her empress with her sister *Zoe*. *Michael*, on this insurrection, retired, of his own accord, with his uncle *Constantine* to a monastery ; but they were dragged thence by the people, and, after their eyes were put out, they were banished, with all their relations and adherents, *Michael* having reigned scarce four months.

Zoe, now again vested with the sovereignty, recalled from exile such as had served her father and uncle. She had scarce reigned three months when, the people pressing her to marry, she recalled from banishment *Constantine*, surnamed *Monomachus* ; and, having married him, caused him to be crowned emperor. In the very beginning of *Constantine's* reign, *Mac-
sarius*, whom *Zoe*, a few months before, had appointed commander

*Michael
Calapha-
tes.*

A.D.1035

He is ban-
ished.

*Constan-
tine Mono-
machus de-
clared em-
peror.*

.D.1036

mander in chief of all the western forces, revolted with the troops under his command, and, passing into *Bulgaria*, was joined by the malcontents of that country. *Stephen*, who was sent against *Maniaces* with a numerous army, was defeated by him at the first onset: but *Maniaces* did not reap the fruit of his victory; for, a few days after, he was murdered by a person unknown, when his followers immediately submitted to the imperial general.

The *Rossi*
defeated.

The same year the *Rossi* appeared unexpectedly before *Constantinople* with a mighty fleet; but, being defeated in the Straights, they were glad to renew their antient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, *Constantine* marched in person into the East, and recovered several cities which the *Saracens* had seized during the two late reigns. Mean while, *Leo Tornicias*, a near relation of the emperor, who had been removed from his government of *Iberia*, out of jealousy, and shut up in a monastery, made his escape and assumed the purple. Being well received at *Adrianople*, and joined there by great multitudes, he advanced to *Constantinople* and laid siege to that metropolis. The inhabitants, however, making a vigorous defence, he thought proper to retire; and, being soon after seized, his eyes were pulled out, and he was banished to a remote island.

The *Turks*
first in-
vade the
empire.

A profound tranquility reigned the two following years throughout the provinces; but the year after, the *Romans* were invaded by a new enemy, scarce mentioned before in history, but reserved by Providence for the utter destruction of the empire. These were the *Turks*, who, quitting their antient habitations in the neighbourhood of Mount *Caucasus*, settled about two hundred years before in the neighbourhood of *Armenia Major*; where they continued an unknown and despicable people till the wars of the *Saracens* among themselves gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing their nation.

About eleven years before this period, the sultan of *Persia*, who was at war with the sultan of *Babylon*, reinforcing his army with three thousand *Turks* from *Armenia Major*, under the command of *Tangrolipix*, gained a compleat victory over his enemy. As he refused, however, to allow the *Turks* to return home till the war was ended, they withdrew without his leave to the desert of *Carbonitis*, and, being joined by several discontented *Persians*, made inroads against the *Saracens*.

Tangrolipix, at the head of an army of *Turks*, makes himself master of *Persia*.

The sultan of *Persia* sent an army of twenty thousand men against them; but these being surprized and defeated by *Tangrolipix*, he marched himself against him at the head of a powerful army. In the engagement which ensued, the sultan was killed by a fall from his horse; and all his troops submitting to *Tangrolipix*, proclaimed him king of *Persia*. *Tangrolipix*, now master of *Persia*, opened a passage for his countrymen into that kingdom, and then making war on the sultan of *Babylon*, whom he slew in battle, he annexed his dominions

to

to his own. He then made several expeditions against the *Armenians*; but being repulied by them with loss, he sent an army of twenty thousand men to attack *Media*, which one of his nephews told him was inhabited by women, meaning the *Romans*. These *Turks* ravaged *Media* in a dreadful manner; but, being in the end drawn into an ambush, were entirely cut off. *Tangrolipix*, nothing discouraged at this misfortune, sent a new army into *Media*, near one hundred thousand strong; which, after laying waste great part of the country, laid siege to *Artza*; but, not being able to take the place, they set it on fire and reduced it to ashes. Of the inhabitants one hundred and fifty thousand are said to have perished either by the sword or in the flames. Soon after this an obstinate battle was fought between the *Turks* commanded by *Abraham Halim*, half brother to *Tangrolipix*, and the *Romans* under *Liparites*. The latter gained the victory, but *Liparites* was taken prisoner. *Tangrolipix*, however, set him at liberty without ransom; and soon after sent an ambassador to *Constantinople*, who arrogantly requiring the emperor to submit to his master, was dismissed by *Monomachus* with scorn and driven out of the city. *Tangrolipix* no sooner heard of the treatment his ambassador received, than he resolved to renew the war.

He engages in a war with the *Romans*.

Monomachus, on the other hand, employed himself in making preparations for opposing him, when unexpectedly a war broke out between him and the *Patzinacæ*, a *Scythian* nation, who, passing the *Danube* on the ice, invaded the *Roman* territories with eight hundred thousand men. *Constantine Ariaricus* marched against them with all the troops in *Macedon* and *Bulgaria*; but, not thinking it safe to venture an engagement, watched their motions only for some time till he had received a reinforcement of twenty thousand men; and, great multitudes of them having been swept off by the distempers which raged in their army, he attacked them on a sudden, when they threw down their arms and submitted. Great numbers of them were allowed to settle in the cities of *Bulgaria*; some returned to their own country; but *Tyrach*, their king, and one hundred and forty of the most noble amongst them, were sent to *Constantinople*, and, upon their embracing the Christian religion, were raised to considerable employments.

Tangrolipix, in the mean time, after ravaging *Iberia*, returned into *Media*, and laid siege to *Mantzichierta*, a place defended by a numerous garrison, and fortified with a triple wall and deep ditches. He continued the siege for upwards of thirty days, when he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. The spring following, he again ravaged *Iberia* with great barbarity; but upon the imperialists approach, under *Michael Accluthus*, he retired to *Tauris*, leaving, however, thirty thousand men, who infested the borders of the empire with great success, which was owing to the avarice of

of *Monomachus*. These provinces had been exempted from paying tribute, because they had maintained forces at their own charge for their defence against the barbarians; but *Monomachus* exacting tribute from them, they were no longer in a condition to repulse the enemy.

Death of
Monomachus.

A.D. 1049

About this time died the empress *Zoe*, and, soon after, the emperor himself, *Theodora*, a few days before his death, leaving him at the monastery of *St. George*, and returning to *Constantinople*, where she caused herself to be proclaimed empress. He reigned twelve years and eight months, and, according to some, died of the plague, which then raged at *Constantinople*; but, according to others, he was cut off by the gout, which he increased by his intemperance and debaucheries.

Theodora.

The late emperor having named *Nicephorus*, who commanded in *Bulgaria*, as his successor, *Theodora* deprived all those of their employments who had advised his promotion. *Theodorus*, the eunuch, being sent by her with a considerable army into the East, by his care and vigilance prevented the *Turks* from making inroads into the *Roman* territories. *Theodora's* impartial administration of justice, her prudent choice of the great officers and ministers of state, and her great moderation in the use of her authority, gained her the affections of her people, and the respect and esteem of all foreign nations. But the happiness which the empire enjoyed under her was but of short continuance; for she reigned only one year and nine months, when she was cut off by death.

Michael
Stratioticus
succeeds
Theodora.

At the persuasion of her prime minister she bequeathed the empire to *Michael Stratioticus*, a person advanced in years, and altogether ignorant of state affairs, who, upon her death, was immediately proclaimed emperor. *Theodorus*, cousin-german to the deceased emperor, however, laid claim to the empire, and in the evening moved with a great train through the most frequented streets to the palace. Finding the gates shut, and well guarded, he went to the great church, but the patriarch refusing him admittance, he had recourse to the people, but without any effect. Being now well apprised that he could not succeed in his attempt, he took refuge in a church, but was soon dragged from thence, and banished to *Pergamus*, where he soon after died.

His im-
prudent
govern-
ment.

Michael having thus suppressed the rebellion, suffered the eunuchs to govern without controul, and, at their instigation, disobliterated most of the general officers of the army, and, among the rest, *Isaac Comnenus*, and *Ambustus Gatacale*. The former he deprived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the government of *Antioch*; at the same time conferring the command of the eastern forces on *Bryennius*, a man of a restless and turbulent spirit. *Bryennius* petitioning the emperor for his estate, which had been confiscated in the late reign, and meeting with a surly de-

nial, he resolved to revolt ; and imparting his design to *Ambustus*, *Comnenus*, and other malcontents, they, at a private meeting, chose *Ambustus* for emperor ; but he declining the dignity, on account of his great age, they next proposed *Comnenus*, who accepted of their offer.

After this they all departed from *Constantinople* to their several posts, where each of them was to promote the general design. *Bryennius*, having by his turbulent spirit provoked some officers against him, had his eyes pulled out, and was sent a prisoner to *Constantinople*. The other conspirators, fearing a discovery, immediately sent for *Comnenus*, who was then at his house in *Paphlagonia*, and presented him in the imperial robes to the soldiery, by whom he was with universal consent saluted emperor. *Stratioticus*, upon the news of the revolt, assembled all the troops quartered in the West, and gave the command of the army to *Theodorus* the eunuch, and *Aaron Ducas*, brother to the wife of *Comnenus*, an officer of great experience in war. The two armies engaged in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, where *Comnenus* gained a complete victory. He soon after began his march for *Constantinople*, but being met on the way by ambassadors from *Stratioticus*, an agreement was concluded on the following terms : That *Comnenus* should be declared *Cæsar* ; that a full pardon should be granted to all his followers ; and that such of them as enjoyed employments, should be continued in them.

Isaac Comnenus declared emperor. A.D. 1053

Stratioticus, however, violating this agreement, *Comnenus* advanced to *Constantinople*, and when he was within a day's march of the city, the senate, with the unanimous consent of the people, proclaimed him emperor, after which, the patriarch sent some bishops to *Stratioticus*, commanding him, in the name of the senate and people, to resign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace, which he was forced to comply with, after he had reigned a little more than four years.

Comnenus arriving the same evening, was next day crowned by the patriarch, whose nephews and relations he soon after preferred to the first employments in the state, rewarding also all others to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monasteries, stripping them of the immense wealth with which they had been enriched by his predecessors. The patriarch arrogantly threatening to pull the emperor down from the throne, unless he restored to the monasteries the estates which he had unjustly seized, *Comnenus* immediately banished him, and raised to the patriarchal see *Constantine Lychudes*. *Comnenus*, in the beginning of the third year of his reign, being seized with a violent distemper, and being touched with remorse, upon reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, voluntarily resigned it, and retiring to a monastery, there spent the remainder of his days in exercises of piety. Though he had several children and

He is crowned by the patriarch.

and near relations of his own, yet he named for his successor *Constantine Ducas*, a person generally esteemed the best qualified in the whole empire for so eminent a station.

Here resigns
the em-
pire to
*Constantine Du-
cas*.

A.D. 1057

Ducas was no sooner crowned by the patriarch, than applied himself with great diligence to the affairs of state, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, and behaved on all occasions with the greatest moderation. But his insatiable avarice darkened all his good qualities. He chose rather to leave the frontiers naked, than to maintain the necessary garrisons, which encouraged the *Turks* to extend their conquests on all sides. The *Uzians*, a *Scythian* nation, after passing the *Danube*, to the number of five hundred thousand men, ravaged the territories of the empire. Having defeated the *Roman* army that was sent against them, they laid waste all *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and afterwards ravaged *Greece*. The emperor, thinking to save expences, meanly offered to purchase a peace with rich presents, and even offered to pay the barbarians an annual tribute. They, however, refusing to hearken to any terms, he ordered a general fast to be observed throughout his dominions, and then marched out against them with a handful of men. The enemy, in the mean time, being greatly weakened, by a plague that broke out among them, were cut off by the *Hungarians*, who in the country they had invaded. *Constantine* was soon after cut off by a violent distemper, after he had reigned five years and six months. He left the empire to his three sons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Constantine*; but as they were yet very young, he appointed their mother *Eudocia* regent during their minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry.

His death
A.D. 1063

The *Turks*
invade the
empire.

Upon the death of *Constantine*, the *Turks* hearing that the empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into *Asia*, *Armenia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, the empress being in no condition to oppose them, as the greatest part of the army had been disbanded by the late emperor. At the same time, a party of malcontents seditiously declaring that the present state of the empire required a man of courage at the helm, hoping thereby to stir up the people to revolt, *Eudocia*, who was aware of their designs, resolved to marry *Romanus Diogenes*, a person of a most beautiful aspect, extraordinary parts, and illustrious birth, whom she had appointed commander in chief of all her forces. The empress, by pretending a desire to marry the nephew of the patriarch, prevailed with him publicly to absolve her from the oath she had taken, and to exhort her to take an husband. *Eudocia*, a few days after, to the great disappointment of the patriarch, married *Romanus Diogenes*, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor.

*Romanus
Diogenes*
proclaim-
ed emper-
or.

Romanus being a man of great activity and experience in war, immediately after his promotion, passed over into *Asia* with the few forces he could assemble, recruiting and

inuring

inuring them on their march to the military discipline. Hearing that the *Turks*, after surprising and plundering *Nes-cesarea*, were retiring with a rich booty, he marched after them with a chosen body of light troops, and attacking His suc-cess a- gainst the *Turks*, them on the third day while they were on their march, easily routed them, and recovered the booty. He then pursued his march to *Aleppo*, which he re-took, together with *Hierapolis*, where he built a strong castle. Several other towns also submitted to him ; but upon the approach of winter he returned to *Cilicia*, and thence to *Constantinople*. The *Turks*, during his absence, defeated *Philaretus*, who had been left to guard the banks of the *Euphrates*, and advancing into *Cilicia* sacked *Iconium*, the most rich and populous city of that province, upon which intelligence the emperor left *Constantinople* in the spring, and marched into the East. The *Turks* retired upon his approach, but were defeated in the plains of *Tarsus* by the *Armenians*, who stripped them both of their baggage and the booty they had taken.

The emperor having settled the affairs of the eastern provinces, returned before winter to *Constantinople* ; but a few months after, he marched again into *Asia*, at the head of a considerable army. When the two armies drew near, *Axan*, the son and successor of *Tangrolipix*, observing the disposition and number of the emperor's forces, sent ambassadors to *Romanus* with proposals for a lasting and honourable peace ; He rejects the proposals of the sultan, which being rejected by the emperor with disdain, a battle followed soon after. The event of the battle continued doubtful during the whole day, and the emperor towards the evening, retreated with his army in good order towards his camp : but *Andronicus*, nephew to the late emperor *Constantine*, who hated *Romanus*, crying out, that the emperor was put to flight, and at the same time turning about his horse, threw the whole army into confusion. The emperor did his utmost to rally his men ; but being wounded, and his horse killed under him, he was taken prisoner by the enemy. The sultan, however, received him with the greatest humanity, and embracing him tenderly, said, Grieve not, noble emperor, at your misfortune ; for such is the chance of war, sometimes overwhelming one, and sometimes another : you set at liberty, shall have no occasion to complain of your captivity ; for I will not use you as my prisoner, but as an emperor. He accordingly lodged him in a royal pavilion, with attendants and an equipage suitable to his quality, and discharged such prisoners as he desired. The emperor, in a few days, agreeing to a perpetual peace, was dismissed by the sultan with the greatest marks of honour imaginable. *Romanus*, before he reached *Constantinople*, being informed that a party in that metropolis, headed by *John*, the brother of *Constantine Ducas*, had shut up *Eudocia* in a monastery, and proclaimed her eldest son, *Michael Ducas*, emperor, immediately fortified himself in a strong castle, where he hoped soon to be joined by his friends.

Romanus
dies.

A.D. 1067

friends and soldiers. *John*, however, having assumed the administration, sent his son *Andronicus* against him with a strong body of troops. *Andronicus* defeating the force of *Romanus*, forced him to surrender, and carried him into *Phrygia*, where he fell dangerously ill, being, as was supposed, secretly poisoned. Notwithstanding his illness, *John* ordered his eyes to be pulled out, which was done with such cruelty, that he died soon after in the island *Prata*, having reigned three years and eight months.

Michael Ducas, who was now acknowledged emperor, being an unactive prince, his uncle *John* governed at pleasure, banishing those who gave him the least umbrage, and preferring such only as had been instrumental in the late revolution.

The empire invaded by the
Turks.

Rufelius
revolts.

Mean while, *Axan*, upon hearing of the unhappy fate of *Romanus*, resolved to revenge his death, and broke into the empire, with a design to hold whatever he should conquer. *Isaac Comnenus*, the imperial general, and son to the late emperor of that name, gained at first some advantages over the infidels, but, in a general engagement, was intirely defeated and taken prisoner. *John Ducas*, the emperor's uncle, marched with another army against them; but when he was in a fair way of checking their progress, *Rufelius*, or *Urse-lius*, a native of *Gaul*, revolted with the troops of his own nation under his command, and assuming the title of emperor reduced several cities in *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*. *John* being obliged to turn his arms against him, the *Turks*, in the mean time, extended their conquests. *Rufelius* totally defeated the imperial troops, and took *John* prisoner; but reflecting on the danger of the empire from the *Turks*, he not only released *John*, but acted in conjunction with him against the common enemy. They were both defeated and taken prisoners by *Axan*, who was nevertheless diverted from pursuing his conquests by the revolt of *Cutlu Moses*, cousin to the late sultan *Tangrolipix*. While the two *Turkish* competitors were upon the point of risking an engagement, an accommodation was effected between them by the kalif of *Babylon*, who, though stripped of his temporal jurisdiction, was still regarded as the successor of their great prophet. It was agreed, that *Axan* should enjoy undisturbed the monarchy lately erected by *Tangrolipix*, and that *Cutlu Moses* and his family should quietly possess the provinces of the empire that he or his successors should conquer.

The *Turks*
conquer
great part
of *Asia*
Minor.

Cutlu Moses, after this agreement, being assisted by *Axan*, invaded the empire, and, in this and the following reign, made himself master of all *Media*, *Lycania*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, fixing the seat of his empire at *Nice*, in the latter province. The progress of the *Turks* in *Asia* was forwarded by a second revolt of *Rufelius*, who, though restored to favour, again assumed the title of emperor, and privately entered into an alliance with the infidels. The usurper being powerfully supported by them, defeated several imperial

rial generals, but was at length reduced to such straits by *Alexius Comnenus*, that he was obliged to take refuge in the dominions of the sultan. *Alexius*, however, by a large sum, prevailed on the *Turkish* commander in those parts to seize on *Rufelius*, and send him in chains to *Amasia*, whence he was conveyed to *Constantinople*. The rebels immediately submitting, and surrendering their cities and strong holds, *Alexius* returned to the imperial city, which he found highly dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievously afflicted with a famine.

The general discontent encouraged *Nicephorus Botoniates*, *Nicephorus Botoniates* who commanded the forces in *Asia*, to revolt, and to enter into an alliance with the *Turks*, upon whom he had been sent to make war. At the same time, *Nicephorus Bryennius* *Bryennius* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Dyrrachium*, and revolt. depending on the affection of the soldiers, whom he had obliged by his liberality, was preparing to march strait to *Constantinople*. *Michael*, fully convinced that he was not able to oppose either of the competitors, resigned the empire, and *Michael* retiring into a monastery, took holy orders, and was soon after raised to the see of *Ephesus*. He had reigned six years A.D. 1074 and six months.

Upon his resignation, *Botoniates* being crowned in *Constantinople*, immediately dispatched *Alexius Comnenus* to oppose *Bryennius*. The two armies engaging near *Calaura* in *Thrace*, *Alexius*, after a long and obstinate battle, gained a compleat victory. *Bryennius* in the action gave extraordinary proofs of his personal valour; but being pursued close by the emperor's forces, had the misfortune to fall into their hands. When *Alexius* was upon his return to *Constantinople* with *Bryennius*, he was met by *Borilus*, with orders to deliver up his prisoner to him, and to march back against *Basilacius*, *Basilacius* who having assumed the title of emperor at *Dyrrachium*, had surprised *Thessalonica*. revolts.

Alexius having drawn his army from their winter quarters, marched against the usurper, who attacked the imperial camp in the night; but *Alexius* having had notice of his design, received him so briskly, that his forces were soon put to flight, and he obliged to throw himself into *Thessalonica*. Having rejected the advantageous offers made him by *Alexius*, he prepared to defend the place to the last extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's resentment, opened their gates to *Alexius*. *Basilacius* retiring into the castle, defended the place with incredible bravery; but being at length betrayed by his own men, he was sent to *Constantinople*, and confined to a monastery, after his eyes were pulled out.

Though *Botoniates* had married *Mary*, the wife of the late emperor *Michael*, who had a son named *Constantine* by her first husband, yet he was prevailed upon by his favourites to name *Synadenus* for his successor, a youth of uncommon

paris.

The Com-
neni re-
solve to
depose the
emperor.

Alexius
saluted
emperor.

Botoniates
resigns.

parts. The empress, provoked against the emperor, disclosed the whole to *Alexius Comnenus* and his brother *Isaac*, who had recovered his liberty. The two brothers promised him their assistance; but being informed that the favourites began to be jealous of the intimacy between them and the empress, fled with *Pacurianus*, an officer of great experience in war to the army, which then lay encamped on the confines of *Thrace*. Upon their arrival, having acquainted the chief officers of the army with their design of making a new emperor, a council was summoned, and, after some deliberation, *Alexius* was unanimously chosen emperor by the whole army, which he led to *Constantinople* without loss of time being received with joyful acclamations in all the cities through which he passed. The inhabitants of *Constantinople*, awed by the troops of *Botoniates*, shut their gates against him; but an officer, who had the charge of one of the quarters of the city, admitted part of his forces, who opened the gates to the rest. As *Alexius's* army was composed of barbarians as well as Christians, the unhappy city was plundered, and even the churches and monasteries were stripped of all their wealth and ornaments. The fleet then riding in the harbour of *Constantinople*, being prevailed upon to declare for *Alexius*, *Botoniates* seeing himself abandoned by all, offered to treat with him. Though *Alexius* seemed willing to hearken to terms, yet his friends insisted that *Botoniates* should resign, which the patriarch prevailing upon him to agree to, he quitted the palace, and retired to a monastery, where he took the religious habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months.

Alexius being proclaimed emperor by the unanimous consent of the senate and people, was solemnly crowned by the patriarch. His first care was to reward those who had been instrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the chief employments in the state, and even inventing new honours and dignities to gratify them. *Constantine Ducas*, the son of the late emperor *Michael*, was suffered to wear an imperial crown, and to appear with the other ensigns of sovereignty. *Alexius*, to appease the resentment of the clergy and people, who had taken offence at the barbarities committed by his troops, resolved to make an open confession, and undergo a public penance. He accordingly waited on the patriarch in the attire of a penitent, and the patriarch injoining him, and all his relations and adherents, to fast, to lie upon the ground, and to practise several other austerities, for the space of forty days, no one performed the injunctions more cheerfully than the emperor, who professed to be touched with remorse for the crimes of his followers.

Alexius
Comnenus
puts a
stop to the

His penance being finished, *Alexius* made preparations with great diligence for opposing the *Turks*. The warlike preparations that were carrying on in the empire, alarming *Solyman*, the son and successor of *Cutlu Moses*, he sent ambassadors

ambassadors to *Constantinople* with overtures for a lasting peace. progress of
Though *Alexius* rejected these offers at first, yet, after he the *Turks*.
had gained several advantages over the enemy, he was glad
to accept of them, upon certain advice that *Robert Guis-*
card, duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, was making great pre-
parations in the West. *Robert* was the son of *Tancred*, lord
of *Hatueville* in *Normandy*, and having left *France* with two
of his brothers, and a few of his countrymen, had conquered
Puglia and *Calabria* from the *Saracens*, and acquired great
renown for his bravery. His daughter, some years before,
having been betrothed to *Constantine Ducas, Michael*, when
driven from the throne by *Botoniates*, had implored his pro-
tection. *Robert* espoused his cause, and even when *Alexius*
succeeded to the throne, made great preparations for an
expedition against *Constantinople*, with a design, as many be-
lieved, of seizing the empire for himself, as he was no less
ambitious than enterprising.

Robert landing at *Buthrotum* in *Epire*, made himself master His do-
of that place, while his son *Boemund*, with part of the ar- minions
my, reduced *Aulon*, a celebrated city in the country now attacked
called *Albania*. The *Normans* next invested *Dyrrachium* by by *Robert*
sea and land ; but the place was defended with great brave- *Guiscard*.
ry by *George Palæologus* ; and the *Venetians* having in the A.D. 1080
mean time entered into an alliance with *Alexius*, attacked
and defeated the *Norman* fleet under the command of *Boe-*
mund. After the naval victory, the *Venetians* fell upon the
beliegers, and having burnt and destroyed their engines, re-
turned to their ships loaded with booty. The *Venetians*
blocking up the sea, a great famine prevailed among the be-
siegers, and being attended by a pestilential distemper, swept
off ten thousand of them in three months.

Guiscard, however, still persevering in his enterprize, and
having found means to supply his army with provisions from
Italy, *Palæologus* earnestly solicited the emperor to think of
relieving the place. *Alexius* accordingly marched thither in
person, and encamping within view of the enemy, called a
council of war, in which it was resolved, though contrary to
the opinion of the most experienced officers, to risk a gene-
ral engagement.

The *Romans*, after an obstinate dispute, were routed with The em-
great slaughter, and the emperor, who, according to the peror de-
account of his daughter *Anne Comnena*, was the last that feated by
fled, with great difficulty made his escape to *Achris*, leaving the *Nor-*
the enemy master of his camp, and the whole baggage of the *mans*,
army. After this victory, *Dyrrachium* submitting to *Robert*,
he put his troops into winter quarters, with a design to pur-
sue his conquests early in the spring.

Alexius, in the mean time, raised new troops with the ut-
most diligence, and as the exchequer was quite exhausted,
seized on the wealth of the churches and monasteries, which
gave great offence to the clergy, and had like to have occa-
sioned

who gain a second victory.

sioned dreadful disturbances in the imperial city. He also entered into an alliance with *Henry*, emperor of *Germany*, who, in consequence of the treaty, invaded the territories of *Robert* in *Italy*; but *Robert* appointing his son *Boemund* his lieutenant in the East, returned to *Italy*, and soon drove *Henry* from thence. *Boemund*, in the mean time, reduced several places in *Illyricum* and having defeated *Alexius* in two pitched battles, entered *Thessaly*, and sat down before *Larissa*, which was gallantly defended till it was relieved by the emperor. *Alexius*, soon after his arrival, drew a strong party of *Normans* into an ambuscade, and cut them all off. However, in a general battle that was fought a few days after, *Boemund* had the advantage; but as his troops mutinied on account of the arrears that were due to them, he was obliged to repair to his father in *Italy*.

They lay aside their designs upon the empire.

Alexius, after his departure, recovered several cities; and his allies, the *Venetians*, in the mean time, defeated *Robert* in two successive battles. But being surprised soon after by the *Normans*, they were defeated with the loss almost of their whole navy. The *Venetians* equipping a second fleet, and being joined by that of the emperor, surprised the *Normans* off *Butbrotum*, and sunk most of their ships. *Robert* still resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost ardor; but, in the mean time, being seized with a fever, he died in the island of *Cephalenio*, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. *Roger*, his son and successor, not thinking it advisable to pursue so dangerous and expensive a war, recalled his troops, so that *Dyrrachium*, and the other conquests of the *Normans* in *Illyricum*, were again united to the empire.

The emperor's army defeated by the *Scythians*.

A.D. 1084

This war was scarce ended, when the *Scythians* passing the *Danube*, laid waste great part of *Thrace*. The emperor dispatched against them *Pacurianus* and *Brunas*, who were both slain by the barbarians, with the greater part of their army. Another army was sent against them, under the command of *Talicius*, who routed the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Philippopolis*, and obliged them to retire in great confusion. They returned, however, the spring following, when the emperor marched against them in person, but was defeated by them with great loss. Mean while, the *Turks*, finding the main strength of the empire employed against the *Scythians*, renewed hostilities, and made themselves masters of several considerable places in *Asia*, and, among the rest, of *Clazomene*, *Phocæa*, *Mitylene*, *Methymna*, and the island of *Chios*. The emperor having sent part of his forces into the East, under the conduct of *John Ducas*, brother to the empress, led the rest, reinforced with new levies, against the *Scythians*, by whom he was again defeated with great loss, being betrayed by one *Neantzes*, a *Scythian*, who had deserted to him in the beginning of the war, and fled back to his countrymen in the heat of the battle. *Alexius*, however not long after, gained a considerable advantage

vantage over them, and, the year following, having routed them in a general battle, cut them almost all off.

The emperor now resolved to march in person against the *Turks*, with whom *John Ducas* had often fought with various success. *Tzachas*, a leading man among the *Turks*, having made himself master of *Smyrna*, *Mitylene*, and several other places, had erected a new principality, independant of the sultan, and harassed the neighbouring countries with frequent incursions. The *Romans* having closely besieged *Mitylene*, *John Ducas*, who commanded the land army, drew *Tzachas* to an engagement, and gave him a total overthrow; Dissenti- in consequence of which, *Tzachas* agreed to deliver up *Mity-* onsamong *lene* entire to the *Romans*, on condition that he was allowed the *Turks*: to retire to *Smyrna*. As he, however, violated this capitulation, *Delassinus*, the *Roman* admiral, attacked and routed him in his retreat. *Tzachas* afterwards made an attempt upon *Abydos*; but while the *Romans* cut off his supplies by sea, he was unexpectedly attacked at land by the sultan, to whom he chose to submit. Though he had married the sultan's daughter, yet that prince, soon after he had him in his power, caused him to be murdered.

A few years after, the *Scythians*, at the instigation of an The *Scy-* impostor, who pretended to be *Leo*, the eldest son of the *thians* a- late emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, resolved, in his behalf, to gain at- renew the war against *Alexius*. The emperor having received tack the early intelligence of their design, visited the borders in per- empire. son, and having supplied the frontier towns with whatever A.D.1093 was necessary for their defence, repaired to the city of *Anchialus*, on the *Euxine* sea. The barbarians at length passing the *Danube*, caused the impostor to be proclaimed emperor in several towns that had submitted to them, and advanced with long marches against *Anchialus*. *Alexius*, before their arrival, having entrenched his army on an eminence near that city, the barbarians, after having viewed his camp for three days, thought it adviseable to draw off, and directed their march for *Adrianople*, which the impostor persuaded them would surrender upon their approach. The governor, however, contrary to their expectation, made a most vigorous resistance; and, after they had continued seven weeks before the place, they seemed inclined to abandon the enterprise. The impostor, however, encouraging them to pursue the siege, the city was reduced to the greatest extremities, and in all probability would have been taken, had not an officer, by name *Alacajens*, preserved it by the following *Adriano-* stratagem. Having disfigured his face, and mangled his *ple* pre- whole body in a cruel manner, he fled in that condition to served the impostor, and pretending that on account of his attach- from them ment to him, he had been thus inhumanly treated by *Alexius*, by a stra- he by this feigned story acquired his confidence. Soon after tagem; he conducted him to a castle, which he pretended he had prevailed on the governor to surrender to him. The im- postor

postor was accordingly admitted into the castle, with a few *Scythians*; but after they had drank to excess, they were seized, and loaded with irons. *Alexius*, upon receiving intelligence of what had happened, fell upon the *Scythians*, and put them to flight, with considerable loss. They returned, however, the year following; but being overthrown in two general engagements, they sued for peace, which was concluded on the emperor's own terms.

The be- *Alexius*, soon after his return to *Constantinople*, was inform-
ginning of ed that the western Christians were making great prepara-
the Cru- tions for the recovery of the Holy Land, at that time pos-
sades. sessed by the *Turks* and *Saracens*. About two years before,
A.D. 1093 one *Peter*, an hermit, and native of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, ac-
cording to the devotion of those times, went on a pilgrimage
to *Jerusalem*, and observing the cruel usage the Christians in
Asia, *Syria*, and *Palestine* met with from the infidels, who
were masters of those countries, he deliberated first with
himself, and afterwards with *Simon*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*,
about the means of rescuing them from the tyranny under
which they groaned. As it was in vain to look for assistance
from the eastern empire, which was now almost entirely ex-
hausted, they agreed to solicit the western princes to enter
into a league for the recovery of the Holy Land. Accord-
ingly, *Peter* having received pressing letters from the patri-
arch, and the grand master of the hospitallers, came to *Rome*,
and delivering the letters to Pope *Urban II.* found that he
greatly relished the undertaking. He afterwards with great
zeal travelled from kingdom to kingdom, and soon inspired
both princes and people with an ardent desire of recovering
the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels. The holy
expedition being accordingly published by the pope, with
large indulgencies, both temporal and spiritual, to those
who should engage in it, great multitudes immediately in-
listed, who, from the red crosses which, as a mark of distinc-
tion, they wore on their breasts, were called *Crusaders*. Of
these no fewer than three hundred thousand men are said to
have taken arms, of whom the chief commanders were
Hugh, brother to *Philip I.* king of *France*; *Robert*, duke of
Normandy; *Robert*, earl of *Flanders*; *Raymond* of *Tholouse*;
Godfrey, of *Bouillon*, with his brothers *Baldwin* and *Eustace*;
Stephen de Valois, earl of *Chartres*; *Boemund*, prince of *Ta-
ranto*; and *Peter* the hermit.

Peter the *Peter* being followed by upwards of forty thousand men,
Hermit in the spring of the year 1096, began his march for *Constan-
begins the tinople* through *Germany* and *Hungary*; but his troops ob-
expediti- serving no discipline, many of them were cut off by the
on. *Hungarians*, whom they had plundered. Upon his arrival
at *Constantinople*, he was received with great marks of friend-
ship and kindness by *Alexius*, who was nevertheless greatly
alarmed at the expedition: for though he believed the com-
mon people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could
not

not persuade himself that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in so hazardous an undertaking on the same motives. He furnished all manner of provisions to *Peter's* army, who thereupon passed the Straits, and marching into *Bithynia*, encamped not far from the city of *Nice*.

Soon after, *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* arriving at *Philippopolis*, with ten thousand horse, and seventy thousand foot, dispatched an ambassador to *Alexius*, to demand the liberty of *Hugh*, brother to the king of *France*, who having been driven by a storm into *Dyrrachium*, was sent a prisoner to *Constantinople*. The emperor refusing, under various pretences, to set his prisoner at liberty, *Godfrey* advanced against *Constantinople* in a hostile manner, which obliged *Alexius* to comply with his demand. As the emperor, however, neglected to supply *Godfrey's* troops with provisions, contrary to his promise, *Godfrey* ravaged the country to the very gates of *Constantinople*, which obliged the emperor to enter into an alliance with him. After several conferences and warm disputes, it was agreed, that *Alexius*, during the expedition, should assist the Crusaders with all his forces, and treat them on all occasions as his friends and allies. They, on the other hand, were to restore to the empire such provinces and cities as they should recover out of the hands of the *Turks* and *Saracens*. The other princes soon after arriving by different ways, at the head of powerful armies, were all received by the emperor with the greatest marks of esteem and affection. The forces, after a short stay at *Constantinople*, passed the *Bosphorus*, with a design to advance to *Nice*.

An agreement between the emperor and the Crusaders.

Mean while, the army commanded by *Peter* the hermit, deposed *Gautier*, surnamed *The Moneyless*, who was next in command to *Peter*, and advanced *Raymond*, a *German* of great prowess, in his room. After this, the *Germans* and *Italians* separating from the *French*, encamped apart, and the infidels taking advantage of their dissensions, surprized them at different times, and cut them all off, except three thousand, who took refuge with *Peter* in *Cinite*, where they defended themselves till the arrival of *Godfrey*, with whom they marched to the siege of *Nice*, the imperial seat of the sultan *Solyman*. Both the besiegers and the besieged acted with great vigour, and *Solyman*, who had posted himself with a numerous army among the mountains, attempted twice to raise the siege. *Alexius*, who assisted in person at the enterprise, having cut off the supplies which the besieged received by the lake *Ascanius*, and at the same time made the garrison great promises, if they would surrender the place to him, and not to the western princes, he at length obtained his end, and the city was delivered up to his lieutenant.

Nice surrendered to the Christians
A.D. 1097

After the reduction of *Nice*, the princes taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they now entertained great distrust, bent their march towards *Syria*, dividing their army into two bodies. *Boemund*, who marched first, was suddenly

attacked

who make them-
selves mas-
ters of *Antioch*,
and seve-
ral other
places.

attacked by *Solyman*, at the head of sixty thousand *Turks*; but *Hugh* coming seasonably to his relief with thirty thousand men, the enemy was defeated, with the loss of forty thousand men. Upon this victory, *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, *Icomeni* in *Cilicia*, *Heraclea*, and several other places, surrendering to the Christian princes, they passed Mount *Taurus*, and encamped before *Antioch*, on the 21st of *October*. The city being strongly garisoned and fortified, held out till the third of *June*, when one *Pyrrhus*, who, to save his estate, had, in appearance, embraced the *Mahomedan* religion, betrayed the place to *Boemund*, whose men entering it in the night, opened the gates to the rest of the army, when the *Turkish* garison was surprised, and almost wholly cut off. *Corbenus*, one of the sultan of *Persia*'s generals, had attacked *Edeffa* with a mighty army; but being repulsed by *Baldwin*, to whom the place had submitted some time before, he marched to the relief of *Antioch*. Though he was soon informed that the place was taken, yet on the 27th of *June* he ventured an engagement, when he was defeated, with the loss of one hundred thousand men, partly killed, and partly taken prisoners, the Christians losing only four thousand two hundred men.

A war be-
tween A-
lexis and
Boemund.
A.D. 1079

As *Alexius* had not kept up to the terms of agreement concluded at *Constantinople*, the Christian princes proclaimed *Alexis* and *Boemund* prince of *Antioch*. The emperor at this time had a just excuse for not joining the western princes; for *Tangripermes*, a *Turkish* pirate, having reduced the islands of *Rhodes* and *Ghios*, and seized *Smyrna* and *Ephesus*, infested the coasts of the empire. *Alexius* sent a considerable fleet and army against him; and the *Romans* having defeated *Tangripermes*, with great slaughter, recovered *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, *Philadelphia*, *Laticæa*, and other maritime cities of great importance. The emperor, elated with his success against the *Turks*, sent ambassadors to *Boemund*, requiring him to deliver up *Antioch*; but *Boemund*, instead of complying with this demand, claimed the city of *Laticæa*, as prince of *Antioch*, and took possession of it, and several other strong holds in *Cilicia*, belonging to the emperor, by force. To revenge these hostilities, *Alexius* sent out a powerful fleet, under the command of *Taticius*, who meeting with that of the western princes, which was sailing with supplies for the *Crusaders*, gave them a total overthrow near *Rhodes*. The greatest part of his fleet, however, was destroyed by a storm in his return to *Constantinople*.

Boemund
lays siege
to *Dynacæa*, but

Comnenus, the imperial general, not long after, receiving *Laticæa*, *Boemund* left a strong garison in *Antioch*, and passed into *Italy*, with a design of levying new forces. The emperor's admiral, instead of cruising on the coasts of *Italy* to prevent his return, made an attempt on *Brundisium*, but was repulsed with considerable loss. *Boemund*, soon after, landing with a powerful army near *Dyrrachium*, sat down before that important place, after having caused his fleet to be

be burnt in the sight of the whole army. The garison, however, making a vigorous defence, the besiegers were soon reduced to the greatest difficulties, so that *Boemund* was forced to conclude a peace. concludes a peace.

Alexius being disengaged from this war, marched in person against the *Turks*, and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, gave them a total overthrow. The following year they were also defeated in several successive battles by the emperor's lieutenants, *Alexius* himself being prevented by the gout and other distempers from heading his army in person. The *Turks*, disheartened with the great losses they had sustained, sent to sue for peace, which being granted them by the emperor, he thenceforth spent the remaining part of his life in striving to heal the divisions which at that time rent the *Greek* church. Being seized with a violent cold, he named his son *John* for his successor, and died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. The *Greek* historians, especially *Anne Comnena*, paint him as the best of princes; but those who have written the history of the holy war, represent him as the worst; doubtless, because he endeavoured in many instances to thwart the designs of the *Crusaders*. It is on all hands agreed, that he was a man of great address and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the best statesman of his time.

Alexius
dies.
A.D. 1114

Anne, the daughter of *Alexius*, having in vain endeavoured to persuade her father to bequeath the empire to her husband *Bryennius*, formed a conspiracy against her brother, with a design to depose him: but the plot being discovered, the conspirators were immediately seized, tried, and convicted. The good-natured emperor punished them only by confiscating their estates, which he soon after restored to them, receiving them anew into his favour. After this, he removed from court such as he had reason to suspect, appointing none to succeed them, but persons of known probity, and distinguished characters.

John
Comnens,

The *Turks*, in the second year of his reign, breaking into *Phrygia*, he marched against them in person, overthrew them in several engagements, and having recovered such cities as they had taken in *Gilicia*, took *Saxopolis*, a strong city in *Pamphilia*. The infidels, alarmed at the success that attended his arms, sued for peace, which was granted them by the emperor. Soon after his return to *Constantinople*, news being brought him that the *Scythians* had made an irruption into *Thrace*, the emperor led the flower of his army against them, and falling unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took many prisoners, and obliged the rest to save themselves beyond the *Danube*. He afterwards defeated the *Servii*, and then turned his arms against the *Huns*, whom he drove beyond the *Danube* with great slaughter. The emperor crossing that river after them, carried the war into their own country, and having taken

His wars
with the
Turks,

Servians,
and *Huns*

several of their strong holds, forced them to conclude a peace on his own terms.

He reco-
vers Ar-
menia.

While the emperor was thus employed in *Europe*, the *Turks* renewed their hostilities, and made themselves masters of several cities in *Galatia* and *Cilicia*. *John*, upon his return to *Constantinople*, reposed his troops only a few days, and then marched into the East, where he soon made himself master of all *Armenia*. In his return home he was reconciled to his brother *Isaac*, who, in the beginning of his reign, having taken some disgust, had fled to the *Turks*, and assisted them with his advice in all their undertakings against the Christians. The emperor having spent three years in the East, and recovered from the *Turks* the several cities and strong holds which they had lately taken, returned to *Constantinople*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

He at-
tempts to
get pos-
session of
Antioch.

His death
A.D.1039

A few years after, he resolved to return once more into the East, and began his march, attended by his three sons, *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Manuel*; but soon after he had left *Constantinople*, his two eldest sons died in the prime of their years, leaving their father in the deepest affliction. He, however continued his march, and upon his approach to *Antioch*, acquainted the inhabitants with his arrival, hoping that they would joyfully submit to him. Though they sent some of their chief men to meet him, yet they refused to admit him within the gates, till he had solemnly sworn he would attempt no innovation, and quietly depart, after a short stay in the city. This unexpected attachment of the inhabitants to the *Latins* so irritated him, that he ordered the soldiers, at his departure, to plunder the suburbs. From *Antioch* he bent his march to *Cilicia*, where, while he was one day hunting, he accidentally wounded himself in the hand with a poisoned arrow, which soon after occasioned his death, after he had reigned twenty-four years and eight months. It is observable of him, that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign, whence he was no less beloved by his subjects on account of his humanity and good-nature, than feared by his enemies on account of his courage and success in war.

Manuel
Comnenus.

Manuel, the youngest son of the emperor, having been recommended by his father as his successor, was accordingly proclaimed upon his death, and immediately sent to *Constantinople* and secured his elder brother *Isaac*, lest he should raise disturbances. The emperor, after his coronation, set his brother *Isaac* at liberty, upon his promising to attempt no innovations. He then marched against the *Turks*, and having recovered from them several places in *Phrygia*, sat down before *Iconium*, but was obliged to raise the siege. Upon his return to *Constantinople* he married *Gertrude*, sister-in-law to *Conrade*, the German emperor, a most excellent

excellent princess, who was nevertheless slighted by him, while he maintained a criminal conversation with his own niece.

Nothing, however has rendered his name more odious to His posterity, than his treachery to the Crusaders ; for though he promised to supply the army of *Conrade* with forage and the provisions, he nevertheless caused the countries through which they were to pass to be laid waste ; and his subjects even mixed quicklime with the flour that they sold them ; which occasioned a dreadful mortality among the *Germans*. *Manuel* also acquainted the sultan of *Iconium* with the designs of *Conrade* and the other princes, and by that means rendered them all ineffectual. A.D. 1146

Roger, king of *Sicily*, highly provoked at *Manuel's* treachery, took advantage of some disturbances raised by the inhabitants of *Corcyra*, and made himself master of that island. He also took and plundered *Corinth* with *Thebes* and most of the principal cities of *Bœotia*. *Manuel* proclaiming war against *Roger* and the *Sicilians*, began hostilities with the siege of *Corcyra*, which, after an obstinate defence, he made himself master of. From *Corcyra* he sailed for *Sicily* ; but in his passage he was overtaken by a violent storm, which destroyed many of his ships, and drove himself to *Aulon*. During his stay there, hearing that the *Servians* had broken into the neighbouring provinces, he marched against them in person, and, after defeating them and the *Hungarians* in several battles, razed some of their chief towns, and returned, loaded with booty, to *Constantinople*. *Michael Palæologus*, to whom he committed the *Sicilian* war, landed in *Calabria*, and frequently defeated *Roger's* forces : but, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was at length concluded between the two princes. A war betwixt him and *Roger*, king of *Sicily*. A peace concluded between them.

The emperor soon after took a progress into the East, and was every where received by the western princes in a friendly manner, notwithstanding his treachery to them. The *Turks* attacking him on his return, and killing several of his men, he soon after led a powerful army from *Constantinople* against them ; which struck them with such terror, that they offered to submit to any terms of accommodation. The emperor, however, rejecting their suit, advanced towards *Iconium* ; but, in the narrow passes of *Zibrica*, he was surprised by the *Turks*, who cut off his retreat and galled his men with showers of arrows. While the *Romans* looked upon themselves as lost, the sultan, to their great surprize, sent proposals of peace to the emperor, which he immediately signed. The emperor, upon his arrival at *Philadelphia*, continued in that city till the wounds he had received were cured ; but he was no sooner out of danger, than he refused to fulfil some of the conditions of the peace ; upon which the sultan sent twenty-four thousand men, who ravaged *Phrygia* with great barbarity. The *Turks*, however, on their return home, were all cut

cut off, to a man, as they were crossing the *Mæander*: which lots so disheartened them, that they continued quiet for some time.

Manuel having no wars to employ his thoughts, turned them to religious matters; and, by endeavouring to introduce heterodox opinions, raised great disturbances and divisions in the church. During these controversies, the emperor was taken ill, and, after lingering several months, died in September, having near compleated the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death he took the monastic habit, hoping thereby to atone for the debaucheries to which he abandoned himself in his flourishing years.

Manuel
dies, and
is suc-
ceeded by
Alexius
Comnenus.

Alexius Comnenus, the son and successor of *Manuel*, being but twelve years of age at his father's death, his mother assumed the administration, and suffered her son to indulge himself in his pleasures and diversions, while she and her creatures enriched themselves with the spoils of the public. The *Turks*, encouraged by her mal-administration, broke into the empire and made themselves masters of *Sozopolis* and several other important places in *Phrygia*. *Andronicus*, a cousin-german of the late emperor, also thinking the occasion favourable for seizing the empire, moved, with a considerable train of attendants, from *Conium*, whither he had been banished; and giving out that he intended to reform the shameful abuses in the government, great numbers flocked to him as their deliverer. Having defeated a small party of the imperial troops, who attempted to oppose him, he encamped near *Chelidon*, within view of the imperial city. The army and fleet declaring for *Andronicus*, the people in a tumultuous manner declared him guardian of the young prince; and seizing on *Alaxius*, the president of the council, conducted him, with scoffs and curses to the sea-side; from whence they sent him to *Andronicus*, who caused his eyes to be pulled out. *Andronicus* was no sooner invested with the administration, than he treated the people with the greatest cruelty. Some were deprived of their sight, others banished, and many inhumanly murdered, either out of some private grudge, or because they seemed attached to the young prince. Among the rest, *Mary*, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very instrumental in the late revolution, and her husband *Manuel*, *Andronicus's* own son, were poisoned by the tyrant's orders. The empress being found guilty, upon a false accusation, of treason, was put to death.

Androni-
cus re-
volts.

He is ad-
mitted in-
to Con-
stantinople
and de-
clared
protector.

Soon after, the tyrant, who pretended an unshaken fidelity for the young prince, caused him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch; but at the same time enlarging, in a set speech, on the dangers that threatened the empire, his friends, as had been preconcerted, immediately cried out, *Long live Alexius and Andronicus, Roman emperors*; upon which the multitude saluted him with the title of emperor. The tyrant seemed with reluctance to accept of his new dignity; and, upon

upon receiving the holy eucharist at his coronation, he solemnly swore, by that venerable mystery, that he took upon him the sovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor and support his authority. A few days after, however, he hired assassins, who strangled the young prince in his bed-chamber, in the third year of his reign and the fifteenth of his life. *Andronicus*, now sole master of the empire, raged, without distinction, against persons of all ranks whom he imagined in the least affected to *Manuel's* family. No day passed without some cruel execution; inso-much that, in a short time, the flower of the nobility was utterly cut off. Some of them, however, found means to make their escape; and, among the rest, *Isaac Comnenus* *Manuel's* near kinsman, who made himself master of *Cyprus*; where he is said to have even exceeded *Andronicus* in all manner of barbarities.

Manuel's brother *Alexius* fled to *Sicily*; and having persuaded *William*, the king of that island, to make war upon *Andronicus*, he attended him to *Dyrrachium*. The king soon making himself master of that city, ravaged *Macedon* without opposition; and took *Thessalonica* by storm, which was sacked by the *Sicilians*. The army sent by *Andronicus* to oppose *William* was put to flight at the first onset; which filled the *Sicilians* with hopes of soon being in possession of the imperial city. The tyrant, in the mean time, finding the number of the malcontents encreased, raged with more cruelty than ever, and did not even spare his own favourites.

His do-
minions
invaded
by the
king of
Sicily.

A.D. 1182

Isaac Angelus, a person of great distinction, and descended from one of the most antient families in *Constantinople*, slew the assassin that had been sent to murder him, and took refuge in a church; whither he was followed by several persons of distinction. The people, by whom he was generally beloved on account of his engaging behaviour, coming to condole with him, he took that opportunity of exciting them against *Andronicus*, who happened then to be absent from the city. The tyrant, a few days after, was accordingly declared a public enemy, and *Isaac* was proclaimed emperor. *Andronicus*, filled with despair on this news, attempted to escape by sea into *Scythia*; but being several times driven back by contrary winds, he was seized and presented in chains to *Isaac*; who causing his right hand to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be pulled out, delivered him to the enraged multitude. The populace having led him in a mock-triumph through the city on a camel, with his head towards the tail, hung him up by the feet naked between two pillars, cut off his private parts, and tormented him for three whole days; he suffering, with an invincible courage, all the torments that the relentless mob could inflict upon him; sometimes repeating, *Lord have mercy upon me*; and sometimes addressing the multitude with these words, *Why do ye break a bruised reed?* His life

was

Andronicus cruelly tormented by the populace. was at length finished with a mortal wound in the throat, after he had lived seventy-three years, and reigned two. He was the last emperor of the *Comnenian* family.

Isaac Angelus defeats the *Sicilians*. *Isaac* having gained the affections of his subjects by his lenity and moderation, dispatched the flower of his army against the *Sicilians*, who, being surprised as they were roving about the country, were almost entirely cut off. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred sail, being dispersed in their return home, most of their ships were taken by the emperor's admiral. The *Sicilian* war being thus ended, the emperor resolved, if possible, to drive *Isaac Comnenus* out of *Cyprus*, where he cruelly oppressed the inhabitants.

His successful attempt against *Cyprus*. The emperor's troops, under the command of *John Comnenus* and *Alexius Comnenus*, made a descent on *Cyprus* without opposition; but, while they were on shore, a famous pirate, named *Margarites*, seized or burnt their whole fleet; and they themselves were soon after entirely cut off by *Isaac*. On the news of this misfortune, the *Mæsiens* revolting put themselves under the protection of the *Scythians*, who overran the neighbouring provinces with a numerous army. *John Ducas*, the emperor's uncle, gained several advantages over the barbarians; but the emperor, jealous of his success, sent *John Cantacuzenus* as his successor, who, through his rashness and indiscretion, was often defeated.

Branas revolts. On this account the management of the war was committed to *Branas Alexius*, the greatest commander of his age, who, having gained some advantages over the enemy, caused

A.D. 1186 himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Adrianople*, the place of his nativity, and marched immediately against the imperial city. His hopes of surprising the place being frustrated, he encamped at some distance from the city; and the emperor, being roused from his inactivity by *Conrade*, son to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who happened to be then at *Constantinople*, marched out against the rebels with a small body of men and entirely defeated them. *Conrade*, to whom the victory was chiefly owing, slew *Branas* with his own hand.

He is killed. The emperor having thus suppressed the rebellion, resolved to employ the whole strength of his empire against the celebrated *Frederic Barbarossa*, emperor of *Germany*, who was advancing with a powerful army to the assistance of the princes of the *Crusade*. He had formed this resolution at the instigation of the sultan *Saladin*, who promised to restore *Palestine* to him if he would oppose the *Germans*. Accordingly, tho' he had engaged to assist *Frederic*, he no sooner heard of his arrival on the borders, than he dispatched an army to oppose him, having first, without any regard to the law of nations, imprisoned the bishop of *Munster*, the earl of *Nassau*, and count *Waltram*, *Frederic's* ambassadors.

These proceedings only served to exasperate the *Germans*, who advanced, in spite of the opposition of the *Greeks*, into *Thrace*,

Thrace, and took possession of *Philippopolis*. The Greek general having received peremptory orders to hazard an engagement, was defeated near *Philippopolis* by the *Germans*, who, in consequence of their victory, became masters of all the places between the *Ægean* and *Euxine* seas. The emperor now found himself obliged to sue for peace, set *Frederic's* ambassador's at liberty, and offered to supply the *Germans* with provisions and ships, provided they delivered hostages to him for his security, and crossed the *Straits* without delay. *Frederic*, however, far from hearkening to these conditions, answered, That, as he had conquered *Thrace*, he would dispose of it at his pleasure; that he was determined to winter there, and was resolved to treat the emperor as an enemy if he had not a sufficient number of ships ready to oblige transport his troops at *Easter*; ordering him to send twenty-four of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred persons of inferior quality, as hostages for the performance of what he required. To these shameful conditions the emperor readily submitted, the following spring the army terms. passing over into *Asia*.

A few years after, in the eighth of *Isaac's* reign, an impostor laid claim to the empire; and, being encouraged by the sultan of *Iconium*, soon raised a powerful army, and quickly made an alarming progress: but while he lay asleep, after having drank to excess, he was stabbed by a priest with his own sword. The *Scythians*, about the same time, making dreadful incursions into the northern provinces, the emperor marched against them in person; but, having passed the summer without daring to attack them, he was entirely defeated by them when he was withdrawing into winter-quarters. The barbarians, after this victory, plundered the cities without controul, and carried the inhabitants into captivity. They soon after defeated the imperial general *Alexius Guido*, and his successor *Batatzes Basilus*, who was slain in the action. The emperor defeated by the *Scythians*.

The following spring the emperor again marched to oppose them; but, while he halted at *Cypsellæ*, waiting for his reinforcements, his brother *Alexius Angelus* corrupted some of the chief officers of the army, by whom he was proclaimed emperor while *Isaac* was one day diverting himself with the chase. The army joining in the revolt, *Isaac* fled to *Macra*, where, being overtaken by those whom his brother sent after him, he was deprived of his sight and thrown into prison in the tenth year of his reign. *Alexius Angelus* declared emperor.

A.D. 1193

Alexius Angelus was no sooner raised to the throne, than, like his brother, he abandoned himself to luxury and riot, suffering the *Turks* and *Scythians* to ravage the provinces. The administration of affairs being wholly left to the empress *Euphrosina* and her favourites, they oppressed the people in the most tyrannical manner, not scrupling to fill their coffers by the most unjust and dishonourable means. *Alexius*, in the eighth

eighth year of his reign, reflecting on the kindness his brother had formerly shewn him, ordered him to be set at liberty ; and treated his son *Alexius*, then about twelve years of age, as his own child. *Irene*, the daughter of *Isaac*, being married to the emperor of *Germany*, solicited her husband to assist her father in the recovery of the throne ; and entering into a correspondence with her father for that purpose, her brother *Alexius* fled to the pope, who recommended him warmly to *Philip*, the emperor.

Alexius *Philip*, being then engaged in a war with *Otho*, could not recur to undertake an expedition in person in behalf of his brother the west-in-law ; but he recommended him to the *French* and *Venetian* princes ; who having then a powerful army in *Dalmatia* ready to march against the *Turks*, entered into a treaty with *Alexius*. He enters It was stipulated that *Alexius*, after he should be restored by into a their assistance, should pay two hundred thousand marks in treaty with silver towards the expences of the holy war ; maintain ten thousand men one year, to be employed in the conquest of *Egypt* ; and, during his life, five hundred knights, well armed for the defence of such places as they should conquer in the Holy Land.

They take
Constanti-
nople.

Isaac re-
stored, and
his son ac-
know-
ledged
emperor.

The united fleet no sooner appeared before *Dyrrachium*, than the place surrendered and swore allegiance to the young prince : soon after which the fleet steered for *Chalcedon*, where the army landed. The emperor, in the mean time, drew together what forces he could for his defence ; but his fleet, which consisted only of twenty galleys, not being able to prevent the confederates from crossing the *Straits*, they, after battering the walls of *Constantinople* for ten days, took the place by storm, after a most vigorous defence. The emperor, when he saw the army in possession of a part of the city, went privately on board a small vessel ; and escaped, with his treasures and imperial ornaments to *Zagora*, a *Thracian* city at the foot of Mount *Hemus*. The people no sooner heard that the tyrant had fled, than they crowded to the prison where *Isaac* had been detained ever since the flight of his son *Alexius* ; placed him upon the throne ; and acquainting the confederates with the flight of the usurper, invited *Alexius* to share the empire with his father. The confederates, who looked upon themselves as conquerors, refused to acknowledge *Isaac* till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his son. *Isaac*, after some difficulties, agreeing to the treaty, though he looked on the articles as extremely hard, was then acknowledged by the confederates ; his son being also crowned with great solemnity on the first of *August*. The confederates, at the entreaty of the two princes, marched to *Adrianople*, and drove from thence the usurper, who had seized on that city with a considerable body of men. *Theodorus Lascaris*, who had still adhered to the usurper, on the news of the loss of *Adrianople*, disbanded his army in

Asia,

Asia, and withdrew to the territories of the *Turks*. The confederates, after spending the winter in *Constantinople*, passed early in the spring over into *Asia*.

Before their departure, some of their troops having plundered a mosque which the late emperor had suffered the *Turks* to build in the imperial city; and being on that account attacked by the infidels, set fire to some wooden houses, the better to favour their escape. The flame spreading in an instant from street to street, in a few days reduced great part of the city to ashes. A dreadful fire at *Constantinople*.

Soon after the departure of the *Latins*, the emperor *Isaac* died, leaving his son *Alexius* sole master of the empire. *Alexius*, to discharge the large sums he had promised to the *French* and *Venetians*, was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his subjects; and at the same time shewing an esteem for the *Latins*, whom the people held in great detestation, he thereby raised a general dissatisfaction to his person. *John Ducas*, surnamed *Murtzuphlus*, from his joined and thick eyebrows, a person of uncommon parts and address, thought the opportunity favourable for seizing the throne; and industriously insinuated himself into the favour of the emperor and the populace. By his artifices he occasioned a breach between the emperor and the *Latins*; and then representing to the people, that the emperor had sold the city to the *Latins*, who were in full march to take possession of it, he raised a tumult among the populace, and entering the prince's chamber, strangled him with his own hands. Immediately after, he presented himself to the people as their deliverer, and was unanimously proclaimed emperor, as one capable of defeating the pretended designs of the *Latins*. *Alexius* murdered A.D. 1204.

The princes of the *Crusade* were no sooner informed of what had passed in the city, than they resolved to turn their arms against the usurper, and to seize on the eastern empire for themselves, since the *Greeks* had so often retarded their sacred expeditions. Accordingly, crossing the *Straits*, they returned against *Constantinople*, and, having battered the walls for several days together, gave a general assault on the eighth of *April*; when, after fighting from day break till three of the afternoon, they were repulsed with the loss of a great number of men. They again renewed the assault on the twelfth of *April*, when they gained possession of part of the wall; and, their whole army being introduced, put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. The *Crusaders* stood under their arms all night; but next morning, by break of day, when they expected to be attacked, they were surprized when they saw processions of suppliants advancing to them, from every quarter of the city, to implore their mercy. The princes, touched with compassion, promised them their lives; but, at the same time, gave up the city to be plundered by the troops for that day, strictly enjoining them to abstain from slaughter, and to preserve the plundered honour. The *Latins* besiege *Constantinople* which is taken and plundered.

honour of the women. Though great part of the treasures were doubtless carried off by the *Greeks* who had fled, an vast sums hid and concealed; yet the booty, when collected together, exclusive of the statues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a sum almost incredible. *Murtzuphlus* made his escape in the night, with *Euphrosyne*, the wife of the late usurper *Alexius Angelus*, and her daughter *Eudoxia*, for whose sake he had abandoned his lawful wife.

Baldwin
chosen
emperor
of *Constantinople*.

The *Latins* being now masters of the imperial city, chose for emperor *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*; a person, in every respect, equal to that high dignity. He was crowned with extraordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of *St. Sophia*; and to him was allotted the city of *Constantinople* and the country of *Thrace*, with a limited sovereignty over the other provinces which already were, or should afterwards be taken from the *Greeks*. *Thessaly* was erected into a kingdom and given to *Boniface*, marquis of *Montferrat*; and the island of the *Archipelago*, part of the *Peloponnese*, and several cities of the *Hellepont*, were assigned to the *Venetians*.

A new
empire
erected at
Nice.

and another at
Trapezond

Mean while, *Theodorus Lascaris*, son-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, being joyfully received by the inhabitants of *Bithynia*, whither he had escaped, possessed himself not only of that country, but of *Phrygia*, *Mæsia*, *Ionian*, and *Lydia*, from the *Meander* to the *Euxine Sea*; and, taking upon himself the title of emperor, fixed his imperial seat in the famous city of *Nice*. At the same time, *David* and *Alexius Comnenus*, grandchildren to the late tyrant *Andronicus*, seizing on *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, erected a new empire at *Trapezus*, or *Trapezond*; where their posterity reigned till their empire fell into the hands of *Mohammed the Great*. Several other toparchies, or principalities, were also erected about this time on the ruins of the *Constantinopolitan* empire.

Baldwin
taken prisoner and
put to
death.
A.D. 1206

Baldwin, the new emperor of *Constantinople*, having reduced all *Thrace*, except *Adrianople*, which was possessed by great numbers of *Greeks*, sat down before that important place with all his forces. The *Greeks* made a most vigorous defence; and, in the mean time, some of their countrymen, who had fled into *Bulgaria*, prevailed on *John*, king of that country, to march, at the head of a powerful army of *Bulgarians* and *Scythians*, to the relief of the place. The *Bulgarian* king, by a pretended flight, having drawn the emperor into an ambuscade, and cut off most of his men, took *Baldwin* himself prisoner, whom he sent to *Erno*, or *Ternova*, the capital of *Bulgaria*; where, after his hands and feet were cut off, he was exposed in a desert, and died after he had languished three days.

In the mean time, *Alexius Angelus*, who had been dethroned by the *Latins*, went privately to the court of *Jathatines*, sultan of *Iconium*, who had been formerly received by him in an hospitable manner at *Constantinople*, when he had been expelled by his elder brother *Aratines*. *Jathatines*, at his desire,
sent

sent ambassadors to *Theodorus*, emperor of *Nice*, requiring him, in a threatening manner, to deliver up the country he unjustly possessed to the lawful owner *Alexius* his father-in-law. Before the return of the ambassadors, the sultan, attended by *Alexius*, laid siege to *Antioch*, on the *Mæander*, with an army of twenty thousand men.

Lascares, sensible of the great importance of the place, which was one of the boundaries of his empire, immediately marched to its relief with the forces he could draw together, which amounted only to two thousand men. The *Turks*, who readily gave him battle, were thrown into great confusion by eight hundred *Italians* of his army; but these not being seconded by the *Greeks*, were all cut to pieces after they had broke through the enemy's lines. The sultan, on this advantage, thinking himself sure of victory, singled out the *Greek* emperor, and at the first blow struck him off his horse; but *Lascares* quickly recovering himself, unhorsed the sultan, and, before he could put himself in a posture of defence, cut off his head. The *Turks* no sooner perceived the death of the sultan, than they fled in great confusion; leaving the *Greeks*, who before were ready to fly, masters of their camp and baggage. *Alexius*, the author of the war, was taken prisoner, and ended his days, some years after, in a monastery at *Nice*. *Lascares* having granted a peace to the *Turks* on his own terms, employed himself in defending his dominions against *Henry*, the brother and successor of *Baldwin*. A bloody war was continued for several years between these two princes with various success; but several princes of the late imperial family erecting independent principalities in different provinces, *Lascares* was in the end obliged to acknowledge the authority of *Henry*, and conclude a peace with him.

He defeats them and kills the sultan,

but submits to *Henry*.

Henry having afterwards driven the *Bulgarians* out of *Thrace*, turned his arms against *Michael Angelus*, a *Greek* prince of the imperial family, who had possessed *Ætolia* and *Epirus* for several years, under the title of *despot*, or *lord*. The emperor waged war with him and his brother *Theodorus*, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he held.

Henry dying at *Thessalonica*, in the fortieth year of his age, after he had reigned near eleven years with great glory and success, was succeeded by *Peter*, count of *Auxerre*, who had married his sister. This prince, being solemnly crowned at *Rome* by pope *Honorius III.* proceeded to *Venice* in his way to *Constantinople*; and entered into an alliance with that republic against *Theodorus*, who then held the principality of *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. Soon after he entered that prince's dominions, and laid siege to *Dyrrachium*; but was forced to abandon the enterprize, and come to an agreement with *Theodorus*, who promised him a free passage through his dominions; but nevertheless surprized him; cut most of his

Peter succeeds *Henry*.

A.D. 1217

forces

He is treacherously put to death. forces in pieces; and, taking him prisoner, put him to death soon after.

Robert emperor. *Robert*, the second son of the late emperor, succeeded him his elder son, the count of *Namur*, having declined the dignity. In the third year of his reign died *Theodorus Lascaris*, after having governed eighteen years with great honour. His only son being then an infant, he bequeathed the kingdom to *John Ducas*, surnamed *Vataces*, who had married his eldest daughter *Irene*; which giving offence to his own brothers *Alexius* and *Angelus*, they withdrew to *Constantinople*, and implored the protection of the emperor *Robert*; who having espoused their cause, sent them into *Asia* with a considerable army. *John*, in the first engagement, gained a complete victory over them; cut off the flower of the *Latin* army, and took the two commanders prisoners. Immediately after his victory, he ordered a great number of galleys to be built in the several ports of *Asia*, with which he reduced most of the islands in the *Archipelago*. *Azen*, king of *Bulgaria*, hearing of his exploits, courted his alliance, and proposed a match between his daughter *Helena* and *Theodore*, the emperor's son, which was readily embraced by *Ducas*.

who recovers several places from the *Latins*. The sultan of *Iconium*, who apprehended an irruption of the *Tartars*, at the same time prolonging the truce with *Ducas*, the emperor was thereby at leisure to employ his whole strength against the *Latins*, and made himself master of all the places held by them on the *Bosphorus* and *Hellefpont*. *Theodorus*, despot of *Epirus*, in the mean time made himself master of *Thejjaly* and *Thrace*: and, assuming the title of emperor, caused himself to be crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch of *Bulgaria*. Being elated with his success, he attacked *John*, the son and successor of *Alex*, though he had lately concluded a treaty with him; but being defeated by *John*, and taken prisoner, his eyes were pulled out by the orders of that prince.

Robert is succeeded by *Baldwin II*. Not long after, *Robert*, emperor of *Constantinople*, died in *Achria* as he was returning from *Rome*. *Baldwin II*, his brother, or, according to some writers, his son, succeeded him; but being only eight years old, *John of Brincune*, formerly king of *Jerusalem*, and one of the greatest captains of his

A.D. 1228 time, was appointed regent of the empire during his minority; and, according to some writers, was honoured with the title of emperor during his life. In the beginning of his administration, *John Azen*, king of *Bulgaria*, and *John Ducas*, the *Greek* emperor, entering into an alliance, laid close siege to *Constantinople*. The regent, though then near eighty years of age, behaved with great activity and courage; and, sallying out with only two hundred horse and a handful of foot, totally routed the enemy, who amounted to one hundred thousand men. The confederate princes nevertheless appeared a-new before the imperial city the year after; but

were

were attended with no better success, being a second time defeated and put to flight. The *Latin* army, however, being greatly lessened, while the enemy were daily receiving new supplies, they returned once more and renewed the siege. *John*, knowing he could not rely upon the *Greeks*, who were entirely devoted to the families at *Nice* and *Trapezond*, sent the young emperor to solicit succours from the western princes.

During his absence, a *Venetian* fleet arriving at *Constantinople*, *Azen* and *Ducas* were obliged to raise the siege; but *John* of *Brienne* dying soon after, the *Latins* would have suffered greatly by his death, had not a rupture happened between the *Greek* emperor and the king of *Bulgaria*; which proceeded so far, that the latter, having by a stratagem recovered his daughter, married to *Theodore*, joined the *Latins* against *Ducas*, and with them laid siege to *Chiorli*: but news arriving of the death of his wife, he returned to *Bulgaria*, and married the daughter of *Theodorus Angelus*, late despot of *Epirus*. In consequence of this marriage, *Theodorus* was set at liberty by *Azen*, who assisted him in the recovery of his dominions, which had been usurped by his brother *Manuel*. As *Theodorus* had been deprived of his sight, he appointed his son *Theodorus* to govern in his room with the title of emperor.

The siege raised by *John* of *Brienne*, the governor.

A.D. 1236

These proceedings giving offence to *John Ducas*, who pretended to be sole emperor of the *Greeks*, he therefore soon after passed over into *Thrace*, *Azen* being dead; and entering into an alliance with the *Scythians* in *Macedon*, he stripped the mock-emperor of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to content himself with the title of despot.

The young *Baldwin*, after an absence of three years, returning about this time to *Constantinople*, was solemnly crowned emperor. Having concluded an alliance with the emperors of *Trapezond*, he, with their assistance, took the city of *Chiorli*; which, however, was soon after retaken by *Ducas*; who not only made himself master of the greatest part of *Asia*, but extended his conquests in *Europe* almost to the very gates of *Constantinople*. He died in the sixty-second year of his age, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years.

His son *Theodorus Lascaris*, who succeeded him, having renewed the antient alliance with the sultan of *Iconium*, passed the *Hellepont*, and made war upon the king of *Bulgaria* and the despot of *Epirus*, who had invaded his dominions in *Macedon* and *Thrace*. Having obliged them to sue for peace, he granted them an accommodation upon his own terms. During his absence, *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left governor of *Asia*, withdrew to the sultan of *Iconium*; who giving him the command of a body of *Greeks* in the *Turkish* pay, he soon after distinguished himself in a battle between the *Turks* and *Tartars*; and would have gained a complete victory had not a chief officer revolted to the enemy. The *Tartars* having cut almost the whole *Turkish* army to pieces, ravaged their provinces in *Asia*, and obliged the sultan to fly

Theodorus Lascaris.

A.D. 1255

for refuge to *Theodorus*; who received him with great kindness and sent him back with a body of troops. Soon after he prevailed upon *Palæologus* to enter again into his service, who upon his return took an oath of allegiance to *Theodorus* and his son.

He is suc- The emperor died soon after, in the third year of his reign; ceeded by and, as his son *John* was only about nine years of age, he his son appointed *Arsenius*, the patriarch, and *George Muzalo*, guar- *John*. dians to the young prince. *Muzalo* was a person of an unblemished character, but of a mean descent; which raising the

A.D.1259 envy of the nobility against him, they, at the funeral of the late emperor, dispatched him with his two brothers at the very altar. The conspirators having thus removed *Muzalo*, declared *Michael Palæologus* guardian to the young prince.

Palæologus signalized the beginning of his administration with a victory over *Michael Angelus*, despot of *Epirus*, gained by his brother *John*, who drove the *Epirots* from *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The news of this victory no sooner reached *Magnesia*, where *Palæologus* then resided, than he was saluted emperor by the nobility. The patriarch threatened him and his adherents with excommunication; but, upon his binding himself with an oath to resign the empire to the young prince as soon as he should be of age, he consented to put the crown on his head.

Michael Palæologus made emperor. *Michael* being thus raised to the empire, sent his brother *Constantine* with an army into the *Peloponnese*, which he soon made himself master of. Soon after, he marched in person into *Thrace*, with a design of attacking *Constantinople*; and began with assaulting the castle of *Pera*: from whence, however, he was repulsed with great loss. At his departure, he disposed of his troops in such a manner as to block up the city. Mean while, *Alexius Angelus*, despot of *Epirus*, attempting to recover the places he had lost in *Thessaly* and *Greece*, *Alexius Strategopulus* was sent against him, with orders to try whether he could not on his march surprise *Constantinople*.

The *La-* *Alexius*, on his passing the *Straits*, was encouraged by some *tins* ex- of the inhabitants to march against their city, they themselves pelled serving him as guides. His attempt was crowned with suc- from *Con-* cess, and his army was no sooner entered into the city than *stantinople* they set fire to it in four different places: from whence the

A.D.1261 *Latins* concluding them to be much more numerous than they really were, suffered themselves to be slaughtered without resistance. In the general confusion, the emperor *Baldwin* fled in disguise with the patriarch and some of his intimate friends, to the sea side; and embarking on a small vessel, sailed to *Venice*; leaving the *Greeks* in possession of the imperial city, after it had been held fifty-eight, or, according to some, sixty years by the *Latins*.

Palæologus, transported with joy on the news of the recovery of *Constantinople*, ordered public thanks to be returned in all the churches with great solemnity; and sent couriers with

with the agreeable tidings, into all the provinces of the empire. Soon after, he set out for *Constantinople* with the empress, his son *Andronicus*, the senate, and the nobility, to take possession of the imperial city. He entered the city by the golden gate, which had long been shut up; and was received by the people in the most triumphant manner. Public thanks were again returned in the church of *St. Sophia*, at which the emperor assisted in person, with the clergy, the senate, and the nobility. When the public rejoicings, which continued for several days, were over, the emperor carefully surveyed the imperial city; which allayed, in a great measure, the sense of his present good fortune; for he observed the stately palace of *Blachernæ*, with the other magnificent dwellings of the *Roman* emperors lying in ruins. Many fine edifices were destroyed by fire, and other unavoidable accidents of war; and several streets were quite abandoned by the inhabitants, and choaked up with the rubbish of the ruined houses. These objects kindled in the emperor a desire of rebuilding the city, and restoring it to its former lustre. *Alexius*, in the mean time, who was looked upon as the restorer of his country, was clad in magnificent robes, the emperor, placing with his own hand a crown upon his head, decreed that, for a whole year, his name should in the public prayers be joined to his own.

In order to repeople the city, he recalled home those families that had abandoned the place while it was in the possession of the *Latins*; and he prevailed upon the *Latins* to remove, by granting them many valuable privileges. The emperor being soon after informed that *Baldwin* had married his daughter to *Charles*, king of *Sicily*; and given him, by way of dowry, the city of *Constantinople*, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover; he ordered the *Genoese*, who were become very numerous, to remove first to *Heraclea*, and afterwards to *Galata*, where they continued. The *Pisans* and *Venetians*, who were not so numerous and wealthy, were allowed to continue in the city.

The emperor now thought of the means of securing the sovereignty to himself and his posterity; and for this purpose he most unjustly ordered his young guardian to be deprived of his sight; which barbarity and treason involved him in endless troubles and dangers. *Arsenius*, the patriarch, immediately excommunicating him and all those who had been any ways accessory to his crime, great disturbances were thereby occasioned in the city. At the same time, *Michael*, despot of *Epirus*, and *Constantine*, king of *Bulgaria*, who had married the young emperor's sister, broke into *Thrace*, and laid waste that country. *Palæologus* marched against them in person; but, after an unsuccessful campaign, he was attacked by the barbarians in his return home, and would have infallibly fallen into their hands, if he had not escaped on board

a small vessel. Almost all his troops were cut in pieces or taken prisoners; and twenty thousand *Tartars* joining the *Bulgarians*, the country was ravaged by them in a most dreadful manner.

The union of the Greek and Latin churches.

A.D. 1274

The emperor dies

During these distractions, the *Venetians* again recovered the islands of the *Archipelago*; and being joined by the king of *Sicily*, and most of the western princes, would, in all likelihood, have driven him from the throne: but *Palæologus* offering to submit himself and his dominions to the *Latin* church, thereby procured the favour of pope *Urban IV.* who persuaded the king of *Sicily* to conclude a peace with him. *Palæologus*, on his side, did his utmost to bring about an union between the two churches; acknowledging by his ambassadors, or, as some will have it, in person, the supremacy of the pope in the famous council of *Lyons*. Great disturbances ensued at *Constantinople* and throughout the empire, the patriarch, and most of the clergy, inveighing against the innovations. *Palæologus* having banished the patriarch, and cruelly racked and imprisoned many others of the clergy, gave the patriarchate to one *Veccus*. Soon after, however, pope *Martin IV.* solemnly excommunicated him for having contributed to the famous massacre of the *French* in *Sicily*, commonly known by the name of the *Sicilian Vespers*. The unhappy prince not long after died at *Allogium*, as he was marching against the *Turks*, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and forty-eighth of his age.

Andronicus Palæologus.

His son and successor, *Andronicus Palæologus*, in hopes of acquiring the favour of the people, annulled whatever his father had done with respect to the union of the two churches. Those, however, who had received the *Latin* ceremonies, now defending them with great obstinacy; and the contrary faction returning the evil treatment they had met with in the late reign; such animosities were raised in the state as threw the whole empire into a ferment. The emperor, however, disobliterated far greater numbers by his cruelty to his brother *Constantine*, who was the darling of the people, on account of the many victories he had gained over the *Turks*. His great reputation rendering him suspected to the emperor, he was, by his orders, seized and thrown into prison with several other persons of great distinction; among whom was *Michael Strategopulus*, son to the celebrated *Alexius*, who had recovered *Constantinople* from the *Latins*. The *Turks*, upon the removal of these two brave officers, made themselves masters of several places in *Phrygia*, *Caria*, and *Bithynia*, reducing, among the rest, the city of *Nice*; which obliged the emperor to send against them *Alexius Philanthropenus* and *Libadarius*, two generals of great experience.

Alexius Philanthropenus

Philanthropenus, elated with the successes he gained over the *Turks*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but being betrayed by his own men, and delivered to *Libadarius*, that general

general ordered his eyes to be put out. The *Turks* in the revolts, mean time not only extended their dominions in *Asia*, but but is be- conquered moſt of the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, while trayed. their fleet infeſted the coaſts of the empire. The emperor, in this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, took into his pay ten thouſand *Maſſagetes*, or *Alans*, who, to avoid the *Tartars*, had paſſed the *Danube*. Theſe marched into *Asia*, under the conduct of *Michael* the emperor's eldeſt ſon ; but being ſurprized in their camp by the *Turks*, were put to flight, in ſpite of all the efforts of the young emperor, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner. The *Maſſagetes*, in their flight, ravaged the countries through which they paſſed ; and afterwards croſſed over into *Europe*. The *Turks*, in the purſuit, made themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong holds to the ſea-ſide. Though *Michael* was abandoned by the *Maſſagetes* ; yet, in the end, he got ſafe to *Conſtantinople*.

The emperor ſtill reposing greater truſt in ſtrangers than in The em- his own ſubjects, took into his ſervice a body of *Catalans*, un- peror im- der the command of *Ronzerius*, a captain of great reputation, prudently who, being ſent to the relief of *Philadelpia*, obliged the hires fo- *Turks*, who were beſieging that place, to retire. Upon their reign mer- retreat, *Ronzerius* turned his arms againſt thoſe whom he was cenaries, ſent to protect, and committed unheard of cruelties ; but, upon his return to *Thrace* with part of his men, he was cut in pieces by the guards of *Michael*. Thoſe who had ſtaid at who ſieze *Callipolis*, hearing of the fate of their general, put all the and fortify citizens of that place to the ſword, and then fortified them- *Callipolis*. ſelves in the beſt manner they could. Having ſollicited the *TheTurks* aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, the infidels immediately tranſported enter *Eu-* thither five hundred choſen men ; and others ſoon after fol- *rope*. lowing, the *Catalans* not only plundered the neighbouring country, but, having equipped and manned eight gallies, ſeized on all the merchant-ſhips in the *Streights* ; and would A.D. 1292 have greatly diſtreſſed the imperial city itſelf, had not their fleet been defeated by the *Genoeſe*. *Michael*, the young emperor, marched againſt *Callipolis* with an army partly composed of *Greeks* and partly of mercenaries ; which laſt reſuſ- ing to engage, the *Greeks* were eaſily put to flight. The *Ca-* *talans* and *Turks*, after this victory, over-ran all *Thrace*, de- ſtroying every thing with fire and ſword.

At length the *Catalans* propoſed to invade *Theſſaly* ; but the *Turks*, who amounted to thirteen thouſand horſe and eight hundred foot, deſiring to return home with their booty, declared to the emperor that they would go back to *Asia* if he would ſupply them with ſhips. The emperor readily heark- ened to this propoſal ; but the *Greeks* who were charged with that commiſſion, tempted by the ſight of their large booty, formed a ſcheme for cutting them off ; which com- ing to the ears of the infidels, they ſeized a ſtrong caſtle on the coaſt ; and many of their countrymen haſtening over

the *Streights* to their assistance, they ravaged the adjacent country to the very gates of *Constantinople*.

They defeat the emperor's forces.

The emperor and the people being at length roused by their continual incursions, a great but tumultuous army was led against them; but was entirely defeated and put to flight by a small body of the enemy; who plundered the emperor's camp, in which they found a large sum designed for the payment of the troops, several standards, the imperial crown, enriched with precious stones, and all the baggage of the army. The *Turks*, after this unexpected victory, ravaged *Thrace* for two years together. At length, *Philes Palæologus*, a person nearly related to the emperor, desired leave to lead an army against the infidels; not doubting, he said, but, with the assistance of Heaven, he should revenge the injuries done to his country. *Philes*, though an entire stranger to the art of war, was remarkable for his piety and the integrity of his life; which made the emperor look upon him as one chosen by Providence for the relief of his oppressed country; and therefore he readily gave him the command of an army. The first care of *Philes* was, to establish good discipline among his soldiers, by exhorting them to live with temperance and sobriety; and encouraging them with frequent donatives and promises of rewards.

They are routed by *Philes Palæologus*.

Not long after he had taken the field, he defeated a body of the enemy, consisting of one thousand foot and two hundred horse: and their whole army entering the *Chersonese*, he encamped on the *Isthmus*, with a design to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, on the joyful news of this victory, immediately dispatched five galleys, which were reinforced with eight more, sent by the *Genoese* of *Pera*, to guard the *Streights*, and prevent the *Turks* from receiving any assistance out of *Asia*. At the same time the army of *Philes* was reinforced with two hundred chosen horse, sent him by *Crates*, king of *Servia*, who had married the emperor's daughter.

and are entirely cut off.

The *Turks* being now cut off from all supplies by sea, and *Philes* vigorously attacking them by land, they, after several unsuccessful attempts to open themselves a passage by force, threw away their arms about midnight; and taking with them their gold and silver, of which they had great plenty, they made towards the sea-side, with a design to surrender themselves to the *Genoese*, who, they hoped, would shew them more mercy than the *Greeks*, as they had never injured them. The night proving dark, many of them mistook the *Greek* for the *Genoese* galleys, and fell into the hands of their most implacable enemies, by whom they were cut in pieces. The rest fared little better; for the *Genoese* killed such as brought most money with them, lest they should afterwards discover it to the *Greeks*. The poorer sort they loaded with chains, sending some of them to the emperor, and keep the rest for their own slaves.

Though

Though the emperor thus freed his dominions in *Europe Androni-* from the *Turks*, yet he was soon after involved in far greater *cus*, the troubles. *Michael*, his eldest son and colleague in the empire, emperor's had two sons, *Andronicus* and *Manuel*; the former of whom, grandson, though of a most untractable temper, debauched and disso- raises great lute, was greatly beloved by his grandfather. Being jealous disturb- of his favourite mistress, he charged certain ruffians to watch ances. her one night, and dispatch the person that should come to visit her. *Manuel* unluckily coming that very night to the house in quest of his brother, the assassins not knowing him in the dark, mistook him for the prince's rival, and gave him several mortal wounds, of which he died in a few days after. *Michael*, his father, was so affected with the news of his death, that he died soon after. The grandfather, nevertheless, still continued to favour *Andronicus*, who answering his kindness with the utmost ingratitude, contracted an acquaintance with several malcontents, by whom he was inspired with an utter aversion to the aged emperor. *Andronicus*, finding it impossible, by moderate methods, to reclaim his grandson, resolved to reprove him publicly before the patriarch and the chief of the nobility. The prince, hearing of the emperor's design, went, with several followers, secretly armed to the palace; but his grandfather reproving him in the most tender and affectionate manner, he burst into tears, and promised an entire submission for the future. This reconciliation, however, was but short lived; for the prince returning to his favourite companions, soon fell from the resolution he had taken, and began to resume his former ambitious designs.

The emperor judging that he was now irreclaimable, resolved to secure him; but having communicated his design to the patriarch, who basely betrayed the secret to the prince, he fled, with his accomplices and partizans, to *Adrianople*. *Andronicus*, upon the news of his flight, caused him to be de- He openly clared a public enemy; prescribed all his adherents, and revolts. obliged the inhabitants of *Constantinople* to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince was acknow- A.D. 1321 ledged as emperor, at *Adrianople*, by the commanders of the troops in *Thrace*; so that, in a few days, finding himself at the head of a considerable army, he sent a strong detachment to attempt *Constantinople*. The emperor not being in a The emperor condition to oppose so formidable a force, agreed to a division peror of the empire with the prince; who was to have *Thrace* from obliged to *Christopolis* to *Rhégium*, for his share; his followers being al- divide the lowed to enjoy, without molestation, the lands and honours empire he had conferred upon them. with him.

Mean while, the *Turks* enlarged their dominions, and reduced most places on the *Mæander*, and, among the rest, the strong city of *Prusa*, in *Bithynia*, which the sultan now chose for the seat of his empire. The disagreement between *Androni-*

The war
betwixt
them re-
newed.

cus and his grandson prevented the *Greeks* from being able to oppose the infidels. *Syrgiannes*, one of the most zealous partizans of the prince, thinking his services had not been sufficiently rewarded by him, made his peace with the emperor and incensed him to such a degree against his grandson, that the war was renewed on both sides. *Constantine*, the emperor's son, was appointed governor of *Macedon*, and sent with a considerable army to *Thessalonica*; while *Syrgiannes* attacked that part of *Thrace* next to *Constantinople* with a body of *Turks* who had entered into the emperor's service.

The prince marched against his uncle *Constantine* in person, but was defeated by him in several encounters. *Constantine*, however, upon a false report of his father's death, which the prince caused to be published, was so alarmed that he retired in the utmost consternation to *Thessalonica*. There he received letters from his father, desiring him to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, who were suspected of holding a correspondence with the enemy: but the inhabitants having notice of what was intended, seized *Constantine*, and delivered him up to his nephews, by whom he was kept close confined as long as he lived. The *Turks* at the same time quitting the emperor's service, *Syrgiannes* was obliged to return to *Constantinople*; which *Synadenus*, the prince's general, threatened to besiege.

A new ac-
commo-
dation ef-
fected.

The emperor, now greatly alarmed, released *Xene*, the prince's mother, by whose mediation an accommodation was effected, the emperor promising to take his grandson for his colleague in the empire, and to cause him to be solemnly crowned with his wife *Anne* of *Savoy*.

The prince, not long after his coronation, being impatient of a colleague, resolved to remove his aged grandfather; and, with that view, entered into an alliance with *Michael*, prince of *Bulgaria*, his brother-in-law, who was to make a diversion in *Servia*, if the prince of that country should move to the assistance of the emperor. The prince soon after beginning to act in an independant arbitrary manner, and at the same time pretending great submission to his grandfather, the emperor, who perceived that he had got a great party even in *Constantinople*, ordered the patriarch and the clergy to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. The patriarch, however, being in the interest of the prince, pronounced sentence of excommunication against those who should omit his name in the public prayers; which exasperating the emperor, he deposed and imprisoned the patriarch.

A fresh
rupture.

The prince hearing of what had passed in the metropolis, approached it with one thousand three hundred chosen men; and going up to the walls with about thirty soldiers, he desired to be admitted to confer with his grandfather; but his request being denied, he charged his grandfather with all the calamities

mities that should follow, and retired into *Macedon*; where he took, almost without opposition, several castles and strong holds, the citizens of *Thessalonica* opening their gates to him, and joining him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous resistance, but was in the end obliged to submit.

After several other hostilities, the prince prepared for the siege of *Constantinople*; but, in the mean time, two of the soldiers who were appointed to guard the walls, came to the prince in the dead of the night, and, on the promise of a great reward, agreed to betray the city into his hands. Accordingly, having intoxicated the rest of the guard with wine, they drew up, by ladders of ropes, about eighteen men; who, breaking open one of the gates, opened an entrance for the young prince and his whole army. When day appeared, the people, with loud acclamations, saluted the young *Andronicus* emperor, who went immediately to wait on his grandfather in person, and was so affected with the speech which the unfortunate emperor made him, that, falling at his feet, he endeavoured, with words full of duty and respect, to comfort him in his greatest distress. He then returned solemn thanks to Heaven for having put an end to the war with so little bloodshed; after which, he conducted the patriarch, in a kind of triumph, to his church, and restored him to his former dignity.

Young *Andronicus*, though he suffered his grandfather to continue in the palace and wear the ensigns of majesty, would not allow him the least share in the administration, which he took entirely into his own hands. He granted a general pardon to all those who had adhered to his grandfather, and even promoted some of his chief favourites to the first employments in the state.

In the very beginning of his reign, the king of *Bulgaria* made an irruption into *Thrace*, where he plundered several cities. *Andronicus*, with the utmost dispatch, marched with a considerable army to *Byzium*; and, obliging the king to raise the siege of that city with precipitation, pursued him, and carrying the war into *Bulgaria*, ravaged the country far and near, till the king sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which was concluded on terms very honourable to *Andronicus*. The two princes then had an interview on horseback, when they confirmed the treaty and renewed their ancient friendship.

Andronicus having now no enemies to contend with in *Europe*, turned his arms against the *Turks*, and recovered from them several places in *Asia*, and, among the rest, the famous city of *Nice*, with a strong castle on the *Sangarius* which commanded the passes leading into *Bithynia*. This castle, however, was soon after retaken by *Orchanes*, son and successor of the famous *Othoman*; who, having settled his affairs at home, entered *Bithynia* with a formidable army upon the emperor's departure; and, after making himself master of several

The *Turks* several places, at length sat down before *Nice*. The emperor hastened with an army to the relief of the place, and, after several skirmishes, he came to a general engagement with the enemy, when both parties fought with great obstinacy; but the emperor at length being wounded in the foot with an arrow, and obliged to retire, his troops, no longer animated with his example, retreated in the utmost confusion to their camp. Soon after, upon a false report that *Andronicus*, who had retired to *Philocrene*, was dead, they betook themselves to a precipitate flight, leaving their camp, arms, and baggage, to the enemy, by whom they were pursued with great slaughter.

Andronicus, on this misfortune, returning to *Constantinople*, greatly dispirited, the *Turks* made themselves masters of all the maritime towns in *Bithynia*, and at length reduced *Nice* itself by stratagem. Having been informed that *Andronicus* had promised to reinforce the garison of *Nice* with one thousand horse, he armed the like number of his men after the *Roman* manner, and putting himself at their head, they were admitted into the city as friends, and immediately overpowered the garison. *Orchanes* soon after got possession of *Abydos*, which was betrayed to him by the governor's daughter; while his two sons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, reduced several important places in *Asia*.

The emperor being at this time seized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was despaired of, those who were instrumental in the late revolution, instead of thinking of the means to stop the progress of the *Turks*, were filled with anxiety for their own safety, in case the emperor should die, and his grandfather be restored to his power. *Cantacuzenus*, and some others, prompted by this consideration, according to *Gregoras*, resolved on the old emperor's death; but this resolution being generally disapproved, they all agreed to confine him to a monastery, where they forced him to take the monastic habit. *Cantacuzenus*, however, in the history he has left us, says that the old emperor retired to a monastery of his own accord, where he continued unmolested till his death, which happened two years after.

The emperor concludes a dishonourable peace with them. Young *Andronicus*, upon his recovery, finding himself in no condition to oppose the formidable power of the *Turks*, was persuaded by *Cantacuzenus* to conclude a dishonourable peace with them; by which it was stipulated, that they should hold all the places and countries they had conquered in *Asia*, and suffer the *Romans* peaceably to enjoy what they had not wrested from them. Soon after this peace the inhabitants of *Thessaly* revolted; and, while the emperor was employed against them, the *Turks* violated the treaty; and, having ravaged the coasts adjoining to *Constantinople*, repassed the *Streights* with an immense booty and a great number of captives.

Andronicus

Andronicus died soon after, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, leaving behind him two sons, *John* and *Manuel*; the eldest of whom being only nine years of age, *John Cantacuzenus* was appointed his guardian and protector of the empire during his minority. *Cantacuzenus* took particular care of the education of the young princes, and omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous, and disinterested minister: but *John*, the patriarch, who had expected to have been declared guardian, being filled with resentment, endeavoured to prejudice him in the opinion of the empress *Anne*. As the patriarch had a great ascendant over her, *Cantacuzenus* offered to resign his charge; but she insisted upon his still retaining the administration, assuring him that she would shut her ears against the unjust calumnies of his enemies. The patriarch, however, by continuing to put a bad construction upon all his actions, so far prevailed upon the empress, that she began to look upon *Cantacuzenus* as an enemy to herself and her family; and having caused some of his friends and relations to be seized, while he was absent from *Constantinople*, she sent him orders to resign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life. He refusing to resign till he should be allowed an opportunity of justifying his conduct; the empress, at the instigation of the patriarch, declared him a public enemy and traitor.

Cantacuzenus, the prince's guardian, declared a public enemy.

Cantacuzenus being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raised to oppose the *Servians*, and having with him several persons of the greatest authority in the empire, who shewed him that his enemies aimed at nothing less than his utter destruction, by their advice he assumed the purple, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Didymothicum*, in the second year of his administration. This is the account of *Cantacuzenus* himself, and it seems confirmed by most other historians, who agree in laying the blame on the patriarch and his faction.

He assumes the purple.
A.D. 1342

Cantacuzenus having allowed all those, whose friends and relations were at *Constantinople*, to depart, lest by continuing with him they should occasion the ruin of their innocent friends, marched with the rest of his army against *Adrianople*, where those of his party had been treated with great severity. But hearing that a body of *Bulgarians* were on their march to join the imperial troops, he laid aside his design against *Adrianople*, and advanced towards the sea-coast, that he might with more ease receive supplies from the *Turks*, with whom he had entered into an alliance. He, in the mean time, exhorted the patriarch to peace and concord; but the messenger who carried the letters was thrown into prison, and the mother of *Cantacuzenus* delivered to *Apocaucus*, his most inveterate enemy, who treated her with the greatest barbarity, which soon occasioned her death. The empress, upon hearing of the inhuman treatment she had received,

was

was so provoked against the patriarch and *Apocaucus*, that she obliged them to send offers of accommodation to *Cantacuzenus*; but the deputies being their creatures, told the empress, upon their return, that *Cantacuzenus* would hearken to no terms.

A war being now judged absolutely unavoidable, the command of the army was given to *Thomas* and *Andronicus Palæologi*, while *Apocaucus* watched the *Streights* with a fleet of sixty gallies. The *Turks* being repulsed by this fleet, *Cantacuzenus* was soon reduced to such straits by the land army, that he was obliged to take refuge in the dominions of *Crales*, prince of *Mœsia*, from whom having received a powerful reinforcement, he returned, and made himself master of all *Thrace*. His enemies finding him too powerful in the field, endeavoured to take him off by poison, by means of one *Monsmachus*, who, the better to compass his wicked purpose, owned the errand for which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorse, delivered him the poison. *Cantacuzenus* received him in a most obliging manner, and taking him into his favour, reposed so great a trust in him, that the traitor would have soon found an opportunity of putting his design in execution, had not *Cantacuzenus* been privately warned by his friends at *Constantinople* to be upon his guard. Mean while, having made himself master of all *Macedon* and *Thrace*, he advanced with his army against *Constantinople*, and being admitted into the city by his friends, who forced one of the gates during the night, He is received in- he was attended with the loud shouts of the people to the forum. A few hours after, the empress, at the entreaty of to Can- the young emperor, agreed to an accommodation upon the following terms, namely, That *Cantacuzenus* should be declared colleague to the young prince, and have the whole administration of the government for ten years, after which, both should reign with equal authority; and that an act of oblivion should pass on both sides. This agreement being signed and sworn to, *Cantacuzenus* was solemnly crowned by and crowned the new patriarch, *John*, his predecessor, being de- emperor. posed, and sent into banishment. Young *Palæologus* having A.D. 1347 married *Helena*, the daughter of *Cantacuzenus*, she was likewise crowned, and declared empress.

Cantacuzenus, in consequence of the assistance he had received from the sultan *Orchanes*, who had even married his daughter, could not help maintaining a friendly correspondence with that prince; upon which, the clergy and some zealous Christians exclaiming against such a correspondence, by degrees estranged the minds of the people from him. He, however, governed the empire for the space of ten years with such equity and moderation, that even his most inveterate enemies could lay nothing to his charge.

In the sixth year of his reign the *Genæse* of *Galata* being provoked at his refusing them leave to enlarge their city, set fire

fire to several buildings in the suburbs of *Constantinople*, seized on the emperor's ships in the harbour, and made open war on the empire. Having gained several advantages at sea, and made themselves masters of some islands in the *Archipelago*, the emperor was obliged to come to an accomodation, by yielding the islands to them.

A few years after, when *Palæologus* came to govern jointly, *Crales*, king of *Servia*, took offence at *Cantacuzenus*, because he had obliged him to restore some cities which he had seized during the late disturbances. *Crales* having gained over several persons of distinction by rich presents, by their means persuaded *Palæologus* that *Cantacuzenus* intended to usurp the whole power. A war ensuing between the two princes, *Palæologus* was assisted by *Crales*, and *Alexander*, prince of *Bulgaria*; and *Cantacuzenus* by the sultan *Orchanes*. *Cantacuzenus* entirely defeated the young emperor; but agreeing to a peace, the treaty was no sooner signed, than he voluntarily resigned his dignity, and took the monastic habit. His son *Matthew*, whom he had some time before declared emperor, still pursuing the war, was not long after defeated and taken prisoner by *Palæologus*, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, restored him to his liberty.

He re-
signs.

A.D. 1355

During these civil commotions, the *Turks* passing the *Hellespont*, seized on a strong castle called *Coiridscutron*, and also made themselves masters of *Gallipolis*. The *Turks* from this time, that is, the year 1357, continued to hold some territories in *Europe*, which, from time to time, they successively enlarged till the beginning of this present century, when the extent of their *European* dominions was greatly abridged by the conquests of prince *Eugene*.

The *Turks*
make a
settlement
in *Europe*.

Soon after the settlement of the *Turks* in *Europe*, *Orchanes* dying, *Amurath*, his son and successor, after several conquests in *Thrace*, at length made himself master of *Adrianople*. Soon after, having reduced the whole of *Thrace*, he made *Adrianople* the seat of his empire in *Europe*, as lying most conveniently for enlarging his conquests in *Greece*.

They re-
duce *Adri-
anople*.

A.D. 1357

Mean while, *Andronicus*, the emperor's eldest son, having conspired against his father, was by his orders deprived of his sight, and kept under close confinement for two years, when, by the assistance of the *Genoese* of *Galata*, having made his escape, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Constantinople*. The emperor and his other two sons falling into the power of *Andronicus*, he confined them; but they likewise escaping two years after, the young prince, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while the capital was almost surrounded with the infidels, restored his father to the throne, who thereupon gave him *Selymbria* and several other real places.

The em-
peror dri-
ven from
the throne
and resto-

During these transactions, the sultan *Amurath* was treacherously slain by his son *Bajazet*, who succeeding him in his

his

Bajazet's his dominions, soon after made himself master of *Thessaly*, conquests *Macedon*, *Phocis*, *Peloponnesus*, *Mæsia*, and *Bulgaria*. No- in *Europe*. thing being now left to the *Greek* emperor but *Constantinople* and the neighbouring country, *Bajazet* began to look upon him as his vassal, and sent him an arrogant and haughty message, commanding him to pay him a yearly tribute, and send him his son *Manuel* to attend him in his military expeditions. The emperor being no ways in a condition to cope with so formidable an enemy, was obliged to comply with this dishonourable demand, and died soon after in the thirty-seventh year of his reign.

John is *Manuel*, his only son, who survived him, was then with succeeded *Bajazet* in *Bithynia*; but he no sooner heard of his father's by *Manuel* death, than he hastened to *Constantinople*, without taking leave of the sultan. *Bajazet* having punished the officers who had suffered *Manuel* to escape, with the greatest severity, passed with the utmost expedition into *Thrace*, and after destroying with fire and sword the country adjoining to *Constantinople*, invested the imperial city itself by sea and land. *Manuel*, in this extremity, having recourse to the western princes, an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men besieged by marched to his relief, under the conduct of *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, and *John*, count of *Nevers*. Upon the news of *Bajazet*. their approach, *Bajazet* raised the siege, and marched against them. In the engagement which ensued, the Christian army was thrown into confusion and totally routed, by the eager forwardness of a body of *French* horse, who advanced before the rest, and dismounted to fight on foot. The rest of the army, upon seeing their horses without riders, concluded that the *French* were all cut to pieces, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The *Turks* took their camp, with an incredible number of prisoners, among whom were three hundred officers of distinction, who were all, five excepted, put to death in *Bajazet's* presence.

After this memorable battle, in which twenty thousand Christians were slain, and a far greater number taken prisoners, *Bajazet* returned to the siege of *Constantinople*; but finding the citizens resolved upon an obstinate defence, he applied to *John*, who had succeeded his father *Andronicus* at *Selymbria*. An agreement was concluded betwixt them, by which it was stipulated, that *Bajazet* should place the young prince on the throne, to which he had a just claim, as being the son of *Manuel's* elder brother, and that *John* should yield the city of *Constantinople* to *Bajazet*, and remove the imperial seat to the *Peloponnesus*, which the sultan promised to relinquish to him.

Bajazet having concluded this agreement, sent deputies to the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, offering to withdraw his army, on condition that they should confer the imperial dignity on *John*. The whole city being now rent into two factions, the emperor, to avoid the fatal consequences of civil dissensions,

dissentions, acquainted his nephew, then in the *Turkish* camp, that he was ready to resign the sovereignty to him on condition he was allowed to convey himself by sea, with his wife and children, to whatever place he should think fit. *John* readily complying with this condition, was conducted to the palace by *Manuel*, who afterwards set sail for *Verice*, and from thence went to the several courts of the Christian princes, soliciting aid against the *Turks*.

The new emperor being crowned with the usual solemnity, *Bajazet* pressed him to the fulfilling of the late agreement; but the citizens refusing to hearken to such a scandalous treaty, *Bajazet* renewed the siege with great fury. When he had reduced the city to the utmost extremity, he was informed, that *Tamerlane*, the victorious *Tartar*, had subdued *Persia*, and the more eastern provinces, and was preparing to break into *Syria* with a numerous and formidable army. This intelligence greatly alarming him, he instantly raised the siege, and passing the *Hellepont*, advanced at the head of a very numerous and well disciplined army to meet *Tamerlane*, by whom he was totally defeated and taken prisoner in the plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*. The conqueror, to punish his excessive insolence, pride, and cruelty, shut him up in an iron cage, against which he is said to have dashed out his brains the year following. who is defeated and taken prisoner by *Tamerlane* A.D. 1401

Manuel, on the news of the captivity of *Bajazet*, returned to *Constantinople*, when being restored to the throne by the people, who were highly provoked against *John* for his servile compliance with the *Turks*, he banished his nephew to the island of *Lesbos*. After the defeat of *Bajazet*, his three sons took arms against each other for the succession, and by their civil dissentions had like to have ruined their empire both in *Europe* and *Asia*. *Manuel* sided sometimes with one of the competitors, and sometimes with another, by which means he recovered several provinces. *Mahammed*, *Bajazet*'s youngest son, whom he had assisted against his brother *Musa*, and who was at length declared sultan, suffered him to enjoy his new acquisitions till his death, which happened in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign. Manuel restored.

Manuel was succeeded by his son *John*, in whose reign *Amurath* II. the son and successor of *Mahammed*, recovered all the provinces which the *Greeks* had seized after the death of *Bajazet*. *Amurath*, in the beginning of his reign, laid siege to *Constantinople*, being provoked against the emperor for espousing the cause of an impostor. During the siege, *Mustapha*, *Amurath*'s younger brother, revolting in *Asia*, and being, assisted, at the emperor's intreaty, by the prince of *Caramania*, made himself master of *Nice*. His son *John* succeeds him A.D. 1424

Amurath, by this revolt, was obliged to raise the siege of *Constantinople*, and having soon got the usurper into his power, caused him to be strangled with a bow-string. Soon

after, he obliged the prince of *Caramania* to sue for peace on the terms he thought proper to prescribe. Having quieted all the disturbances in *Asia*, he returned to *Europe*, and after ravaging great part of *Macedon*, he took and plundered *Thessalonica*, and most of the cities of *Ætolia*, *Phœcis*, and *Beœtia*. He soon after reduced *Servia*, and breaking into the dominions of the king of *Hungary*, besieged the city of *Belgrade*, but was obliged to retire with the loss of a great number of men, fifteen thousand being slain in one fall. In his retreat he was attacked by the famous *John Hunniades*, who cut great part of his army in pieces, and soon after totally defeated the infidels, with the loss of near forty thousand men. *Hunniades* gained several other no less remarkable victories over the *Turks*, and recovered all *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, but was at length overcome by *Amurath* in the memorable battle of *Varna*.

The king of *Hungary* being slain in this battle, *Hunniades* was appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of his son, and soon after marched against the *Turks*, whom he engaged for three days successively, but was at length totally defeated by their superiority of numbers. *John Palæologus*, in the mean time, fearing to be likewise attacked by the *Turks*, sent ambassadors to *Adrianople*, with order to conclude a peace with *Amurath* upon any terms. The sultan received them with great arrogance, and declared that unless the emperor yielded to him some strong hold that he still possessed on the *Rossine* sea, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, he would march directly to *Constantinople*. The unhappy prince in order to enjoy the poor remains of the *Roman* empire now reduced to the imperial city and the adjoining country the sultan, was obliged to submit to those shameful terms.

However, as he still suspected the ambitious designs of *Amurath*, who had attacked the brave *George Castriot*, surnamed *Scanderberg*, prince of *Æpirus*, he solicited the assistance of the western princes, engaging to do his utmost to reconcile the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. He accordingly went to *Italy* in person, attended by the patriarch, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the *Greek* nobility, and at a general council, held first at *Ferrara*, and afterwards at *Florence*, the union was effected between the two churches. The emperor, upon his return to *Constantinople*, found the people highly dissatisfied with his conduct, their murmurs being heightened by some of the clergy, who refused to conform. The distractions which ensued, and the intolerance and prosperity of the *Turks*, so affected the emperor, that, sinking under the weight of age and calamities, he died in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of *Constantinople*, to his brother *Constantine*.

Abraham

Mohammed II. soon after succeeded his father *Amurath*, *Constantine* and on his accession entered into an alliance with *Constantine*. He received the *Greek* ambassadors, and those of the *Wallachians*, *Lesbians*, *Bulgarians*, *Rhodians*, *Servians*, &c. in the most obliging manner; which made them conclude, that he intended to live in amity with the Christians. However, he had no sooner reduced the king of *Caramania*, who had invaded his dominions in *Asia*, than he began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of *Constantinople*, and abolishing the very name of the *Roman* empire. With this view he built a strong castle on each side of the *Straits*, that on the *European* side being but five miles distant from *Constantinople*, and keeping the imperial city in a manner blocked up. The emperor endeavoured to persuade the sultan to lay aside his design of building a fort on the *European* side; but he returned an arrogant answer to his ambassadors, and threatened to cause such as should be sent to him on the like errand to be flayed alive. When the fort was finished, the garison left there ravaged the country adjoining to the city, and made incursions to the very gates, which occasioned several skirmishes, in one of which a considerable number of *Turks* were killed. The sultan, to revenge their death, fell upon the Christians while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the sword. The emperor, in return, having caused the gates of the city to be shut, ordered all the *Turks* within the walls to be arrested; but next day he set them at liberty, and sent ambassadors to *Mohammed* with proposals for concluding a lasting peace.

Mohammed II. commits hostilities against the *Greeks*.

The sultan, however, seeming averse to an accommodation, and assembling his forces from all parts, *Constantine*, well apprized of his design, first took care to fill the public magazines, and supply the city with great plenty of all sorts of provisions; then by his ambassadors he solicited the assistance of the western princes; and, to induce them to espouse his cause, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received in the most respectful manner the pope's legate, which gave great offence to the clergy. The emperor's zeal in confirming the union occasioned a misunderstanding between him and his people, and at the same time did not procure him the least assistance from the *Latins*.

The emperor prepares to defend *Constantinople*,

While he was in vain soliciting aid from the western princes, *Caraccia*, one of *Mohammed's* chief commanders, reduced *Messinbria*, *Acheloun*, *Bison*, and several other places on the *Euxine* sea, still held by the *Greeks*. The same general soon made himself master of several castles and strong holds adjoining to the city, and during the winter scourged the country, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies of men or provisions. The *Greeks*, however, being still masters at sea, ravaged the coasts of *Asia*, and returned with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were sold for slaves at *Constantinople*.

which is
invested
by the
sultan.

The following spring, *Mohammed* having assembled an army of three hundred thousand men, encamped before the city on the sixth of *April*, while his admiral, with a fleet of near three hundred sail, blocked up the harbour. The *Turks* having surrounded the city both by sea and land, began the siege by planting batteries as near the fortifications as they could, and raising mounts in several places as high as the walls themselves, from whence the besieged were incessantly galled with showers of arrows. Though cannons and gunpowder had been but lately invented, yet some of his artillery were of a much larger size than any that have been since used; two particularly, carried each a ball of five hundred pounds weight, made of hard black stone brought from the *Euxine*. One of these burst when first discharged, but with the other the enemy made several breaches in the walls, which, however, were with great expedition repaired by the besieged, they being encouraged by the example of the emperor, and directed by *John Justiniani*, a *Genoise* adventurer, who, before the siege, arriving with two large ships, and a considerable number of volunteers on board, had been appointed by the emperor commander in chief of all his forces, on account of his extraordinary skill in military affairs. Besides, for his farther encouragement, the emperor promised him the sovereignty of the island of *Lesbos*, provided he obliged the enemy to raise the siege. That brave commander performed exploits worthy of the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Not satisfied with repulsing the enemy in their frequent assaults, he often sallied out against them at the head of his volunteers, overturned their machines, destroyed their works, and rendered his name formidable by the dreadful havock he made of their troops.

The *Turk-*
ish army
reinforced

Mohammed, being resolved to pursue his enterprise through all difficulties, increased his army by new levies to near four hundred thousand men, while the garrison consisted only of six thousand *Greeks*, and three thousand *Genoise* and *Venetians*. The enemy having battered the walls for some time without intermission, great part of them were beaten down: but while the *Turks* were busied in filling up the ditch, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This disappointment threw the tyrant into a furious rage, which was greatly heightened when he saw four *Genoise* ships, and one of the emperor, fight their way through his whole fleet, and get safe into the harbour. When he beheld the dastardly behaviour of his own sailors, he could not forbear rushing with his horse into the sea; but being soon apprised of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with dreadful curses and outcries, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered such menaces against his principal naval officers, as struck all with terror who heard them.

The *Turks* having several times failed in their attempts to force the harbour, *Mohammed*, to the great terror and
amazement

amazement of the besieged, put in execution one of the boldest designs we find mentioned in history. Finding it impossible to remove or break the chain drawn across the mouth of the harbour, he levelled a road from the *Bosphorus* to the side of the haven, and then, by means of certain engines contrived by a *Renegade*, he conveyed, eight miles over land, eighty galleys into the haven; when having either taken or sunk the ships that were riding there, he caused a bridge, a work no less wonderful and surprising, to be built over it, with incredible labour and expedition. Eighty galleys conveyed over land into the harbour.

The place being now closely invested on all sides, and battered night and day with incredible fury, the emperor sent deputies to *Mohammed*, offering to acknowledge himself his vassal, by paying him yearly what tribute he should think proper to impose upon him, provided he raised the siege and withdrew. The sultan answered, That he was determined at all events to become master of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up forthwith, he would yield to him the *Peloponnese*, and other provinces to his brothers, which they should peaceably possess, as his friends and allies; whereas, if he suffered the place to be taken by assault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the sword, abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, and carry all the inhabitants into captivity.

Though the city was reduced to great straits, yet the emperor being resolved to perish with it, rather than surrender, the siege was therefore continued with great vigour till the twenty-fifth of *May*, when a report prevailing in the *Turkish* camp, that the celebrated *John Hunniades* was advancing with a mighty army to the relief of the city, the common soldiers, seized with a panic, began to mutiny. A mutiny and at length openly threatened *Mohammed* with death, if in the he did not abandon the enterprize and retire. *Mohammed*, *Turkish*, though hitherto an utter stranger to fear, began to be alarmed at the menaces of his troops; but *Zagan*, a *Turkish* officer of great intrepidity, confirmed him in his resolution of continuing the siege, and advised him to give a general assault without delay, and to promise the soldiers the whole plunder of the city. Proclamation being accordingly made thro' the camp, that the sultan gave up to his soldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, they all demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the assault.

The sultan having rekindled the ardour of his soldiers, The sultan summoned the emperor for the last time to deliver up the city: but he bravely answered, That he was unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. On a general the evening of the same day the *Turkish* camp and fleet appeared illuminated with an incredible number of lights, set up to admonish the whole army, that a solemn fast was to be held the next day, to implore the protection of Heaven. *Constantine* having received private intelligence from *Haly* the visir,

vifir, who favoured his caufe, that he fhould be attacked by fea and land the day after the faft, made the neceffary preparations for fuftraining the affault. He ordered a general proceffion ; after which, in a pathetic and eloquent fpeech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themfelves in defence of the empire and the Chriftian religion. He then went to the church of *St. Sophia*, attended by feveral prelates, and there, after affifting with exemplary piety at divine fervice, he received the holy eucharift. Retiring afterwards to his palace, and taking leave of his minifters, as if he were never to fee them again, he ordered every man to his poft; and putting on his armour, marched in perfon, at the head of a chofen body, to the gate *Marfia*, where a confiderable breach had been made.

The *Turks*
begin the
attack.

All night a great noife was heard in the *Turkifh* camp, and at three in the morning the attack was begun by fuch troops as the fultan leaft valued ; and therefore defigning them for flaugter, had ordered them to march the firft, with no other view but to tire the Chriftians, who made a dreadful havock of that diforderly multitude. After the carnage had lafted fome hours, the *Janizaries*, and other frefh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible fury. The Chriftians, with the greateft bravery, twice repulfed the enemy ; but in the end, being quite fpent, and frefh troops pouring in upon them every moment, they were no longer able to ftand their ground, and the enemy broke into the city in feveral places. Mean while *Julianiani*, having received a wound in the thigh, and another in the hand, was fo difheartened at the fight of his blood, that he caufed himfelf to be conveyed to *Galata*, where he died foon after, not of his wounds but of grief, in reflecting upon his ignominious conduct. The *Genoefe* and *Greeks* who ferved under him, difmayed at his fudden retreat, quitted their pofts and fled in the utmoft confufion.

The em-
peror is
killed, and

The emperor, however, attended by the moft refolute among the nobility, ftill kept his poft, flriving, with an unparalleled courage and intrepidity, to oppofe the inundation of the barbarians, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut crofs the face with his fabre. At the fame time another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of the head, laid him dead on the ground. Thus died *Conftantine XV.* in the forty-ninth year of his age, and tenth of his reign, courageoufly defending that city which *Conftantine I.* had founded. This is the account of *Ducas* and *Phrances*, who were both witneffes of the ferge: but fome writers relate that the emperor was ftifled by the crowd as he was endeavouring to retreat to the inner wall.

the city

Upon the emperor's death, the few Chriftians who were taken and left alive, betook themfelves to flight, when the *Turks* fcooped plundered the ftreets of the city, and put all they met with to the fword, without

without distinction of sex, age, or condition, massacring even those who fled to the churches for sanctuary. Most of the nobility were by the sultan's orders cut off, and the rest reserved for purposes more grievous than death itself. However, while the *Turks* were busied in plundering the city, many of the inhabitants, amongst whom were some men of great learning, found means to make their escape; and embarking on fire ships, arrived safe in *Italy*; where, with the study of the *Greek* tongue, they revived the liberal sciences, which had been long neglected in the *West*.

Mohammed having suffered his army to plunder the city *Moham-* three days, when these were expired, ordered his soldiers to *med* fix: s forbear all hostilities on pain of death. The next day he the seat of made his public and triumphal entry into the city, and chus- his empire ing it for the seat of his empire, solemnly promised to take at *Constan-* under his protection such of the inhabitants as should conti- *tinople*. nue in it; or, being fled, should return to their antient habi- tations, and even allow them the free exercise of their reli- A.D. 1453 gion. The death of the last *Roman* emperor, and the loss of *Constantinople*, happened on the twenty-ninth of *May*, 1453.

B O O K XVIII.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Numidians, Mauritanians, and
Ethiopians.

C H A P. I.

The Description and History of NUMIDIA.

The limits
of *Numi-
dia*

NUMIDIA extended along the shore of *Africa*, from the river *Tusca* on the east, which divided it from *Africa Propria*, to the river *Mulucha* on the west, which separated it from *Mauritania*. The learned Dr. *Slat* supposes the *Tusca* of the ancients to be the modern *Meine*; and the *Mulucha* to be the present *Muluch* of the *Algerines*. This tract consequently extended above five hundred miles in length; but its breadth cannot be so easily ascertained. As there is good reason to apprehend that it was nearly the same with the present kingdom of *Algiers*, in the narrowest part, it must have been about forty miles broad and towards the east above one hundred miles. In the *Carthaginian* times *Numidia* contained two considerable nations; namely, the *Masyli* on the east, who, according to *Strabo*, were the most powerful; and, on the west, the *Maffesi*. According to *Dio*, the *Romans*, in after ages, considered the country

country of these last as appertaining to *Mauritania*; and the emperor *Claudius* gave it the name of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*.

The river *Ampsaga* separated *Mauritania Cæsariensis* from the country of the *Massyli*, called by some *Terra Melagonitis*, and by others *Numidia Propria*. This kingdom contained anciently a great many famous cities, the chief of which were the following. The capital of the kingdom was *Cirta*, which stood about forty-eight miles from the sea, and at a small distance from the *Ampsaga*. It was strongly fortified both by nature and art; and, in the time of *Misipsa*, was partly peopled by *Greeks* invited thither by him. In the time of *Pliny* it was called *Sittianorum Colonia*; one *P. Sittius*, who had been of great service to *Cæsar* in *Africa*, having received from him a great territory in those parts. *Cirta* was built on a large rock, which, toward the north, ended in a precipice above one hundred fathom perpendicular, but shelving towards the south-west, by which it was accessible. To the eastward, the prospect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks much higher than the city; but on the other sides the view was open, and very rich and beautiful. According to *Aurelius Victor*, *Constantine the Great* repaired and adorned *Cirta*, and gave it the name of *Constantina*, which it still retains. *Cirta*, from its name, which in the *Phœnician* language signifies a city, is supposed to have been originally founded by the *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*. A few miles east of *Cirta* stood a large city, which *Ptolemy* calls *Vaga*, *Plutarch* *Baga*, and *Sallust* *Vacca*. A little southward stood two other cities, named *Lares* and *Azama*. On the shore, near the mouth of the *Ampsaga*, stood *Cullu*, or *Collops Magnus*, now *Cull*, or *Alcul*. It was famous antiently for its purple. Not many miles to the north-east stood *Tacatua*; and at some distance from it eastward was situated *Sulluco*, or the *Collops Parvus* of *Ptolemy*. At the western extremity of the gulph of *Hippo*, upon the river *Armua*, was the city of *Hippo Regius*, for some time the seat of the *Numidian* kings. On the western bank of the *Tusca* was seated *Thabraca*, or *Tabraca*, a maritime city, which, according to *Pliny*, was a *Roman* colony in the later ages. On the river *Rubricatus* is supposed to have stood the antient *Sicca Venerca*. The sea-coast of this kingdom was for the most part mountainous and rocky, and the inland was beautifully diversified with hills and plains abounding in all kinds of fruits; but towards the southern parts there were many barren and sandy deserts.

Among the chief rivers of *Numidia Propria* were the *Ampsaga*, now called the *Wed-el-Kibeer*, or the *Great River*; the *Numidia*.

* Strab. l. xvii. l. 2. Plin. l. v. Ptol. l. iv. Pomp. Mel. l. i. Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxiv. Dion. Cass. l. xli. Dr. Shaw's Geogr. Observ. of Algiers.

Arma, at present named *Sai-boufe*; the *Rubricatus*, now the *Ma-frog*; and the *Tusca*, called now the *Zaine*. The islands supposed to have belonged to this region were, the *Insule Naxicae*, or *Pitheculæ*, of *Scylax*, opposite to *Collops Magnus*; and the island of *Tabraca*, near the mouth of the *Tusca*.

The king-
dom of
the *Massa-*
jyli.

Mauritania Cæsariensis, or the kingdom of the *Masseyli*, was much longer than the other, but not near so broad. Among its chief cities were the following. About seven leagues west from the *Ampjaga* stood *Igilgili*, now *Jidj*, according to Dr *Shaw*, where *Augustus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Sallæ*, another *Roman* colony, stood about ninety-three miles west from *Igilgili*. *Rufazus*, *Rajucurium*, and *Rufconium*, were three *Roman* colonies situated further westward on the sea-coast, though, from their names, they are thought to have been originally *Phœnician* or *Lybian*. About fifteen miles west from the last mentioned place stood *Icosium*, which is supposed to have been built where *Algiers* now stands. The next city of consequence on the sea-coast, to the westward, was *Jol*, the seat of the younger *Juba*, who, out of respect to *Augustus*, gave it the name of *Cæsarea*, according to *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. Further westward on the shore stood *Cartenna*, a very considerable city, where *Augustus* settled the soldiers of the second legion. On the western banks of the *Cartenna* stood *Arsenal*, about three miles from the sea, where some of the first *Roman* emperors planted a colony. On the coast west from the *Arsenal*, stood *Quisa* and *Siga*, two *Roman* colonies. *Siga* was situated not far from the *Mulucha*; and near it stood the place of king *Sylax*. The *Mediterranean* cities worthy of note were *Sitifi* and *Satafi*, about sixteen miles distant from each other, and not much more from the *Ampjaga*. There were, besides, *Auzia*, or *Auzea*, a city founded by *Ithobal*, king of *Tyre*; *Telusaptus*, *Nababurum*, *Bitaca*, and many others; which, with every thing relating to them, are long since buried in oblivion.

Its chief
rivers and

The most remarkable rivers in this tract were the *Sifaris*, called at present the *Manfureab*; the *Nissava*, now called the river of *Bouja*; the *Serbetis*, now the *Yller*, which empties itself near *Rufconium*; the *Socus*, now supposed the *Hameese*; the *Chinalab*, the most noted river of the *Algerines*, who call it *Skelliff*; the *Cartennus*, the *Fiumen-Salsum*, and the *Aj-jara*.

islands.

The islands of this coast were the *Tres Insulæ* of *Antoninus*, situated about ten miles from the *Mulucha*; and the *Aera* of *Scylax*, that forms the modern port of *Harshezone*.

The ori-
gin of the
Numidians

The first inhabitants of *Numidia* are supposed to have been the descendants of *Phut*, the brother of *Mizraim*, who settled in *Egypt*. The country, however, received part of its early inhabitants from *Phœnicia*. Though the *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, once possessed all that part of *Africa* extending from the confines of *Cyrenaica* to the *Pillars of Hercules*, their power probably reached only over the sea-coast.

for it sufficiently appears, from the same author, and from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Livy*, and others, that a considerable part of the inland *Numidia* was independant on the *Carthaginians*.

In this tract, which preserved its independance, absolute and Their despotic government seems to have prevailed. *Appian* tells us form of that in the country of *Massæsyli* there were many small govern- princes, or heads of tribes, not much unlike the emirs of the ment. present *Arabs*, who enjoyed a kind of sovereignty over their respective vassals, but yet acknowledged *Syphax* for their chief.

As the first *Numidians* were called *Lybians*, in common with Their re- all the inhabitants from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ligion, ocean, we may affirm, from *Herodotus*, that the principal gods they sacrificed to were the Sun and Moon; which clearly evinces, that the migration of the first colony that peopled this country preceded the introduction of image worship into the pagan world. The same author seems to suggest that the *Numidians* near the limits of *Africa Propria* worshipped *Triton*, *Minerva*, and *Neptune*. *Herodotus* tells us, that the people inhabiting the tract on the eastern confines of *Numidia* were called *Libyan Nomades*, in contradistinction to the *Libyans*, who extended themselves from the river *Triton* to the *Atlantic* ocean. From this account it would seem that the kingdoms of the *Massyli* and the *Massæsyli* were not called *Numidia* till about the time of *Herodotus*; and that this name was occasioned by an irruption of a great body of the *Libyan Nomades* into the countries to the westward of the *Triton*, when they subdued the antient inhabitants.

It may be concluded that the languages spoken in *Numidia* and lan- were, first, that of the *Libyan Nomades*, which, from many guage. authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old *Egyptian*; secondly, the *Carthaginian*; thirdly, the *Phœnician*; which was almost the same with the former: and, fourthly, the language of *Phut's* immediate descendants, which might have differed in some points from all the rest. However barbarous the *Numidians* might have been, some of them used letters not very unlike those that made up the *Punic* alphabet, as appears from the legends of several ancient *Numidian* coins*.

Some of the *Numidians* were divided into tribes, nomcs, Customs cantons, or hordes; and lived in tents of an oblong form re- and man- sembling the inverted bottom of a ship. A whole tribe, or ners of the horde, encamped together; and, having consumed all the pro- *Numidi-* duce of one fruitful spot, removed from thence to another; *ans.* as is the custom of their posterity the *Bedoueens* at this day. The greatest number of *Numidians*, however, lived in small

* Herod. l. iii. and iv. Plin. l. v. Bochart. Phal. Sallust. in Jugurth. Liv. &c.

cottages, which they called *Magaria*. The principal national strength of the *Numidians* consisted in their cavalry and, though they rode without saddles, and many of them without bridles, they were very dextrous in the management of horses, to which they were inured from their infancy. The *Numidians*, according to *Strabo*, had many wives and concubines, and consequently many children. *Livy* relates that in *Numidia*, particularly in the country of the *Massyli*, the king's next brother, not his eldest son, succeeded him. The diet of the *Numidians* consisted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulse, water, &c. They abstained almost entirely from wine, and flesh they but rarely used: to which, as well as to their moderate seasons in summer and winter, *Appian* seems to attribute their long lives, and the large share of health they enjoyed. Many of the poorer sort in *Numidia* went almost naked; but the *Numidians* of any fashion wore loose garments, not making use of a sash or girdle. They were eminent for their skill in hurling the javelin, and throwing of darts, which they discharged in great numbers upon the enemy. The *Massyli*, it is said, when at war with their neighbours, chose, for the most part, to come to a general action in the night time. Desertion was no crime among them, for, after the first defeat, they were at liberty to return home or continue in the army, as they pleased.

It would be in vain to expect any traces of arts and sciences among those *Numidians* who dwelt in tents and huts. Probably, the greatest part of the inhabitants of the chief cities and towns were *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*, who were no strangers to the sciences. The *Numidians* in one great point, differed from most if not all other nations; for, according to *Nicolas Damascenus*, they computed their time by nights and not by days*.

The *Phœnicians* settled in *Numidia*.

As *Numidia* was far distant from the center of the dispersion of the nations, it was probably very thinly inhabited before the arrival of the *Phœnicians*, who are supposed by *Eusebius*, *Bechart*, and others, to have first settled there above three hundred years before the foundation of *Carthage*. Sir *Isaac Newton*, however, brings this event nearer the commencement of the Christian era. Though the transactions of the *Numidians*, during the earliest ages, have been long buried in oblivion, yet, as the *Phœnicians* possessed a good part of that kingdom, it is probable that the disputes and revolutions that happened among them were recorded, and not unknown, in the *Carthaginian* times. King *Jarbas* probably reigned here as well as in *Africa Propria*, when *Dido* began to build *Byrsa*. About three hundred years after the foundation

* Nic. Damasc. in excerpt. Vales. Shaw. Diod. Sic. Appian & Strabo.

of Carthage, the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians* who had leagued together, were defeated by the *Carthaginians*, who thereby rendered themselves independent in *Africa*. We have already taken notice of the part the *Numidians* acted in all the wars betwixt the *Carthaginians* and the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, and the other *Sicilian* princes. After the conclusion of the first *Punic* Hostilities war, the *Africans*, and other mercenaries in the *Carthaginian* betwixt service, having declared war against their masters, the most the *Numi-* active in this rebellion, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were *dians* and the *Micatanian Numidians*; on which account the *Carthagini-* *Carthagi-* ans, after they had killed or taken prisoners all the mutineers, *nians*. sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those *Numi-* *dians*. The commander of this detachment ravaged the country in the most terrible manner, and crucified all his prisoners; which filled the *Numidians* who escaped with such resentment, that both they and their posterity ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*.

About twenty-five years after, *Syphax*, king of the *Massæ-* *Massinissa* *si*, having entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, defeated assists the the *Carthaginians* in a pitched battle; which induced *Gala*, *Carthagi-* king of the *Massyli*, to enter into an alliance with the *Car-* *nians* *thaginians*; in consequence of which, his son *Massinissa* against marched, at the head of an army, against *Syphax*, whom he the *Romans* entirely defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men. *Sy-* *phax* not long after found means to raise another formidable army of *Massæsylians* and *Mauritanians*; but was again defeated with great loss by *Massinissa*.

While *Massinissa*, soon after, was assisting the *Carthagini-* *ans* in *Spain*, his father *Gala* died, and was succeeded by his brother *Desalces*, according to the established order of succe- An ac- count of the trans- actions of *Massinissa*. sion in *Numidia*. *Desalces* dying soon after his succession, was succeeded by his eldest son *Capusa*, who not long after was slain in a general engagement against *Mezetulus*, a person of the royal blood, who had excited a rebellion against him. *Mezetulus* assumed the administration of the government, but conferred the royal title on *Lacumaces*, the young son of *Desalces*. To support himself in his usurpation, he married the widow of *Desalces*, who was *Hannibal's* niece, and consequently of the most powerful family in *Carthage*. He at the same time endeavoured to secure the alliance and friendship of *Syphax*.

Massinissa, in the mean time, hearing of what had passed in *Numidia*, returned to *Africa*, and obtained a body of four thousand *Moors* from *Bocchar*, king of *Mauritania*; which escort attended him to the frontiers of his dominions. He was there joined by five hundred of his subjects, with whom he encountered *Lacumaces*, who escaped from *Thapsus* and joined *Syphax* while *Massinissa* was employed in storming the town. *Massinissa*, upon the fame of this exploit, was joined by great numbers of men, and not long after defeated *Meze-* *tulus* and *Lacumaces*, who had obtained some reinforcements from

from *Syphax*. *Mezetulus* and *Lacumaces*, after the defeat, fled into the territories of *Carthage*; but *Massinissa*, who wanted to establish his affairs, offering them good terms, they returned and submitted to him. The repose of *Numidia* was quickly after disturbed by *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian*, who excited *Syphax* to check the rising ambition of *Massinissa*. *Syphax*, who laid claim to a small territory then in the possession of *Massinissa*, accordingly took the field, and entirely defeated him. *Massinissa*, with a few of his followers, fled to the mountain *Ballus*, and having fortified himself there, made frequent excursions from thence into the territories of the *Carthaginians*, carrying off an immense booty and great numbers of captives; which so distressed that republic that they earnestly solicited *Syphax* to send a party against *Massinissa*. He accordingly sent *Bacchar*, one of his generals, with four thousand foot and two thousand horse; who surprised the *Massylians*, took many prisoners, and dispersed the rest; and pursued *Massinissa* himself to the top of the mountain.

Bacchar now sent great part of his booty to *Syphax*, and likewise dismissed all his forces, except five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, with whom he drove *Massinissa* from the summit of the hill, and in the plains of *Chupaa*, while he was passing a river, dangerously wounded him, and cut off all his followers excepting four. As two of these were drowned in the fight of the detachment, it was rumoured all over *Africa*, that *Massinissa* was drowned. He for some time lived undiscovered in a cave, where he was supported by the robberies of his two attendants; but after his wound was cured, he advanced boldly to his own frontiers, which he no sooner entered, than so many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of six thousand foot and four thousand horse. Having reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions with these troops, he invaded the territories of *Syphax*, who raising a considerable army, came and encamped between *Cirta* and *Hippo*. *Syphax* sent his son *Vermina* with a considerable detachment behind the camp of *Massinissa*, and attacking the *Massylians* both in the front and the rear, gained so complete a victory, that only *Massinissa*, with about sixty horse, escaped to the *Lesser Syrtis*, where he remained till the arrival of *Lælius* and the *Roman* fleet on the coast of *Africa*. What happened upon his joining *Lælius*, our readers will find in the *Roman* history.

We have already related how the *Carthaginians* lost *Massinissa*, by depriving him of his betrothed bride *Sophonisba*, the greatest beauty, and the most accomplished lady of her age, whom the state of *Carthage*, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, commanded to be given to *Syphax*. The *Carthaginians*, however, in hopes of appeasing him, prevailed on *Syphax* to restore to him his dominions. *Massinissa*

feigned himself entirely satisfied with so generous a cession, but from thenceforth meditated the ruin both of *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, which being suspected by *Asdrubal*, he endeavoured to cut him off, but was disappointed. *Syphax*, on the other hand, dissembled with the *Romans*, pretending to be their friend, though he was strictly united with the *Carthaginians*. *Massinissa* by the assistance of *Laelius*, at last reduced the kingdom of *Syphax*; and having done signal services to the *Roman* generals in *Africa*, he was amply rewarded by the *Romans* at the conclusion of the second *Punic* war. *Syphax* being taken prisoner, died at *Tibur* on his way to *Rome*, where he was intended to grace *Scipio's* triumph. According to *Zonaras*, his corpse was decently interred, all the *Numidian* prisoners were released, and *Vermina*, by the assistance of the *Romans*, recovered the peaceable possession of his father's throne. Part of the *Massæsylian* kingdom was before annexed to *Massinissa's* dominion. The transactions of *Massinissa* between the second and third *Punic* wars, have been already related in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* histories, to which we refer our readers. A short time before the beginning of the third *Punic* war, he enclosed a *Carthaginian* army under *Asdrubal* with a line of circumvallation, and forced them to conclude a peace with him on the following terms. They engaged to deliver up all deserters; to recall their exiles who had taken shelter in his dominions; to pay five thousand talents of silver within the space of fifty years; and that their soldiers should pass under the yoke, each of them carrying off only a single garment. As *Massinissa* himself, though between eighty and ninety, years of age, conducted the whole enterprize, he must have been extremely well versed in fortification, and other branches of the military art.

The *Roman* consuls soon after landed with an army in *Africa*, in order to besiege *Carthage*, without having imparted their design to *Massinissa*, which disgusted him not a little; so that when the consuls applied to him for some auxiliaries, he replied, *They should have a reinforcement from him when they stood in need of it*. His mind, however, soon after returned to its natural bias, which was in favour of the *Romans*. Finding his end approaching, he sent to *Æmilianus*, then a tribune in the *Roman* army, to desire a visit from him, intending to invest him with full powers to dispose of his kingdom as he should think proper, for the benefit of his children. He died at above ninety years of age, before the arrival of *Æmilianus*, having required his wife and children to execute as punctually whatever that *Roman* should decree, as if he himself had appointed it by his will.

Though *Massinissa*, during his youth, met with strange reverses of fortune, nevertheless, being supported, as *Appian* says, by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted course of prosperity many years. His kingdom extended from

Massinissa
declares
for the
Romans,
who libe-
rally re-
ward his
services.

He forces
the *Car-
thaginians*
to con-
clude a
peace with
him on his
own terms

His death

from *Mauritania* to *Cyrenaica*, of which vast tract he civilize many of the inhabitants in a wonderful manner. His body was very robust, and he was blessed with the greatest health and vigour, owing, doubtless, in a great measure, to his extreme temperance, and the toils he incessantly sustained. He would remain on horseback for several days and nights together, without being sensible of the least fatigue. He always rode without a saddle, and *Suidas* relates, that to the last he could mount without any assistance. According to *Appian*, he left a numerous well-disciplined army, and an immense quantity of wealth behind him*.

His kingdom divided among his three sons by *Æmilianus*.

Micipsa becomes sole possessor of the kingdom.

Of fifty-four sons that survived *Massinissa*, only three were legitimate, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Mastanabal*. *Æmilianus* arriving at *Cirta* soon after the king had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, among the three legitimate sons, though to the others he gave considerable possessions. To *Micipsa*, the eldest son, he assigned *Cirta*, as the place of his residence, in exclusion of the others. *Gulussa*, a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the transacting of all affairs relating to peace or war, committed to his care; and to the youngest, *Mastanabal*, was allotted the administration of justice, an employment suitable to his education. The three brothers were dignified with the royal title, and enjoyed in common the immense treasures of their father. *Gulussa* accompanied *Æmilianus* to the *Roman* camp with a body of *Numidian* auxiliaries; but both he and *Mastanabal* died soon after their father, leaving *Micipsa* sole possessor of the kingdom of *Numidia*. In his reign a great part of *Africa* was covered with locusts, who not only destroyed all the fruits of the earth, but even devoured dry wood. They were at last carried off by the wind into the *African* sea; but being thrown on shore, a plague ensued, which swept away an infinite number of men and animals of all kinds. *Micipsa* had two sons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*, who were educated in his palace, together with his nephew *Jugurtha*, who was the son of *Mastanabal* by a concubine. *Jugurtha* was at the same time robust and handsome, and was endowed with a very penetrating understanding. Instead of abandoning himself, like most young men, to a life of luxury and pleasure, he used to exercise himself with persons of his age in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exercises, suited to the martial genius of the *Numidians*; and though he surpassed all his fellow sportsmen, there was not one of them but loved him. He was full of ardor and activity, but was never heard to boast of his own accomplishments.

* *Appian* in *Libyc.* V. *Masc.* *Strab.* l. 17. *Polyb.* *Cic. de senect.* *Suid.* *Liv.*

Micipsa was at first charmed with his nephew ; but afterwards considering that he was grown to man's estate, while his children were in their infancy ; that mankind naturally thirsted after power, and that the ambitious had no remorse in violating the most sacred ties ; he began to be jealous of *Jugurtha*, and sent him to *Spain* at the head of a body of forces, to assist the *Romans*, in hopes that he would be cut off. *Jugurtha* not only escaped all dangers, but by his bravery and prudent conduct won the esteem of the whole army, and the friendship of *Scipio*, who sent a high character of him to his uncle *Micipsa*. The king, in the height of his jealousy, had endeavoured to find some means for taking him off privately ; but, for fear of exasperating the *Numidians*, who loved by adored the young prince, he was obliged to lay aside that design. The regard shown to *Jugurtha* by *Scipio* at last influenced *Micipsa* to attempt to win the affections of his nephew by kindness. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir to the crown with his two sons. *Micipsa*, who, according to *Diodorus*, was a prince of an amiable character, died a few years after the adoption of *Jugurtha*, having exhorted his three sons on his death-bed to unity and concord.

Jugurtha professed the greatest gratitude to the dying king, for all his favours ; but he was no sooner expired, than the ambitious prince determined to put in execution a scheme suggested to him at *Numantia* in *Spain*, by some profligate *Roman* officers of his acquaintance. Being advised by them to dispossess his cousins upon the death of *Micipsa*, as the *Romans*, they said, would easily be bribed to countenance all his proceedings, he accordingly, in a short time, caused *Hiempsal* to be assassinated, and drove *Adherbal* out of his dominions. That unhappy prince fled to *Rome*, and laid his complaints before the senate ; but *Jugurtha's* ambassadors, by distributing large sums of money among the senators, got a majority of them in their favour ; so that *Jugurtha*, instead of being punished, was declared prince of the greatest part of *Numidia*, *Adherbal* being obliged to rest satisfied with the other.

Jugurtha, now convinced that every thing was venal at *Rome*, resolved to put his ambitious designs in execution without delay, and accordingly attacked his cousin with open force. *Adherbal*, being a prince of a pacific and unenterprising disposition, was no ways able to withstand *Jugurtha*. While he was in vain soliciting the protection and assistance of the *Romans*, *Jugurtha* ravaged great part of his dominions, overthrew him in a pitched battle, and shut him up in *Cirta*. During the siege, some *Roman* deputies arrived at the camp of *Jugurtha*, with the design of accommodating the differences betwixt the two princes : but finding *Jugurtha* obstinate, they returned home, without so much as conferring with *Adherbal*. Some senators of the highest distinction, with *Æmilius Scaurus*, president of the senate, at their

He is jealous of his nephew *Jugurtha*,

who is beloved by the *Numidians*.

The perfidiousness of *Jugurtha*.

He murders one of his cousins,

and attacks the other with open force

He is countenanced by the *Romans*,

head, landed soon after at *Utica* ; *Jugurtha* being summoned before them, was greatly alarmed when *Scaurus* reproached him with his enormous crimes : however, by his address and the influence of his gold, as was afterwards suspected at *Rome*, he so mollified *Scaurus*, that the *Romans* again left *Adherbal* to his mercy. *Cirta* was soon after surrendered upon terms to *Jugurtha*, who no sooner got possession of the town, than, in breach of the capitulation, and in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, he caused *Adherbal* to be put to a most cruel death ; and also ordered the merchants and all the *Numidians* in the place, capable of bearing arms, to be massacred.

Though the venal *Roman* senators still palliated the enormous crimes of *Jugurtha*, the people exclaimed against his perfidy and cruelty ; which at length induced the senate to send the consul *Calpurnius Bestia* with an army into *Numidia* to punish *Jugurtha*. *Calpurnius*, at first, carried on the war very briskly : but *Scaurus*, whom we have already mentioned, arriving, the consul, who was noted for his avarice, having had some conferences with him, granted a peace to the king upon very advantageous terms. The *Romans*, suspecting the motives of this proceeding, were greatly exasperated, and sent the prætor *Cassius*, whom they could confide in, to *Numidia*, who prevailed with *Jugurtha* to go to *Rome*. *Jugurtha*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, found means to bribe one *Bæbius Salla*, a man of great authority amongst the plebeians, but of insatiable avarice, by whose assistance he escaped with impunity. He not only, by the efficacy of his gold, eluded all the endeavours of the people of *Rome* to bring him to justice, but likewise found means to get *Massiva*, an illegitimate son of *Micipsa*, assassinated in the streets of *Rome*, as he was informed that many *Romans* of probity advised that young prince to apply for the kingdom of *Numidia*.

Jugurtha had no sooner returned to *Africa*, than he received advice, that the senate had annulled the peace concluded between him and *Bestia*. The consul *Albinus*, not long after, arrived with an army in *Numidia* ; but *Jugurtha*, by various artifices, so imposed upon *Albinus*, that he could effect nothing during the whole campaign. His brother *Anlus*, who succeeded him in the command of the army, was still more unsuccessful ; for being surprized in a narrow pass by *Jugurtha*, he was forced to submit to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke with all his men, and to quit *Numidia* entirely in ten days. His army accordingly retired into *Africa Propria*, which was now a *Roman* province ; but the senate refusing to ratify the accommodation he had agreed to with *Jugurtha*, sent another army into *Numidia* under the command of the consul *Lucius Metellus*, a consummate general, and one who disregarded wealth. *Jugurtha* was now obliged to act with great circumspection, and to exert his utmost bravery ; nevertheless, being defeated by the

the *Romans*, and seeing his most opulent cities plundered and burnt, and vast numbers of his subjects put to the sword, or taken prisoners, he began to think seriously of a peace, and was persuaded by *Bomilcar*, his favourite general, who had been gained over by *Metellus*, to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horses, and deserters, in whom the main strength of his army consisted, into the hands of the peace of *Romans*. *Metellus* ordering him then to repair to *Ticidium*, a city of *Numidia*, on the confines of *Africa Propria*, there to receive farther directions, he refused to comply with that order, and renewing hostilities, made himself master of *Vaccations*, where he massacred all the *Roman* garison, except the commander. A *Roman* legion, however, soon after recovered that city, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost severity. Not long after, *Bomilcar* and *Nabdalsa*, at the instigation of *Metellus*, formed a design to assassinate *Jugurtha*; but the conspiracy being detected, *Bomilcar* and most of his accomplices suffered death.

Jugurtha was so alarmed upon the discovery of *Bomilcar's* treachery, that he afterwards enjoyed no tranquillity or repose. His sleep was broken and disturbed, and for his security he often changed his bed in a low plebeian manner. Having destroyed great numbers of his friends on suspicion of their having been concerned in the late conspiracy, and many more of them deserting to the *Romans*, and to *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, he found himself destitute of generals and counsellors, which threw him into a deep melancholy, and rendered him quite irresolute in his enterprizes.

Metellus having forced him to a battle, gained an easy victory, and pursued him and his fugitives to *Thala*, being obliged to carry water with him to supply his army through the deserts. The *Romans* attacked *Thala* with such vigour, that *Jugurtha* thought proper to abandon it, carrying with him his family and his treasures, and soon after his departure the *Romans* made themselves masters of the place. He retired into *Gætulia*, where he assembled a considerable body of men, and advancing afterwards to the confines of *Mauritania*, procured new supplies from *Bocchus*, king of that country, who had married his daughter, and now entered into an alliance with him. Having thus raised a new army, he obliged *Metellus* to keep upon the defensive, who soon after received intelligence from *Rome*, that his lieutenant *Marius* had basely supplanted him in the command of the army. *Metellus*, notwithstanding the injurious treatment he had received, generously endeavoured to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, though that would facilitate the reduction of *Numidia* for his rival. *Bocchus* would not absolutely agree to abandon *Jugurtha*, but continuing the private negociation with *Metellus*, his troops were thereby for some time inactive, which was, in a great measure, what the *Roman* general desired. *Marius*, in the mean time, landed with a numerous

Marius army at *Utica*, and having disciplined his forces in the strictest manner, defeated many of *Jugurtha's* parties, and almost took him prisoner near the city of *Cirta*. *Bocchus*, intimidated by these advantages, now made offers of an accommodation ; but the *Romans* paid no attention to them. *Marius*, in the mean time, pushed on his conquests, and, taking several places of less note, at length, after some most difficult marches, made himself master of the strong city of *Capssa*, which, after allowing his soldiers to plunder it, he razed to the ground, putting part of the inhabitants to the sword, and selling the rest for slaves, because they were more attached to *Jugurtha*, than the other *Numidians*. *Marius* having now rendered his name terrible in *Numidia*, presented himself before most of the places of strength in that country, the inhabitants of which either abandoned them, or opened their gates to him. He reduced some other places by force, particularly a castle that seemed impregnable, that was seated not far from *Mulucha*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his treasures. *Bocchus* still continuing inactive, *Jugurtha*, to engage him to take the field, promised him a third part of his kingdom, provided he could either drive the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or get all the *Numidian* dominions confirmed to him by treaty. These offers prevailed upon *Bocchus* to join his father-in-law with a great army. *Jugurtha*, who, according to *Frontinus*, generally chose the evening for engaging the *Romans*, that he might have an opportunity of escaping, if he should be defeated, surprized *Marius* near *Cirta*, as he was going into winter quarters, and in the beginning of the action was so successful, that he became confident of victory, which immediately threw the advantage on the side of the disciplined *Romans*, who obliged the *Numidians* to retire with loss. Four days after, *Marius* totally defeated the combined army of *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus*, though by some late reinforcements it was increased to the number of ninety thousand men.

Jugurtha intirely defeated by *Marius*,

Bocchus now looking upon *Jugurtha's* affairs as desperate, shewed a disposition to a peace with the *Romans* ; but his friendship being rejected by the consul, unless he would deliver up *Jugurtha* into his hands, the *Mauritanian* king resolved to purchase his peace on that condition. Nevertheless, when *Sylla*, who was the lieutenant of *Marius*, arrived at his court, *Bocchus* debated a long time within himself, whether he should sacrifice *Sylla* or *Jugurtha*. He at length, however, delivered up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, to be conducted to *Marius*, who by that successful event happily terminated this dangerous war.

and delivered up to him by *Bocchus*.

The kingdom of *Numidia* was now reduced to a new form. *Bocchus*, for his important services, had the country of the *Massæsyli* assigned him, which from this time took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Massyli*, was divided into three parts, one of which

was given to *Hiempsal*, another to *Mandrestal*, both descendants of *Massinissa*; and the third the Romans annexed to *Africa Propria*. *Jugurtha* was led in chains at the triumph of *Marius*, and being then abused and stripped by the soldiers, His miserable end. was thrown naked into a dungeon, where he was suffered to perish for want *.

His two sons survived him, but spent their lives in captivity at *Venusia*. One of them indeed was for a short time honoured as a king by *Aponius*, who, in the war between the Romans and the Italian allies, by his kindness to the Numidian prince, prevailed with the Numidians to desert from the Romans. Some few years after this event, *Pompey* defeated *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, and pursuing him to his camp, took him prisoner; after which he reduced his territories, and gave them to *Hiempsal*, who had always opposed the *Marian* faction.

From *Suetonius* we learn, that a dispute happened between *Hiempsal* and one *Masynthia*, a noble Numidian. *Julius Cæsar*, who then began to distinguish himself at *Rome*, warmly espoused the cause of *Masynthia*; and when *Juba*, *Hiempsal's* son, attempted to vindicate his father's conduct, he grossly insulted him, and pulled him by the beard, than which, a *Juba* in more unpardonable affront could not be offered an African. Insulted by *Juba* bearing a warm resentment for the indignity now offered him, afterwards became an inveterate enemy to *Cæsar*. *Cæsar*. in the civil war betwixt him and *Pompey*. While *Curio*, one of *Cæsar's* lieutenants, was besieging *Utica*, *Juba* caused it to be given out all over *Africa Propria* and *Numidia*, that he was retired into some remote country, and then privately approached the Roman camp. He sent before him a small detachment, which drew *Curio* out of his lines to oppose them. After the Romans had fought for some time against *Juba* defeated this detached body, *Juba* came up with the main army, and defeated the forces of *Curio*, who was slain in the action. of *Cæsar's* The Numidians took and plundered the camp of the Roman generals. *mans*, who in vain endeavoured to make their escape on board the ships in the port of *Utica*, the greatest part of them being either slain or drowned. Most of the prisoners were put to the sword by the command of *Juba*. This victory infused new life and vigour into the *Pompeian* faction, who conferred upon *Juba* the title of king of all *Numidia*. But *Cæsar* and his adherents declared him an enemy to the state of *Rome*, adjudging his dominions to *Bocchus* and *Bogud*, two African princes, intirely in their interest. *Juba* afterwards uniting his forces with those of *Scipio*, reduced *Cæ-*

* Sallust. Bell. Jug. Liv. epit. b. 44 & 49. Plut. in Mar. & in Sylla. Dion Cass. l. 43. Appian de Bell. Civ. Flor. Eutrop. & Oros. Plin. & Strab.

far to great extremities, and would probably have ruined him entirely, if he had not been relieved by *P. Sittius*, a *Roman* exile, who had lived some years in *Africa*, as the chief of a company of banditti. *Sittius* having reinforced his company with some *Mauritanian* troops, sent him by *Bocchus*, or, according to *Cæsar*, by *Bogud*, made an irruption into *Gætulia* and *Numidia*, which obliged *Juba* to return to his own dominions with the best part of his army. *Cæsar*, nevertheless, delayed for some time to attack *Scipio*, till his elephants and a fresh reinforcement of troops should arrive from *Italy*. *Juba*, in the mean time, was solicited by *Scipio* to return, and being promised the possession of all the *Roman* dominions in *Africa*, if they could from thence expel *Cæsar*, he immediately sent a large detachment to make head against *Sittius*, and marched with the rest of his troops to assist *Scipio*. *Cæsar*, however, at last overthrew *Scipio*, *Juba*, and *Labiennus*, near the town of *Thapsus*. As *Scipio* was the first surprised and defeated, *Juba* fled into *Numidia*, without waiting for *Cæsar*'s approach; but his troops detached against *Sittius* having been entirely routed by that general, none of his subjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to despair, he and *Petrcius* killed each other, or, according to some, he killed *Petrcius*, and then caused himself to be dispatched by one of his own slaves*.

who reduces *Numidia* into the form of a province. *Cæsar* having broken the *Pompeian* faction in *Africa*, reduced *Numidia* to a *Roman* province, appointing *Crispus Sallustius* to govern it in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants. *Bocchus* and *Bogud* still preserved a sort of sovereignty in the country of the *Massæli*, and part of *Numidia* was also assigned to *Sittius* and his troops of banditti†

* Hist. de bell. Afr. Plut. in Cat. & Cæs. Dio. l. 43. Appian. de bell. Civil. Oros. l. 6. Eutrop. l. 6.

† Idem ibid. Strab. l. 3. Flor. l. 4.

C H A P. II.

The History of the MAURITANIANS, GETULIANS,
MELANOGETULI, NIGRITI, and GARAMANTES.

MAURITANIA, called by the Greeks, *Maurusia*, The limits of
was bounded on the East by the *Malva*, or *Mulucha* ; on the West, by the *Atlantic* ocean ; on the South, by Mount *Maurita-*
Atlas, which separated it from *Getulia* ; and on the North, by the *Mediterranean*. The Romans, from the time of *Cla-*
dus, called this *Western Mauritania*, *Tingitania*, to distinguish
it from that part of the country of the *Massajli*, which was
named *Mauritania Cæsariensis*.

Mauritania and *Maurusia* are names given to this country
from its ancient inhabitants the *Mauri*, whom *Sallust*, with
very little probability, supposes to have been originally *Per-*
sians, and to have acquired the name of *Mauri* by a corrup-
tion of the word *Medi*. Dr. *Hyde* deduces the names from
Mabri, or *Mavri*, one that lies near the passage, meaning the
Straits of Hercules. According to *Bochart*, the word *Maurus*
is equivalent to *Mabur*, or, by throwing out the guthural,
Maur, that is, *One from the West*, since *Mauritania* was west
of *Carthage* and *Phænice*. As it appears from *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*,
and *St. Jerom*, that a river and territory not far from Mount
Atlas was called *Phut*, perhaps that name was given at first
to this whole country. The *Phœnicians*, as we have already
mentioned, planted colonies in this and the neighbouring
countries ; and *Procopius* tells us, that in his time two pil-
lars of white stone were to be seen there, with the following
inscription in the *Phœnician* language and character upon
them. *We are the Canaanites that fled from Joshua the son of*
Nun, that notorious robber. An *African* writer, cited by *Leo*,
together with *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus Callistus*, assert the
same thing.

The *Mauritanians*, according to *Ptolemy*, were divided into
several tribes. The *Metagonitæ* were seated near the *Streights*
of Hercules. On the east of these, according to *Bertius*,
were seated the *Succosii*, or *Coccosii* ; and under these two pet-
ty nations the *Masices*, *Verves*, and *Verbices* settled themselves.
The *Salisæ*, or *Salinsæ*, were situated lower towards the oce-
an, and the *Volubiliani* more towards the south. The *Mau-*
rensii and *Herpiditani* possessed the eastern part of this coun-
try, towards the *Mulucha*. *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela* also
mention the names of other tribes, particularly the *Atlantes*,
who were situated on the western shore of this region.

According to *Mela*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*, *Tingris*, or *Tingi*, Its chief
supposed the metropolis of *Tingitania*, was founded by *An-* cities.
ceus, who was subdued by *Hercules*. *Procopius* seems to inti-
mate, that this city was built before the time of *Joshua*, and

Bochart thinks that the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* called it *Tingir*, *Tiggir*, or *Tagger*, which in their language signified an *emporium*, or place of general trade. It is supposed to have been the same with the present *Tangier*.

Not far from *Tingis* stood *Zelis*, or *Zilis*, a maritime city, situated near a river of the same name.

Another ancient city of *Mauritania* was named *Lixus*, where *Antæus* is said to have had a palace, and to have been vanquished by *Hercules*. According to some learned men, the present *Larache* is the same with the ancient *Lixus*. Not far south from *Lixus*, *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, built a city, which in his *Periplus* is called *Thymiatrion*. *Bochart* believes the *Punic* name to have been *Dumatbiria*, that is, a city situated in a plain.

Pliny mentions *Sala*, a town near a river of the same name, not far from the *Atlantic* ocean. The situation, as well as name, of this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern *Sallee*, a city noted for its corsairs*.

The port of *Rutubis* was two hundred and thirteen miles south of *Lixus*, and not far from it were the promontories of *Hercules* and *Usadium*, and the southern frontiers of *Mauritania*. The first maritime town to the eastward of *Tingis* seems to be the *Exilissa* of *Ptolemy*, which is supposed to be the *Septa* and *Arx Septensis* of *Procopius*, and the *Ceuta* of the moderns. Not far from the country of the *Massæsyli* stood *Rusadir*, a city and haven mentioned by *Pliny*. On the *Mauritanian* bank of the *Mulucha* stood a city named *Herpis*. *Volubilis*, *Gilda*, and *Prisciana* are ranked by *Mela* among the principal inland towns of *Tingitania*. The two former are supposed to be the *Fez* and *Mequinez*, of the moderns. Other inland towns are *Tocolosida*, *Trisidis*, *Gontiana*, and *Chalce*.

Its chief
rivers,

The chief rivers of *Tingitania* are the following. The *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Chylemath*, *Molcchath*, or *Mulucha*, were the names given to that river which divided *Mauritania* from the country of the *Massæsyli*. Nearer to the *Streights* was the *Thaluda*, *Taluda*, or *Tamuda*, which, according to *Ptolemy*, was navigable for a considerable way. Towards the *Atlantic* ocean were the *Zelis*, the *Lixus*, the *Subur*, the *Sala*, the *Diuis*, and others.

mountains

The most remarkable mountains in *Mauritania* were those that follow. *Abile*, *Abina*, or *Abenna*, stood near the *Streights*, and was called by the ancients one of the pillars of *Hercules*. Near to *Abile* stood the *Septem Fratres* of *Mela*, or the *Hep-tadelphæ* of *Ptolemy*. Not far from the *Lixus* stood Mount *Cotta*. The most remarkable in the whole country was the ridge of mountains called *Atlas*, which was also named *Dy-ris* and *Adyris*, that is, *the great, high, and lofty*, or, *the south-*

* *Bochart*. *Chan.* *Hanno* in *Perip.* *Plin.* *Strabo.* *Mela.* *Aldret.*

on limit. Dr. *Shaw* assures us, that the part of *Atlas* which all under his observation, in height could not stand in competition with the *Alps* or *Appennines*.

The principal islands on the coast of *Tingitania*, known to and the antient geographers, were the *Tres Insulae*, situated to islands. the north-west of the *Mulucha*, at the distance of ten miles. In the river *Lixus* was a small island named *Gezira*, or rather *Jezeirah*, in which *Pliny* says the antients placed the gardens of the *Hesperides*. Not far from the western extremity of *Atlas* lay two obscure islands in the *Atlantic* ocean, named *Pana* and *Erythia*. Opposite to the country of the *Autololes* lay the *Insulae Purpurariae*; the natives of which islands were famous for dying that colour called the *Getulian* purple, which brought great advantage to king *Juba*. According to *Hardouin*, they are the islands called at this day *Madeira* and *Porto Santo*. The *Insulae Beatae*, or *Fortunatae*, according to *Strabo*, lay in the *Atlantic* ocean, directly west from the southern part of *Mauritania*. These are the same with the present *Canary* islands, one of them being antiently called *Canaria*, from the great number of large dogs that were found in it, two of which were presented to king *Juba*.

The first inhabitants of *Mauritania* are supposed to have been the descendants of *Phut*, with whom the *Phœnician* colonies mixed themselves. From *Hirtius*, *Appian*, and *Dio*, as explained by *Aldrete*, it may also be inferred that the *Mauritians* are to be ranked among some of the most antient inhabitants of this country. The *Mauritanians* bordering on the confines of *Gaetulia*, might have been the progeny of the *Persians*, who are supposed, by several authors of repute, to have settled here in very remote times. As the *Egyptians*, in the reign of *Ammon*, conquered the *Atlantides* seated on the *Atlas*, we may look upon them as progenitors of the antient *Mauritanians*. *Marmol* relates, from the *African* historians, that five tribes of the *Sabæan Arabs* spread themselves over some parts of *Barbary*; and that *Tut*, the grandson of *Cham*, settled first in *Tingitania*, giving name to the *Tuteii*, a people of that region.

Despotic monarchy is generally supposed to have prevailed in *Mauritania* from the earliest ages to the times of the *Romans*. Several tribes of the *Moors*, however, *Appian* informs us were governed by their own laws, or at least remained under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders. From *Justin* it appears, that, in the reign of the elder *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*, the greatest part, if not the whole of *Mauritania*, was subject to one prince.

One of the chief deities of the *Mauritanians* was *Neptune*; from whence it may be concluded that the *Nephthubim* of *Moses* extended themselves into it, though the first seat of that people might have been in *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica*, as *Bochart* and *Arius Montanus* imagine. The *Mauritanians* also worshipped

worshipped the Sun and Moon in common with the other *Libyan* nations. *Seneca* asserts that they offered human sacrifices to their gods. From what *Nonus* and others have advanced, it seems probable that *Bacchus* was worshipped by the *Mauritanians*; and from *Mela* it seems that they either worshipped *Anteus*, or paid divine honours to his shield.

Their language and customs.

The *Mauritanian* language seems to have been only a different dialect of the *Numidian*; and the characters used by both seem to have been of the same. The following were some of the customs of the *Mauritanians*. According to *Hyginus*, they fought only with clubs, till one *Belus*, the son of *Neptune*, taught them the use of the sword. Sir *Isaac Newton* reckons this *Belus* to be the same with *Sesoftris*, the famous king of *Egypt*. All persons in *Mauritania* went richly attired, wearing much gold and silver in their cloaths. They took much pains in cleansing their teeth and curling their hair. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails paired extremely close. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of disconcerting the curls of their hair. The *Mauritanian* infantry, in time of action, used shields made of elephant's skins, being clad in those of lions, leopards, and bears, which they kept on night and day. Their horses were small and swift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were so much under the command of their riders that they would follow them like dogs. The poorer sort of *Mauritanians* never applied themselves to cultivate the ground, but roved about the country, and slept in tents so very small that they could scarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, and different kinds of herbage, which they did frequently eat green, without any manner of preparation. Their habit was the same both in summer and winter, and most of them slept upon the bare ground. As they were in continual danger from wild beasts, they never stirred abroad without their darts; which rendered them very expert at that weapon. Though the country people appear to have been extremely rude and barbarous, yet the inhabitants of the cities probably had some acquaintance with the arts. From the situation of their country, it may be supposed that they were not unacquainted with navigation; and *Onomacritus* affirms that they made a settlement at the entrance into *Colchis*, to which place they came by sea. It is supposed that they applied themselves very early to magic, sorcery, and divination; and, according to *Cicero* and *Pliny*, *Atlas* was the inventor of astrology and the doctrine of the sphere; which gave rise to the fable of *Atlas's* bearing the heavens upon his shoulders.

The early history of the *Mauritanians* are partly buried in oblivion, and partly obscured by the fictions of the poets. The two earliest princes of this country, except *Neptune*, mentioned

mentioned by antiquity, were *Atlas* and *Antæus*; which, by *ritanians* some, are supposed to be only two names for the same person. They were both of them the sons of *Neptune*, and both ruled with absolute sway over great part of *Africa*. *Hercules* defeated and slew *Antæus* in the same war in which he deprived *Atlas* of the kingdom of *Libya*. Both *Atlas* and *Antæus* invaded *Egypt*, and contended with *Hercules* in the wars of the gods; and *Antæus*, as well as *Atlas*, seems to have been famed for his knowledge in the celestial sciences. *Antæus*, in his wars with *Hercules*, who seems to have commanded an army of *Egyptians* and *Æthiopians*, behaved with great bravery and resolution. *Hercules*, at last, by intercepting some of his reinforcements, gave him a total overthrow, wherein he, and the best part of his forces, were put to the sword. Hence came the fable, that *Hercules*, finding that *Antæus* received fresh strength as often as he touched his mother Earth, at last lifted him up in the air and squeezed him to death. The golden apples of the *Hesperides*, which *Hercules* is said to have obtained the possession of at this time, are supposed to be the riches of *Antæus*, the *Greeks* giving the same signification to the oriental word *mal*, or *riches*, as to their own term *mela*, *apples*.

According to Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Ammon*, the father of *Sesac*, or *Sesostris*, was the first king of *Libya*, or of all that tract extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean, which was conquered by *Sesac* in his father's life time. *Neptune* afterwards excited the *Libyans* to a rebellion against *Sesac*, slew him, and then sent *Antæus* or *Atlas* with an army against *Egypt*. *Hercules*, the general of *Thebais* and *Æthiopia*, for the gods, or great men, of *Egypt*, defeated and slew *Antæus* near a town in *Thebais* from that event called *Antæa*; and then reduced, a second time, the whole continent of *Libya*. The *Libyans*, it may be observed, are not taken notice of by scripture as a nation of any strength or power, till the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, king of *Judah*, who was then invaded by *Sesac*; in whose army was a body of *Libyan* troops. If therefore all that vast tract, known by the name of *Libya*, was so inconsiderable that it deserved no attention till the days of *Rehoboam*, how obscure must have been the western part of it, named *Mauritania*, in every age preceding *Sesac*? However early some particular colonies of *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* might have settled in the western parts of *Africa*, it is probable that *Antæus* did not flourish much earlier than the age Sir *Isaac Newton* has assigned him.

There is nothing worth relating recorded of the *Mauritani* from the defeat of *Antæus* to the *Roman* times. The ancient *Greek* writers scarce ever considered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the *Libyans*; and *Sallust* tells us, that nothing of the *Mauri*, besides their name, was known to the *Romans* so late as the *Jugurthan* war. The elder *Juba*, according

according to *Plutarch*, pretended to be lineally descended from *Hercules*; but that author seems not to give over-much credit to such a pretention. It is natural enough to suppose that the person who obtained this country when it shook off the *Egyptian* yoke, founded a family that might continue for many ages. Possibly *Becchar*, and also *Bocchus*, *Jugurtha's* son-in-law, were of this family. *Bocchus*, from the account *Sallust* gives us of him, seems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats, the *Romans*, by threats and promises, influenced him to deliver his father-in-law *Jugurtha* into their hands, though he had entered into the most solemn engagements to support him, and even promised to put *Sylla* into his power.

Either this prince, or another of the same name, undertook an expedition against the western *Ethiopians*; in whose country, according to *Strabo*, he found some reeds of such an enormous size, that the longest joint of them would contain eight measures of corn; which, together with some asparagus equally large, he sent as curiosities to his wife.

Bogud declares for *Cæsar* against *Pompey*.

History is silent as to any farther particulars of the *Mauritanian* affairs, till the time of *Bogud*; who, in conjunction with *P. Sittius*, not a little contributed to *Cæsar's* success in *Africa*. He was likewise of great service to *Cæsar* in *Spain*, when he gained the victory at *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic. Upon *Cæsar's* death, he sided with *Anthony* against *Octavius*, and endeavoured to make a diversion in his favour in *Spain*. The *Tingitani*ans, however, in the mean time revolting from him, and being joined by some *Spaniards* in the interest of *Octavius*, and by the troops of *Bocchus*, defeated him upon his return to *Africa*. *Octavius*, or *Augustus*, for this service, confirmed *Tingitania* to *Bocchus*, and honoured the inhabitants of *Tingis* with the privileges of *Roman* citizens. *Bogud* was afterwards killed by *Agrippa* at *Methona*.

Juba the younger obtains *Mauritania* and *Gætulia* from *Augustus*.

Augustus gave the two *Mauritanias*, together with part of *Gætulia*, to the younger *Juba*, a prince extremely in his favour; who obtained from him likewise *Cleopatra*, the daughter of the famous queen of *Egypt* of that name. *Juba*, who was educated at *Rome*, rendered himself, according to *Pliny*, more illustrious by his knowledge and learning than by his crown. He was extremely well versed in the *Assyrian*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Punic*, *African*, and *Latin* histories; as well as in those of other nations. He wrote the History of *Arabia*; the Antiquities of the *Assyrians* and *Romans*; the History of Theatres, of Painting, and Painters; of Grammar; of the Nature and Properties of different Animals; and several other treatises. When the territories above-mentioned were given to him, he left *Rome*; and, by the lenity of his government, he so won the hearts of all his subjects, that, from a grateful sense of the happiness they enjoyed under him, they ranked

ranked him among the gods, and erected a statue to his honour*.

Juba was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards *Tacfarin-* cut off by *Caius*. During his reign, some troubles were raised *nas raîlès* in *Africa* by *Tacfarinas*, a native of *Numidia*, who formed a troubles considerable army of banditti, whom he disciplined after the in *Africa*. *Roman* manner. The gross of the army consisted of *Mysu-* lanians, a powerful nation bordering upon the *Sahara*, still wild and without towns. These were joined by the *Cinithi-* ans, by a large body of *Mauritanians* commanded by *Mazip-* pa, whom *Tacfarinas* detached to harass the *Romans* with perpetual alarms, while he continued encamped with the regular forces. *Furius Camillus*, the *Roman* general, attacked the *Africans* with a single legion, and the troops he received from the allies, and entirely defeated them. The war was renewed the following year by *Tacfarinas*, who ravaged the country with great barbarity, and posted from place to place with such swiftness, that none of the *Roman* detachments could come up with him. Having invested a *Roman* cohort in a fort near the *Pagada*, he obliged them to abandon the place; for which cowardly behaviour they were decimated by *L. Apronius*, the successor of *Camillus*.

This rigorous punishment had such an effect, that a body of five hundred veterans only routed the army of *Tacfarinas*, and forced him to raise the siege of *Thala*. *Tacfarinas*, after this defeat, carried on the war in an irregular manner, for some time; but withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, in order to guard the immense booty he had acquired, confined to his camp, he was attacked by *Apronius Cæsius*, who easily routed and dispersed the barbarians. *Tacfarinas*, though often routed, still repaired his forces; and arrived at such a pitch of arrogance as to send ambassadors to *Tiberius*, threatening him with eternal war if he and his army had not a proper settlement assigned them. His arrogance so incensed *Tiberius*, that he ordered *Blæsus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Africa*, to offer a general indemnity to the *Africans*, in hopes of getting *Tacfarinas* into his hands. *Blæsus* soon after defeated the troops of *Tacfarinas*, took his brother prisoner, and obliged him to hide himself in the desert. *Tacfarinas*, however, assembled another army, partly of *Mauritanians*, and partly of supplies sent him by the king of the *Garamantes*. *Dolabella*, the *Roman* general, attacked him not far from *Auzca*, and slew him with a great number of his followers. This victory, which for some time settled peace in *Mauritania* and *Getulia*, was in a great measure owing to a body of forces sent to *Dolabella* by *Ptolemy*.

* Plin. l. v. Plut. in Cæs. Suid. Athen. deipnos. Ammian. Bayle in Juba.

Mauritania reduced to a Roman province.

When *Ptolemy* was cut off by *Caius*, *Ædemon*, one of his freedmen, assembled a body of forces to revenge his death; which obliged the emperor *Claudius*, the successor of *Caius*, to send a *Roman* army into *Mauritania*. In the second year of the war, *Suetonius Paulinus*, the *Roman* general, defeated the *Africans*; ravaged all the country as far as Mount *Atlas*, and penetrated into *Getulia*. *Sidius Geta*, the successor of *Paulinus*, gave *Salabus*, the *Mauritanian* general, two overthrows, and pursued him into the *Sahara*, or desert. A peace was soon after concluded between *Salabus* and *Geta*, by which treaty *Mauritania* was probably delivered up entirely into the hands of the *Romans*, as we find it soon after divided by *Claudius* into two provinces: namely, *Mauritanea Tingitana*, from the city *Tingis*; and *Mauritania Caesariensis*.

The boundaries of Gætulia.

THE limits of *Gætulia* have been settled by none of the antient geographers; but from several authors it appears that they have been sometimes of larger, and at other times of smaller extent. Its northern boundary coincided with the southern parts of *Numidia* and the *Mauritanæ*; and it extended, as is supposed, from the *Atlantic* ocean to the city of *Lempta*.

As the *Gætulians*, till the time of *Jugurtha*, led their flocks from pasture to pasture, and lived for the most part in tents, it is not to be expected to find many towns in their country. About two centuries after, however, the *Gætulians* probably inhabited some cities, as they were then masters of a good part of *Messajylia* and *Numidia Propria*. According to *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the principal tribes of *Proper Gætulia*, were the *Baniuræ*, *Durræ*, and *Mutcleles*. The latter, who seem to have been by much the most powerful, spread themselves over that part of *Tingitania* bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic Ocean*. Their capital city, *Autolola*, stood betwixt the *Subus* and the *Salabus*, the only two rivers of note in *Gætulia* except the *Gir* and the *Niger*. Besides the three tribes already mentioned, this country was inhabited by the *Teladusi*, *Soræ*, *Dryitæ*, *Elulii*, *Alazices*, and other obscure nations. According to *Josephus* and *St. Jerom*, *Chavilah*, or *Havilah*, the son of *Cush*, was the father of the *Gætulians*, who, on this account, were sometimes called *Evilæi*, or *Havilæi*. *Gætulia* is therefore supposed to have been peopled from *Arabia Felix*, where the descendants of *Halilah* first settled.

The antiquity of the Gætulians.

The first *Gætulians*, according to the *Punic* historians, were some of the most antient inhabitants of *Africa*, extremely rude and barbarous, and without any form of regular government or laws. They roved about the country, and took up their lodging wherever the night surprised them, living upon the flesh of wild beasts which they killed in hunting. *Hercules*, according to *Sallust*, civilised them, in some small degree; but to the *Roman* times they still continued rude and barbarous.

rous, though they were then governed by certain *phylarchs*, or heads of tribes, as their posterity are at this day. These *phylarchs*, *Strabo* tells us, so delighted in horses, that, amongst them, they brought up one hundred thousand colts. According to *Lucan*, the *Gætulians* were mixed with their cattle in their cottages, or *mapalia*, and many of them were carried about the country with their penates in carts or wag-gons. Their religion was probably the same with that of their neighbours, or with that of their progenitors, the anti-ent *Arabs*; and their language may be supposed to have borne a near resemblance to the antient *Arabic*, and the other oriental tongues.

As the *Gætulians* followed chiefly a pastoral life, and were divided into many small clans, their transactions cannot have been very memorable or important. *Herodotus* and *Scylax* make no mention of them; from whence we may conclude that they were then a very obscure people. *Livy* tells us that a body of them served under *Hannibal* in the second *Punic* war. Whether *Massinissa*, who so greatly extended his conquests in *Africa*, ever subdued them is uncertain; but we are assured by *Sallust*, that his grandson *Jugurtha* taught them to keep their ranks, and instructed them in military discipline. Some part of *Gætulia* that was under the dominion of *Juba*, revolted to *Julius Cæsar*; and *Augustus* gave to the younger *Juba* part of this country, probably the same territories which his father had possessed, with the two *Mauritanæ*, as an equivalent for *Numidia*, then a *Roman* province. In the reign of the younger *Juba*, the *Gætulians*, according to *Dio*, being extremely incensed against the *Romans*, for imposing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under the *Roman* government, rebelled against their king, massacring all the *Romans* settled in his dominions, and committing most dreadful ravages in all the provinces subject to him. They were at length defeated, and reduced by *Cornelius Cossus*; who was thereupon permitted to assume the cognomen *Gætulicus* *.

THE *Melanogætuli*, or *Black Gætulians*, according to *Ptolemy*, inhabited between the mountains *Sagapola* and *Ufargala*; their territory lying south-east of *Proper Gætulia*, and north of the river *Nigir*. *Leo* informs us, that near the foot of the ridge of mountains *Ufargala*, called by him *Guargala*, there were, in his time, some castles, and a great number of villages, whose inhabitants were very rich, and all of them perfectly black.

According to *Dr. Shaw*, the modern district of *Wad-reag*, in the province of *Constantina*, containing a collection of

*Liv. l. xxiii. Sallust in bell. Jugurth. Mela. l. iii. Strabo, l. xvii. Leo African. l. vi. Aldret. l. iv. Shaw, Marmol. &c.

twenty-five villages, seems to correspond with part of the *Melanogaetuli*. The situation assigned by *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, to the *Nigriti*, seems to be the same with that given by *Ptolemy* to the *Melanogaetuli*; from whence it would appear that these are only two names for the same people. Their territories extended to the *Nigir*, and contained some places of note; particularly *Peside*, *Saluce*, *Nigira*, *Thige*, *Cuphe*, *Thamondicana*, and *Vellegia*; which are mentioned by *Ptolemy* as standing near the *Nigir*. This river, and the *Gir*, or *Ghir*, are the two most remarkable in the country. The learned *Dr. Shaw* believes the modern *Wed-adge-dee* to be the antient *Ghir*, which had its source on Mount *Phruresus*, or the mountains of *Ammer*, and run southward. The *Nigir*, or *Niger*, is called by the *Nigritians*, *Wed*; or *Huid Nijar*; that is, *the Black River*. This river, which is now called the *Senegal*, has its source on the confines of *Æthiopia*; and, after a western course, empties itself into the *Atlantic* ocean. It annually overflows its banks like the *Nile*.

According to *Leo* and the *African* historians, *Sabtech*, the son of *Cush*, first peopled the *Sabara*, betwixt the mountains of *Atlas* and *Nigritia*, and therefore probably *Nigritia* itself, or at least part of it. From *Leo* it also appears, that the various *Nigritian* dialects bear an affinity to the *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Egyptian* tongues. It appears that the *Carthaginians* had some knowledge of the *Nigriti*, as *Frontinus* intimates that one part of their armies consisted of *Nigritian* troops. The *Nigriti* were armed with bows and arrows like those of the *Æthiopians*, and used scythed chariots in their wars. *Strabo* also mentions that they travelled through the deserts to *Cirta* in caravans; and trafficked likewise with the *Maurusii*, or *Mauritanians*. In these journies, lest they should die of thirst in the vast deserts, they carried with them water in bottles tied to their horses bellies.

The *Garamantes*.

The *Garamantes* were situated to the south-east of *Gaetulia*, and the east of the *Nigriti*. The limits of their country cannot be ascertained; but, from what the antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may presume that it extended to the borders of the *Proper Æthiopia*. It may also be inferred from *Herodotus*, *Virgil*, *Festus*, *Avienus*, and others, that it consisted of many large territories: but, according to *Strabo*, it was not of any considerable breadth. This country abounded with wild beasts; and its most antient inhabitants were so savage that they fled at the sight of a person belonging to any other nation. They were at the same time entirely destitute of arms, and had not the courage to defend themselves if attacked. In process of time, however, they built towns; the principal of which was *Garama*, the metropolis, near Mount *Girgiris*, and the source of the *Cinyphus*. They likewise, when they became a little more civilized, associated with the *Marmaridae*, their neighbours, and carried

ried on a trade with the *Carthaginians*, *Arabs*, *Persians*, and *Æthiopians*. *Nigritia*, and the country of the *Garamantes*, seem, for the most part, to have been peopled at first from *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*. It is also probable that some colonies of *Arabs* settled here very early. The *Garamantes*, in common with the *Arabs*, *Indians*, and *Æthiopians*, worshipped *Jupiter Ammon*, whom they represented with a ram's head, or, at least, with ram's horns. Matrimony did not prevail among the *Garamantes*, but the women were looked upon as common to all. These people were at first subject to phylarchs, or heads of tribes; but, according to *Tacitus*, monarchy afterwards took place among them. *Pliny* mentions a king of the *Garamantes* who was restored to his throne by 200 dogs that attacked all who opposed them. Tho' *Ptolemy* asserts them to have been a large and powerful nation, yet we find scarce any of their affairs recorded in history. The *Romans* subdued them in the reign of *Augustus*; but they afterwards shook off the *Roman* yoke, as we are informed by *Florus* that *Cossus* detached a body of troops against them and the *Marmaridæ*; and by *Tacitus*, that the king of the *Garamantes* assisted *Tacfarinas*, the *Numidian*, against the *Romans*. When *Tacfarinas* was defeated and slain, they sent ambassadors to *Rome* to appease the resentment of *Tiberius*, probably by making an absolute submission to him, since the *Roman* empire seems to have extended, on that side, almost, if not entirely, to the northern bank of the *Nigir**.

MARMARICA was situated on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, between *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*, and was bounded on the south by the *Sahara*, or the Desarts of *Libya Interior*. This country has been looked upon by some as part of *Egypt*; but the western boundary of that country has generally been placed at the *Glaucum Promontorium*. The place of greatest note on the coast of *Marmarica* was the strong fortress *Paratonium*. West from *Paratonium* stood *Apis*, a town so denominated from the *Egyptian* deity of that name, and remarkable on account of certain sacred mysteries celebrated in it. The principal *Libyan* nations inhabiting this region were the *Adyrmachidæ* and *Ammonii*. *Pliny* mentions the *Marerotæ* as a people seated near the *Adyrmachidæ*. It is generally supposed that the *Marmaridæ* was a name common to all the *Libyans* of *Marmarica*.

These *Libyans* sometimes used *Libyan* wine, but drank chiefly beer brewed at *Alexandria*. The *Adyrmachidæ* fought with a scymetar, and it was a custom with their wives to wear a chain of brass on each leg; to take great pains in dressing their hair; and, if they happened to find a louse, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they had re-

* Herod. l. iv. Diod. l. iii. Lucan. l. ix. Tacit. Annal. ii. iv. Plin. & Ptol. Petr. Arb. in Satyric. Flor. l. iv.

ceived. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's presence, that, if any one of them pleased him above the rest, he might lie with her. The *Ammonii*, so called from *Jupiter Ammon*, their chief deity, inhabited nearer *Cyrenaica*. It seems probable, from *Herodotus*, that the *Ammonii* were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and made war upon their neighbours. According to *Pliny*, the temple of *Ammon* stood fifteen days journey from *Memphis*; and *Diodorus Siculus* says, that, though the foresaid temple was surrounded by a sandy desert, yet its proper district, which extended above fifty stadia square, abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with pleasant groves and fountains, the inhabitants there enjoying a perpetual spring. It had also several streets, or villages, in the neighbourhood of the temple; a castle fortified with a triple wall; and near it an holy fountain, called *the Fountain of the Sun*, from the surprising effects of the sun upon its water.

On the coast of this country lay the small islands *Pedonia*, *Phocusae*, *Aneispassa*, and *Aidonis*, or *Aedonia*. The *Marmaridae* are looked upon, by some, to have been originally *Egyptians*; but the greatest part reckon them among the *Libyan* nations. Be that as it may, *Herodotus* assures us, that there was a great affinity between them and the *Egyptians* in most points of moment.

Limits of
Cyrenaica

ON the same coast, betwixt *Marmarica* and the *Regio Syrtica*, lay *Cyrenaica*, which was also bounded on the south by the desert. The principal towns in this tract were, *Cyrene*, the metropolis; *Arsinæ*, or *Teuchira*; *Berenice*; *Ptolemæis*, or *Barce*; and *Appollonia*; from whence the best part of it was named *Pentapolis*, or the *Five Cities*. Several other of its towns and fortresses are mentioned; particularly *Adriane*, or *Hadrianopolis*, so denominated from the emperor *Adrian*; *Automala*, a fortress of considerable strength upon the frontiers of *Regio Syrtica*; the castle *Diachersis*, the tower of *Hercules*, and the promontory *Boraum*. The city *Cyrene*, now called *Cirram*, or *Corene*, stood, at some distance from the sea, upon a spot of ground resembling a table. It was large and populous, and abounded with all the elegancies and conveniences of life. In its territory, which was partly desert and partly fruitful, were produced vast numbers of excellent horses. The inhabitants were very subject to fevers, which some have attributed to the insalubrity of their air.

Some parts of *Cyrenaica*, and the *Regio Syrtica*, were famous for the production of the *silphium*, a plant, or shrub, greatly celebrated by the ancients. The *Lybians* looked upon the stalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every part of this plant, as most precious; and esteemed it infinitely above all other productions. As the *Libyan* barbarians, however, were at great pains to destroy this plant, *Pliny* says it was so scarce in his age, that a stalk of it was presented to *Nero* as a singular curiosity; and yet it may be inferred from *Galen*, that the last,

a gum proceeding from the *filphium*, or *laserpitium*, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of *Severus*. We are informed by *Theophrastus*, that the *Cyrenaica* also abounded with a rich and uncommon oil. *Athenæus* relates, that the roses, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the saffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted; and, that in the time of *Berenice*, a most charming ointment was made of the *Cyrenean* roses.

The principal nations of this tract were, the *Barcaci*, the *Psylli*, and the *Nasamones*. *Barce*, the capital of the *Barcaci*, seems to have stood to the west of *Cyrene*, and had a port near the *Greater Syrtis*. According to *Servius*, the citizens of it came originally from *Carthage*; which renders it probable that *Barca*, the brother of *Dido*, settled here with some of his countrymen. *St. Jerom* says that *Barce* was situated in a desert, and that its inhabitants, or at least their descendants, dispersed themselves over several districts, lying as far to the westward as *Mauritania*, and to the eastward as *India*. They agreed in most particulars with the other *Libyan Nomades* already mentioned. Their metropolis, according to *Servius*, made the greatest figure of any city in this territory, except *Cyrene*; and it has given its name to the modern kingdom and desert of *Barca*, which correspond with the ancient *Mar-marica* and *Cyrenaica* *.

According to *Strabo*, the *Psylli* and *Nasamones* were seated behind *Cyrenaica* and *Regio Syrtica*; but *Pliny*, *Silius*, and *Lucan*, place them near the *Greater Syrtis*. The greatest part of the *Psylli* having perished in the sandy desert, their territories were possessed by the *Nasamones*, whom *Herodotus* represents as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for some singular customs then prevailing among them. They had many wives, which they used in public. The bride amongst them lay the first night with all the guests invited to the wedding, and received from each of them the next morning a present which he had brought with him for that purpose. When they took an oath, they laid their hands upon the sepulchres of those who were esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons amongst them. In pledging their faith, the parties presented each other with a cup of liquor; and if they had none, they took up some dust from the ground which they put into their mouths. The *Libyan* nations here mentioned possessed the countries they inhabited long before the *Greeks* built *Cyrene*.

The *Greeks*, under the conduct of *Battus*, the *Theræan*, Transactions of founded *Cyrene* about the third year of the thirty-seventh olympiad, according to *Eusebius*. *Arccsilaus* I. the son of *Bat-* *Cyrenaica* *tes*, probably made no great figure, since history is silent as

* Herod. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. Athen. deignof. Aldret.

to his transactions. *Battus* II. son to *Arcesilaus*, built the city of *Zoa*, and reigned forty years; and his son *Arcesilaus* II. enjoyed the crown after him sixteen years. *Battus* III. son to *Arcesilaus* II. being strengthened by the accession of a vast number of *Greeks* who came to live under his government, defeated *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, in a great battle, who had been excited to invade the *Cyreneans* by *Adicran*, a neighbouring *Lilyan* prince. *Arcesilaus* III. the son and successor of *Battus* III. having some disputes with his brothers, they retired out of his dominions, and found means to excite his *Libyan* subjects to a revolt. He marched against the rebels, but was totally defeated by them with the loss of seven thousand men; and not long after was murdered by his brother *Aliarchus*, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince's wife *Erixo*, whose son, *Battus* IV. then mounted the throne. In his reign, *Demonax*, a *Mantinean* legislator, arrived at *Cyrene*; and, at the king's desire, introduced several alterations into the preceding form of government. *Arcesilaus* IV. son to the former, endeavouring to put the *Cyrenean* constitution on its former footing, was driven by his subjects to *Samus*; from whence he afterwards retired to *Barca*, having married a daughter of the king of the *Barcæi*. He was there assassinated, together with his father-in law, as he was walking in the market-place.

Pheretima, the mother of *Arcesilaus*, when her son was banished, fled to *Salamis*, in *Cyprus*; but not being able to procure succours from the king of *Salamis*, she returned to *Cyrene*; where she afterwards established her authority, and prevailed with *Aryandes*, the *Persian* governor of *Egypt*, to send a fleet and army against *Barcæi*. *Amasis*, the *Persian* general, after having besieged *Barca* for nine months, made himself master of the place by treachery; when *Pheretima* caused all the men concerned in the murder of her son to be impaled, and placed near the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place was then plundered by the *Persians*, who afterwards committed the government of it to those who were averse to the assassination of *Arcesilaus*. The *Persians*, in their return, were extremely harassed by the *Libyans*, who followed them to the very borders of *Egypt*. The prisoners were settled by *Darius Hystaspis* in a district of *Bactria*, which was from them denominated *Barca* *.

According to *Aristotle*, *Cyrene*, in his time, was a republic, the line of *Battus* probably being extinct, and the form of government prescribed by *Demonax* having taken place. The *Cyreneans*, nevertheless, might have been tributary to the *Persians*, or at least under their protection. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth olympiad, one *Ariston* seized up-

* Herod. l. iv.

on *Cyrene*, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city; but matters were soon after composed, and all former acts of hostility buried in oblivion.

Not long after the death of *Alexander the Great*, *Thimbro* invaded *Cyrenaica*, and obliged the *Cyreneans* to buy a peace with five thousand talents of silver and half of their armed chariots. However, at the instigation of *Mnasichus*, a *Cretan*, one of his officers, they revolted, and obtained several advantages over him; but were again defeated by him in a general action. He himself was soon after overthrown and defeated by *Ophellas*, who thereupon making himself master of *Cyrenaica*, put it into the hands of *Ptolemy*. It seems probable, however, from what we have related in the history of the *Carthaginians*, that *Ophellas*, by some means or other, obtained the sovereignty of this country. We are informed by *Agarthaides*, that *Magas*, the brother of the first *Ptolemy*, reigned at *Cyrene* fifty years.

This country remained under the kings of *Egypt* till *Ptolemy Physcon* made it over to his bastard son *Apion*; who, in the year of *Rome* 658, left it by will to the *Romans*. The senate, instead of using the right transferred to them by the will, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants who threw the kingdom of *Cyrenaica* into great confusion. However, the public tranquillity was restored, in a good measure, by *Lucullus*, on his coming hither during the first *Mithridatic* war. The disturbances are said to have been, in a great measure, occasioned by the descendants of those *Jews* settled here by the first *Ptolemy*. Be that as it may, all dissensions could not be finally removed till this country was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province; which happened about twenty years after the death of *Apion*, and seventy-six before the birth of *Christ*. Upon a revolt *Cyrene* was ruined by the *Romans*, but they afterwards rebuilt it. In process of time it fell to the *Arabs*, and last to the *Turks*, who are the present possessors of it.

This country produced several persons who distinguished themselves in the republic of letters, particularly the following. *Aristippus*, a disciple of *Socrates*, and the chief of the *Cyrenaic* sect, whose principles of philosophy were far from being conformable to strict morals. *Areta*, daughter to *Aristippus*, presided over the *Cyrenaic* school after the death of her father. Her son *Aristippus* afterwards became a famous philosopher, and from thence was stiled *Metrodidactas*. *Anniceris*, who reformed the *Cyrenaic* sect, or rather founded another that was called the *Annicerian*. *Callimachus*, a celebrated poet and historian, and a disciple of *Hermocrates* the grammarian. *Eratosthenes*, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician in great favour at the *Egyptian* court. *Carneades*, the founder of

the third academy. *Crenus Apollonius*, the master of *Diocorus*, the logician *.

Descrip-
tion of
*Regio Syr-
tica*.

THE *Regio Syrtica* lay on the coast of the *Mediterranean* betwixt *Cyrenaica* and *Africa Propria*, and received its name from the two *Syrtes*, or quicksands, at its eastern and western limits. On the south it was bounded by the country of the *Nusamnes*. Betwixt the rivers *Cinyps* and *Triton*, lay the following maritime towns; *Auxisna*, *Leptis Magna*, *Garatla*, *Abretinam*, *Sabrata*, and *Tacape*; and next to *Cyrenaica* lay the tower of *Eufhrantas* and the town of *Charax*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* make mention of many tribes inhabiting this territory, the chief of whom seem to have been the *Cinetii*, *Gindanes*, *Maceæ*, and *Lotophagi*. The *Cinetii*, according to *Tacitus*, were a respectable nation, and were situated about the *Lesser Syrtis*. The *Gindanes*, according to *Heredotus*, were seated not far from the *Cinyps*. Their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and she who had the greatest number was most esteemed. The *Maceæ* bordered on the *Garamantes* and the *Greater Syrtis*, and shaved their heads all over except the middle of their crown. When they made war on any of their neighbours, they wore the skins of ostriches instead of armour. In winter they drove their flocks to the sea side, and in the summer to the inland places. The *Lotophagi* were the most famous people of this tract, and extended themselves from the *Greater* to the *Lesser Syrtis*. The root, stalks, and other parts of the tree and plant called the Lotus, supplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food; and as this was the greatest part of their sustenance, they thence derived their name. A good part of the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect desert; but the other part produced corn, oil, and fruit, particularly the lotus. The wine extracted from this plant tasted like mead, but would not keep above ten days. The *Libyans* laid up the berries, bruised and mixed with wheat, in large vessels; which preparation served them for food.

The principal river of this tract was the *Cinyps*, which derived its stream from a hill in the country of the *Maceæ*, and emptied itself into the *Syrtis Minor*. Of the islands appertaining to this country, the most noted were *Meninx* and *Cerina*. *Meninx*, which at present is called *Zerbi*, was twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad, according to *Pliny*; who observes that it had two towns; namely, *Meninx*, facing the coast of *Africa*; and *Tharx*, opposite to the *Lesser Syrtis*. It was also named *Lotophagitis*, and was the chief seat of *Lotophagi*, in the time of *Homer*; who relates that *Ulysses*

* Strab. l. xvii. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. Plut. in Lucul. Diog. Laert. Athen. deipnos. Art. Gel. l. vii. Plut. de placit. Philol. Cicer. in Acad. quæd in Cat.

ouched here in his return to *Ithaca*. *Cerina* lay north-east of *Melinæ*, was twenty-five miles in length, twelve in breadth, had a tolerable town of the same name, and two most commodious harbours.

The inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other *Libyan Nomades*, as to their descent, government, customs, religion and language. Before they became subject to the *Carthaginians*, it is probable they had been subdued by the founder of the *Egyptian* empire, whom *Josephus* and *Sir Isaac Newton* take to have been *Sesac*. *Massinissa* wrested this territory from the *Carthaginians*, and it afterwards met with the same fate as the rest of that prince's dominions *.

THE name of *Ethiopians* was given by several of the antients to all persons either perfectly black or of a swarthy complexion; therefore many of the southern *Asiatics*, as well as *Africans*, came under this denomination. In *Africa* the *Ethiopians* were distinguished into eastern and western. The eastern lay to the south of *Egypt*, and were much better known to the antients than the others, by reason of their commerce with the *Egyptians*; and were looked upon by them as the proper *Ethiopians*. The vast tract called *Libya Interior* was inhabited, in great part, by the western *Ethiopians*, who were the southern neighbours of the *Libyans*, whom we have already given an account of.

Proper Ethiopia then was limited on the north by *Egypt*, on which side it extended to the lesser cataract of the *Nile* and the island *Elephantine*. On the East it was bounded by the *Red Sea*, on the West by *Libya Interior*, and on the south by a part of *Africa* unknown to the antients. Its western and southern boundaries, however, cannot be precisely ascertained, it being uncertain whether the *Ethiopians* did not at some periods extend their dominion over their neighbours both on the south and west.

The limits of
Proper Ethiopia.

Proper Ethiopia was sometimes called by the antients *India*, which appellation they gave to most of their remotest nations. This country, or at least a part of neighbouring *Libya*, was likewise denominated *Atlantia* and *Ætheria*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*; or *Aeria*, according to *Hesychius*. It also went, in very early ages, under the name of *Cepheneia*; but its most common name is supposed to have been *Abasene*. On the other hand, some good authors have given the name of *Ethiopia* to *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and *Persia*; and indeed the antients called all those countries that extended from the eastern and western shores of the *Red Sea* indifferently *India* or *Ethiopia*.

* Sallust. in Jug. App. in Lib. Herod. Strab. Polyb. Lucan, l. i. v. 367, &c.

The eastern people, at this day, sometimes name that kingdom *India* which the *Europeans* called *India*. It appears, from several authors, that the *Red Sea* was formerly called the *Indian Sea*; and *Ludolphus* observes that the antients denominated all those nations under the torrid zone, whose names they were ignorant of, *Indians*. According to the *Jews*, the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgate*, and other versions, *Cush*, when taken for a country in scripture, is always to be understood of the *Proper Ethiopia*. *Bochart*, however, affirms that by the *Land of Cush* is meant *Arabia*. Neither of these opinions ought to be looked upon as strictly true; as we find that *Cush*, in some places of scripture, denotes the *Proper Ethiopia*; and in others *Arabia*; the descendants of *Cush* having peopled both countries. From *Xenophon* and *Herodotus*, it appears that the *Arabs* had the appellation of *Ethiopians* and *African Ethiopians*; but, by the *Cushites* in scripture are generally understood the *Proper Ethiopians*.

The different nations of Ethiopia.

The country of *Ethiopia* was inhabited by many different tribes. According to *Pliny*, the *Blemmyes*, seated near the borders of *Egypt*, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed in their breasts. Though this account ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, yet we learn from *Vopiscus*, that some *Blemmyan* captives exhibited an extremely odd appearance at *Rome*. The *Troglydites* are referred by some to *Egypt*, and by others to *Ethiopia*. They were a very savage nation, living in caves, according to *Strabo*, feeding upon serpents, lizards, &c. and their language, as *Herodotus* relates, consisted of no articulate sounds, but resembled the shrieking of bats. The *Nubians* inhabited one of the banks of the *Nile* near the island *Elephantines*. The antients mention the *Nubians* as a people of *Ethiopia*; and some assert the *Pygmies* to have been one of their cantons; though these, by others, are reckoned a branch of the *Troglydites*. They are said to have inhabited on the western shore of the *Red Sea*, and to have been extremely short, black, and hairy all over. The *Analitæ*, or *Abalitæ*, inhabited near the *Abalitic Gulph*; and the *Sirathopagi*, who lived upon ostriches as big as stags, were seated immediately to the south of the *Memnonæes*. The *Acridopagi* were very small, swift, and short lived. They used locusts for food, with which they were plentifully supplied by certain winds; and from feeding on those insects they derived their name. The *Chelonopagi* were so called from their feeding on tortoises, with the shells of which they covered their houses. The *Ichthyopagi*, or *Fish-eaters*, occupied a maritime part of *Ethiopia*, not far from the frontiers of *Egypt*. They built their houses of whale-bones and shells of fishes, and even fed their cattle with fish. The *Cynamolgi* were so named from the bitches milk on which they fed. *Pliny* fabulously relates that they had dogs heads. *Ethiopia* contained many other tribes, of whom scarce any thing is known but

but their names, which they obtained from the different things that they used for food. The *Elephantophagi* lived on elephants; the *Rhinopagi* on the roots of canes; the *Panphagi* on every kind of food indiscriminately. The *Ophiophagi* were serpent-eaters, and the *Agriophagi* fed upon the flesh of wild beasts. The *Hippophagi* were horse eaters. The *Macrobii* were so called from the length of their lives, many of them living one hundred and twenty years.

There were very few cities or towns of note in *Ethiopia*. Cities of *Axum*, or *Auxanis*, the metropolis of *Ethiopia*, according to the *Ethiopian*, and *Nonnesus* in *Ptolemy*, was undoubtedly the same city as the modern *Axuma*, or *Ascum*, of the *Abyssinians*. It stands in fourteen degrees and a half north latitude, about forty-five *Portuguese* leagues from the *Red Sea*, and is only at present a small village, though it was antiently noted for a noble palace and many beautiful structures. Upon the western bank of the *Nile* stood *Pselchis* and *Premnis*, two towns through which *Petronius* marched in his *Ethiopic* expedition. *Napata*, where *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, resided, was on the opposite bank. The *Emperia*, or *Marts*, of *Abel's* *Mosyn*, *Malis* *Mondus*, *Colee*, and *Apone*, probably made a good figure in antient time. *Pliny* mentions a city of the *Nubians* upon the *Nile* called *Tenupsis*; which is supposed to be the same with the present *Dongala*, the capital of the *Nubians*.

Both antient and modern geographers agree that *Ethiopia* is extremely mountainous, several provinces of *Abassinia* being but one continued chain of mountains. The *Aorni* are rocky mountains, of such incredible height that the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are but moderate hills in comparison of them. Amongst the mountains, and even in the plains of *Abyssinia*, arise steep and craggy rocks of various forms; some resembling towers, others pyramids, and others different figures, so even on the sides that they seem to be the effect of labour and art, inasmuch that men and cattle are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. The tops of these rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, and fish-ponds; which very plentifully supply the animals seated thereon with all the conveniences of life. Between many of these rocky mountains are vast abysses, which appear most dreadful to the eye. The natives call all these kinds of rocks *Amba*; as *Amba-Salan*, *Amba-Gesben*, *Amba-Dorbo*, *Amba-Damo*, &c.

There is perhaps no country in the world where so many different seasons may be found, as in *Ethiopia*. In some low plains on the coast of the *Red Sea*, and in some neighbouring islands, the heat in summer is so intense, as to excoriate, according to *Gregory* the *Abassin*, any part of the body; melt hard *Indian* wax in a cabinet, and tear a garment like red hot iron. The air, however, in the mountainous parts is much more temperate. In some places of *Ethiopia* the winter is extremely severe; in others, as warm as the summer in several parts of *Europe*. The *Ethiopians* have little or no snow,

snow, but only a small sort of hail that sometimes covers the ground. Dreadful thunders, however, are frequent among them, and they are attended with such tempests and hurricanes as frighten man and beast. The soil in many places is very fertile, though uncultivated, the power of vegetation being remarkably strong. They have sometimes two, and sometimes three harvests in a year. Though they have most delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongst them, yet they almost entirely confine themselves to malt liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in some parts of *Europe*. Of all the rivers that water *Ethiopia*, the most famous is the *Nile*, which has its source in that country. It is remarkable that all the rivers of *Ethiopia*, at any considerable distance from the sea, flow into the *Nile*, except the *Hanazo* and the *Ticwaf*, or *Acaxe*. The modern *Abassines*, though they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the *Nile* deduce its source, are far from being perfectly acquainted with the course of that river, after it leaves them. According to them, near the city of *Semar* it divides itself into two streams, one of which runs to the westward, and forms the river *Niger*, and the other, in a northern direction, takes its course through *Egypt*. Besides the *Nile*, the ancient geographers mention two rivers, called *Astaborus* and *Astapsus*, meeting the *Nile* near the island of *Meroe*, and joining the *Nile* somewhat below it. These rivers had their sources to the East of the *Nile*, and are supposed to be the present *Tocaza* and *March*. Several of the *Ethiopian* rivers do not empty themselves into the sea, as in other regions, but are sucked up by the sand; so that it is more difficult to discover their mouths than the sources of other streams*.

The most noted islands appertaining to *Ethiopia* were *Meroe*, formed by the *Nile*, the *Sperades* of *Agathurcides*, *Altrata*, *Ira Palladis*, *Gythitis*, *Mylonis*, *Daphnine*, *Mage Acanthis*, *Ixis*, *Mindus*, and *Menthias*. *Meroe* was pretty extensive, and contained a considerable city of the same name which was the metropolis of the island. *Timosthenes*, the admiral of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, related, that the city of *Meroe* was sixty days journey from *Syene*, and *Eratosthenes* and others made the distance about six hundred miles; but, according to *Pliny*, the road between *Meroe* and *Syene* was discovered, in the reign of *Nero*, to be eight hundred and seventy-four *Roman* miles. When *Ethiopia* was in its most flourishing state, the city of *Meroe* made a prodigious figure inasmuch that, according to some of the antients, it could send into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and contained four hundred thousand artificers, though

* Ludolf. in hist. Ethiop. Mela. Strabo, Josephus, Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. Isid. ca. xxiii. v. 3. Jer. ch. ii. v. 18. Ezek. xxviii. 5. Bochart. le Grand. dissert.

in *Pliny's* time it was but a small town. Several queens of this part of *Ethiopia* held their residence here, though at present geographers are at a loss where to look for its situation. The other islands were obscure, and authors are not agreed in what latitudes they are placed.

It is generally supposed, that the *Ethiopians* are the descendants of *Cush*, the eldest son of *Ham*, who entered *Africa* by crossing the *Strights* of *Babel-mandel*, after they had traversed the peninsula of *Arabia*. According to *Eusebius*, this migration happened whilst the *Israelites* were in *Egypt*; but *Syncellus* places it in the time of the *Judges*. The *Arabian Cushites* were antiently called *Abasseni*, and made up a great part of the *Sabæans*, or *Homerites*. In the time of *Josephus* both the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians* were called *Cushites*, and were believed by most of the *Asiatic* nations to have had the same origin.

Ethiopia, according to *Pliny*, was antiently divided into forty-eight kingdoms, of which he insinuates that of *Meroë* to have been the most powerful and flourishing. As the *Abassine* princes known to the *Europeans* since their first intercourse with *Abassia*, have been despotic, and as the oriental governments were absolute, we may reasonably conclude, that the kings of *Ethiopia* always ruled arbitrarily. *Strabo* and *Pliny* relate, that some *Ethiopic* nations were governed always by queens, whose common name was *Candace*, as that of the *Egyptian* kings was *Pharaoh* and *Ptolemy*. According to *Diodorus*, a good part of *Ethiopia* was composed of several elective monarchies, the heads of which were chosen out of their priests. Every new king, however, immediately after his election, was worshipped as a god, and considered as invested with the supreme authority by divine providence; but in all his administration he had generally a regard to the laws of his country. Though the present kingdom of *Abassia* be so far hereditary, that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of chusing out of the royal family whom he pleases for a successor; but if he omits this, it is done by the grandees of the kingdom.

The laws of *Ethiopia*, according to *Diodorus*, agree in substance with those of *Egypt*, which the *Ethiopians*, he says, accounted for by asserting, that *Egypt* was first peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. *Plutarch* informs us, that a certain *Ethiopian* nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours: but he judiciously observes, that all the high posts were filled with men. Possibly the modern kingdom of *Zendero*, governed always by an elected monarch, who is said to resemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correspond with this nation, as the spe-

* Lud. hist. Ethiop. Diod. l. 3. Plin. l. 6 & 8. Plat. adv. Stoic. le Grand.

cies of ape called a baboon, is stiled by *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Cynocephalus*, or *dog's-head**.

The following are some of the *Ethiopic* political maxims. No public executioner was known among them, their malefactors being obliged, by a particular law, to fall by their own hands. According to the established order of succession among some of the *Ethiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his sister's son mounted the throne; and in case the female branches of the royal family failed of issue, they chose the most beautiful and valiant person among them for king. It was esteemed a most enormous crime in any person capitally convicted to attempt making his escape into a foreign country. The king of this region was obliged to dispatch himself whenever he received a message from the priests of *Meroe*, the most revered of any in *Ethiopia*, with an intimation that the gods commanded him to do so for the good of his subjects. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domestics were obliged to maim or wound themselves in the same manner; and at his death all his household servants killed themselves. The preceding laws were principally confined to the peninsula of *Meroe*, and the parts of *Ethiopia* nearer *Egypt*; but higher up the *Nile*, some of the *Ethiopic* clans elected the most industrious shepherds to preside over them. Others bestowed the kingdom upon the most opulent persons, imagining them the most capable of administering with their riches to the wants and exigencies of the public †.

Their religion.

Diodorus tells us, that the *Ethiopians* valued themselves upon being the first nation that had a religious establishment, *Jupiter Ammon* seems to have been the principal object of their religious worship, though the natives paid likewise divine honours to *Isis*, *Pan*, *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, and others. Many of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors assert, that their religion differed little from that of the *Egyptians*. Some of them were atheists, and looked upon the sun as their implacable enemy, by reason of his scorching rays. According to a tradition of the modern *Abassines*, the *Ethiopians*, or at least a considerable part of them, adhered zealously to the law of *Moses*, from the time of *Solomon* to their conversion to Christianity. The queen of *Sheba* whom our Saviour calls the queen of the South, and who ruled over a powerful nation of *Ethiopia*, they say, had a son by *Solomon*, named *Menilebec*, who was educated at that prince's court, and instructed there in the law of God. Being afterwards anointed king of *Ethiopia*, he, at the desire of several eminent *Israelites*, and doctors of the law, that attended him thither, introduced the Jewish religion, which continued amongst

† Diod. ut supra. Herod. l. 2. Agatharcid. Cnid. ap. Phot. Nic. Damasc. in excerpt. vales.

his subjects and their posterity till the time of *Athanasius*. The truth of this tradition, however, is greatly controverted by the learned, many of whom suppose that the queen who had an interview with *Solomon* came from *Arabia Felix*. *Ethiopia* seems best to answer the country pointed out by our Saviour, and from scripture it appears, that some persons of distinction amongst the proper *Ethiopians* were of the same religion with the Jews, or nearly so, in the apostolical age. We find queen *Candace's* treasurer, baptized by *Philip*, went with an offering to *Jerusalem* to worship God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the Old Testament. If therefore any regard was paid to the law of *Moses* in *Meroe* before Christianity appeared in the world, we cannot account for this better than by allowing with the *Abassines*, that this peninsula was the queen of *Sheba's* country. *Strabo* indeed asserts, that the people of *Meroe* in his time adored *Hercules*, *Pan*, and *Isis*; but his authority in this point cannot overturn what is insinuated by the scripture; and he seems even inconsistent with himself, since in the same breath he assures us, that the *Ethiopians* in general acknowledged an immortal God, whom they considered as the first principal of all things, and a mortal God, who had no name. This mortal god might perhaps be *Moses*, whom the *Ethiopians* might hold in veneration. We have many instances of the absurd things related of the Jews by the Greek and Latin writers, who might err as egregiously in their accounts of the *Ethiopian* worship. *Strabo* also relates, that the *Ethiopians* ranked in the number of their deities all their most eminent benefactors, and those who were distinguished by their birth. They likewise adored the sun, and looked upon those as atheists who cursed him. They consecrated to him the cinnamon-tree, and that harvest was only allowed to be gathered by the priests, who ushered it in with sacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and sheep. The crop being gathered was divided into three parts, one of which was left to the sun, and forthwith, say *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Theophrastus*, if the division had been performed with equity, the sun's portion took fire of itself, and was consumed. This ceremony seems to have been common to the *Ethiopians* and the *Sabæans* in *Arabia Felix*. The *Ethiopians*, in all likelihood, first worshipped the planets, or some of them, in common with the *Egyptians* and *Arabians* and like them also paid divine honours to their deceased kings. *Herodotus* says, that the *Ethiopians* of *Meroe* in his time worshipped *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, and had an oracle of *Jupiter*. According to *Lucian*, some *Ethiopian* nations offered sacrifices to the day, which they esteemed as a god.

The distant tribes of *Ethiopians* doubtless differed greatly Their from each other in their language. The most antient of language, their dialects was undoubtedly that called by the learned the *Ethiopic*, into which the holy scripture was formerly translated,

ted, and in which all the books of the *Abassines*, both sacred and prophane, are written. According to *Ludolphus*, who spent above sixty years in the study of this language, it seems immediately to be derived from the *Arabic*, and to have a great affinity with the *Hebrew* and *Syriac*. Whoever understands the *Arabic*, he says, may, without any difficulty make himself master of the other. The purest dialect of this tongue was that used in the kingdom of *Tigre*; where it continued till the failure of the *Zagean* line, when a *Sewan* prince introduced the *Amharic* dialect. The language spoken at present in *Tigre* comes the nearest to the old *Ethiopic*, which still retains its pristine dignity, not only in their books, but also in their divine worship, and likewise in their king's letters patent, commissions, and all other public acts whatsoever.

Besides the alphabetic characters used by the *Ethiopians*, they sometimes expressed themselves by hieroglyphics, as well as the *Egyptians*. Thus, amongst them, an hawk signified any thing that made a quick dispatch; the crocodile denoted malice; and the eye, the maintainer of justice and the guard of the body. *Heliodorus* says, that the *Ethiopians* had two sorts of letters, the one called regal, the other vulgar; and *Diogenes Laertius* also informs us, that *Democritus* wrote two books, one of the sacred letters of the *Babylonians*, and the other of the sacred letters of the city of *Meroe*. The *Ethiopians* both wrote and read from the left hand to the right, contrary to the custom of the orientals*.

Customs.

Though the *Ethiopians* agreed with the *Egyptians* in several customs, yet they had many peculiar to themselves, some of which were very singular and uncommon. The *Chelonephagi* not only lived upon tortoises, but used their shells as boats on some occasions. The *Hylephagi* were people of such surprising activity, that they skipped from one tree to another. They always went naked, lived upon the young shoots of trees, and had their wives in common. One tribe of *Ethiopians* were very expert in killing leopards, buffaloes, &c. and would not suffer their children to eat till they had hit a mark with an arrow. The *Struthophagi*, or *Ostrich-eaters*, had several arts and devices to take ostriches. That animal, when attacked, defended itself with stones, which it threw out of its feet with great violence. The *Acridophagi*, or *Locust-eaters*, who seldom exceeded the age of forty years, were decoured by winged insects of a strange and ugly form, and for the most part expired in exquisite torture. The *Cynanthi* wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt *Indian* oxen, prodigious herds of which came

* Ludolff. hist. Ethiop. gram. Ethiop. & comment. ad hist. Ethiop.

every year amongst them. The *Troglodytes*, during the time of the *Etesian* winds, drank a liquor composed of blood and milk boiled up together. The old and infirm cattle always supplied them with food ; for which reason they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers ; never giving those denominations to their natural parents. They held all their old women in the highest veneration, insomuch that, in their most bloody contests, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themselves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired. If, upon an admonition from a friend, they refused to do this, they might be strangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence for a person who was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, to desire life, therefore, if any of them was seized with an incurable distemper, or was maimed by accident, it was not only lawful but meritorious to dispatch him. So void were they of a sense of compassion, that the ceremony of burying the deceased was one of their most celebrated diversions.

The *Ethiopians* fought with clubs, bows and arrows, darts, lances, and several other weapons. They, as well as the *Egyptians*, observed the rite of circumcision. Their soldiers tied their arrows round their heads ; the feather part touched their foreheads and temples, and the points were erected and formed a kind of crown. These arrows were extremely short, pointed with sharp stones, instead of iron, and dipped in the venom of dragons, or some other deadly poison, insomuch, that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. Their bows, which were four cubits long, required so much strength to manage them, that no nation could make use of them but the *Ethiopians*. This people retreated fighting like the *Parthians*. Their lances and darts were of an immense size. The *Macrobians*, or long-lived *Ethiopians*, drank milk, and lived for the most part on roasted flesh, and are said to have owed their longevity to their frequently bathing themselves in a certain fragrant fountain, which rendered their bodies smooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfumed them with the odour of violets. These *Ethiopians* looked upon brass as the most valuable of metals, and had gold in such little esteem, that they fettered their prisoners with golden chains. Some *Ethiopian* cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and swore by their manes. Other tribes, according to *Philostratus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*, were *Anthrophagi*, or *Men-eaters* *.

* Herod. l. 2, 3, 7. Agatharcid. Cnid. ap. Phot. Strab. Herod. Ethiopic. Geogr. Nab. Joan. Tzetza.

Their
arts.

It seems to have been the general sentiment of the *Roman* as well as the *Greeks*, that there was a great affinity between the *Ethiopians* and the *Egyptians*, not only in their sacred and civil institutions, but also in the arts, sciences, and learning. *Homer* celebrates both their wisdom and religion when he makes *Jupiter* and the rest of the gods to attend their entertainments. According to *Josephus* and *Artapanus* in *Eusebius*, they were instructed in several branches of literature by *Moses* himself, who was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. *Lucian* makes the *Ethiopians* to have excelled all other nations in wisdom and literature, and to have communicated to the *Egyptians* astronomy and astrology, as well as many other branches of learning.

Their
character.

The *Ethiopians* were naturally bold and intrepid, and like wise surpassed most other nations in beauty and largeness of size, to which a proportionable degree of strength was generally annexed. According to *Plutarch*, both they and the *Arabians* had an invincible aversion to mice. *Pausanias* relates, that the people of *Meroe* and the other neighbouring *Ethiopians*, were eminent for their love of justice. According to various authors, the proper antient *Ethiopians* were for the most part perfectly black, as we find their posterity at this day, though some particular cantons were white. *Gregory the Abassine* informed *Ludolphus*, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddish hue, but in a short time turned black. Their women are strong and lusty, and bring forth with little pain, without the help of a midwife.

The uncertainty
of the
first transactions
of the
Ethiopians.

The early transactions of the *Ethiopians* are entirely buried in obscurity. It is probable, that in the first ages the various clans were subject to different heads, who were independent on each other. Some of the modern *Abassins* pretend, that one *Arwe* was the first king of *Ethiopia*, and was assassinated by one *Augab*, who afterwards ascended the throne, and was succeeded by *Sanabut*, *Gedur*, &c. The present emperor of *Abassia* is stiled by his subjects *Negus* or king; but as the governors of provinces are sometime honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *Negus Nagast Zailiopia*, that is, *King of the kings of Ethiopia*.

Moses
conquers
Ethiopia.

The *Ethiopians* are said, by some authors to have been in possession of *Thebais* in *Upper Egypt* before the time of *Moses*, and consequently must have been a powerful nation very early. The same authors relate, that while *Moses* was there they made an irruption into *Lower Egypt*, and penetrated as far as *Memphis*. The *Egyptians* being defeated by them in a pitched battle, consulted their gods, who ordered them to put an *Hebrew* at the head of their forces, and then march against the enemy. *Moses* being then prevailed upon by the king to accept the command of his army, and being vested with an unlimited power, advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. He did not march
alone

along the *Nile*, but through some *Mediterranean* provinces, greatly infested with serpents of an enormous size, which made that passage be looked upon as impracticable. By the following expedient, however, he conducted his army safely into *Ethiopia*. He carried along with him great numbers of the *Ibis*, an *Egyptian* bird, that has a natural antipathy to serpents of all kinds; and when he approached the tract abounding with the serpents, he let the birds fly among them. *Moses* having thus entered *Ethiopia*, defeated the *Ethiopians*, and shut them up in *Meroc*, which was rendered in a manner impregnable by the *Nile*, the *Astabus*, and the *Abalaras*, by which it was surrounded. The king of *Ethiopia*'s daughter observing from the walls the bravery of *Moses* in repelling several sallies of the besieged, fell desperately in love with him, and by means of some friends she could confide in, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided he would swear to marry her. *Moses* complying with this overture, was thereupon admitted into the town, when he married her, according to his engagement. He nevertheless treated the inhabitants with great rigour and severity, first plundering them, and then putting most of them to the sword. Having ravaged the whole country, razed and dismantled all the places of strength, and consequently rendered the *Ethiopians* for a long time incapable of making head against the *Egyptians*, he returned home with great glory. This war, according to *Cedrenus*, lasted ten years*.

The *Abassines* firmly believe, that the queen of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, reigned over the *Proper Ethi-* The *A-*
opia, and have an history of her written at large, but inter- *abassines*
 spersed with various fables. They give her the name of their kings
Makeda, and relate, that she having received an account to be de-
 scended
 from an *Ethiopian* merchant of the surprising power and wisdom of *Solomon*, took a journey to *Jerusalem*, to know from *So-*
 the truth of this report. She was attended by a numerous *lomon*.
 train of her chief nobility, and carried with her a variety
 of most magnificent presents. After she had been instructed
 at *Jerusalem* in the worship of the true GOD, she returned
 home, and within the space of a year brought forth a son,
 begotten by *Solomon*, who named him *David*; but he was
 called by his mother *Menleeb*, or *Menileeb*, that is, *another*
son. He received his education at *Solomon*'s court, and up-
 on his return to *Ethiopia* was accompanied by many *Israelites*
 of distinction, by whose assistance he established the Jewish
 religion in his dominions, where it continued till Christianity
 was introduced among the *Ethiopians* in the apostolic age.
 The *Arabs* and *Abassines* have given the princess abovementioned several names, as *Makeda*, *Belkis*, *Neghesta*, *Azeb*, or

* Vid. Euseb. de præp. evang. l. 9. Josep. antiq. l. 2. Cedren. hist. compend.

Queen of the South, as she is stiled by our Saviour and the *Ethiopic* version. The *Abassines* pretend, that their kings are descended in a right line from *Menelech*, and even most of the noble families in *Abassia* at this day trace their respective pedigrees up to *Solomon* *.

Ethiopia
reduced
by *Sesac*.

It appears clear from scripture, that the *Ethiopians* were subject to *Sesac*, king of *Egypt*, either in *Solomon's* time, or soon after his death. *Sesac's* army was composed not only of *Egyptians*, but of *Ethiopians* and *Libyans*. As the scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of *Egypt* before *Sesac*, it is in the highest degree probable, that he was the first who extended his conquests in so wonderful a manner as we find related of *Sesostris*, who alone, of all the *Egyptian* monarchs, according to *Herodotus*, enjoyed the empire of *Ethiopia*.

The *Ethi-*
opians
conquer
Egypt.

After the death of *Sesac*, a civil war seems to have broke out in *Egypt*, which country *Sir Isaac Newton* believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopians*, who nevertheless, about ten years after, drowned *Sesac's* successor in the *Nile*, and seized upon *Egypt*. *Libys* also falling into their hands, *Zerah*, the *Ethiopian*, thought of extending his conquests farther, and invaded *Judah* with an army of a million of men, which, however, was totally routed by *Asa*, in the fifteenth year of his reign. Upon this defeat the people of the *Lower Egypt* revolted from the *Ethiopians*, and being sustained by a body of two hundred thousand Jewish or *Canaanitish* auxiliaries, forced *Memnon*, or *Amenophis*, king of that nation, to retire to *Memphis*. *Memnon*, after he had turned the course of the *Nile*, built a bridge over that river, and fortified the pass there, retreated with great precipitation into *Ethiopia*. However, about thirteen years after, he and his young son *Ramesses* returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the abovementioned Jews, or *Phœnicians* out of the *Lower Egypt*, which transaction *Sir Isaac Newton*, in conjunction with *Manetho*, says, was called by the *Egyptians* the second expulsion of the shepherds. From several historical facts, *Sir Isaac* renders it extremely probable, that *Menes*, *Memnon*, and *Amenophis* was the same person, and was the son of *Zerah*, and that he died in a very advanced age, about ninety years after the death of *Solomon*. Some *Greek* authors relate that he assisted king *Priamus* with a body of troops. Upon his death, his son *Ramesses* ascended the throne of *Ethiopia*, and built the northern portico of the temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*. *Aleris* his successor, adorned *Memphis*, and fixed his residence there near two generations after the *Trojan* war. The three next kings were *Cheops*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*, which last was succeeded by his sister *Nitocris*. In the reign

* *Ludolf. ut supra. Le Grand, dissert. 7. Geogr. Nubicus.*
of

of her successor *Asychis* both *Assyria* and *Ethiopia* revolted from *Egypt*, which was thereupon again divided into several small kingdoms. *Gnephastus* governed one of these, and resided at *Memphis*. His son *Bocchoris* was slain by *So*, or *Sabaco*, the *Ethiopian*, who made himself master of *Egypt* *.

Sabaco, or *So*, after the reduction of *Egypt*, entered into *Sabaco* an alliance with *Hoshea*, king of *Israel*, who thereupon endeavoured, though in vain, to shake off the yoke of the *Egypt*. *Assyrians*, the kingdom of *Israel* being then extinguished by *Schamanefer*. According to *Herodotus*, *Sabaco*, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquished *Egypt*, and retired into *Ethiopia*; but *Africanus* says, that he only reigned eight years in *Egypt*, and died in the ninth year of *Hezekiah*. *Herodotus* relates, that *Sethon*, his successor, whom some take *Seibande* to be the *Sevechus* of *Manetho*, advanced to *Pelusium* with a powerful army against *Sennacherib*, king of *Assyria*, who was there entirely defeated, the shield-straps and bow-strings of the *Assyrians* having been devoured by a vast number of mice. As a mouse was the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* symbol of destruction, *Sir Isaac Newton* therefore believes, that *Sethon*, in conjunction with *Tirbakah*, either king of the *Arabian Ethiopians*, or a relation of *Sethon*, and his viceroy in the *Proper Ethiopia*, surprized and defeated *Senacherib*, betwixt *Libnah* and *Pelusium*, making as great a slaughter amongst his troops, as if their bow-strings had been eaten by mice. Some writers suppose; that *Tirbakah* was no other than *Sabaco*, who had before confined himself to *Ethiopia*, and left the *Egyptian* crown to *Sethon* †.

From this time there is no mention of *Ethiopia* till about fifty years after, when it was reduced by *Efarbaddon*, king of *Assyria*, who governed both *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* three years, till his death; and in both kingdoms committed enormous cruelties. Upon the death of *Efarbaddon*, the *Ethiopians* revolted from the *Assyrians*, and maintained their independency till the days of *Cyrus*, who from *Xenophon* seems to have been master of *Ethiopia*, or at least a considerable part of it. They seem, however, quickly to have thrown off the *Persian* yoke, since we find *Cambyzes*, the son of *Cyrus*, engaged in a fruitless expedition against them. *Herodotus* relates, that before he undertook that expedition, he sent some of the *Ichthyophagi* to the king of the *Macrobi*, or long lived *Ethiopians*, with a design to learn the strength and condition of their kingdom. To conceal his views, he sent the king a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaster box of rich ointment, a vessel of palm wine, and other magnificent presents: but the *Ethiopian* was too acute not to penetrate the *Persian* monarch's

* *Sir Isaac Newt. Chron. Herod. l. 2. Diod. l. i. Plut. de lib. Athen. deipn.*

† *2 Kings 18. Herod. Diod. Plut. hist. of Egypt.*

design ; and therefore told the *Ichthyophagi* that he was no stranger to their errand ; and that, if *Cambyfes* entertained any sentiments of equity, he would never desire to offend those who had never injured him. *However*, added he, give him this bow from me, and let him know, that I advise him not to make war against the Macrobian Ethiopians till the Persians shall be able thus easily to draw so strong a bow ; and, in the mean time, to thank the Gods that they never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country. Then unbending the bow, he gave it to the ambassadors. He despised all the presents except the wine, which he owned excelled any liquor produced in *Ethiopia* ; intimating, that the Persians, short lived as they were, owed most of their days to so noble a cordial.

Ethiopia
threaten-
ed with an
invasion
by *Cam-*
byfes.

Cambyfes being extremely incensed at the answer returned by the *Ethiopian*, immediately, in a fit of distraction, ordered his troops to begin their march for *Ethiopia*, though they wanted all manner of provisions for their subsistence. The Persians had not far advanced before a famine began to prevail among them, which in the end so distressed them, that they were obliged to eat one another : so that *Cambyfes* found himself constrained to return after he had lost a great part of his army. It is probable that, if he could have penetrated to *Ethiopia*, he would have there met with a warm reception ; since, by the accession of a large body of *Egyptians*, in the reign of *Psanmiticus*, the *Ethiopians* must have been very formidable. For two hundred thousand *Egyptians*, posted in different places by that prince, to guard the frontiers on the sides of *Arabia*, *Assyria*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*, having not been relieved within the space of three years, deserted to the king of *Ethiopia*, who placed them in a country disaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take possession of their lands, *Herodotus* asserts that *Cambyfes* reduced some of the provinces of *Ethiopia* contiguous to *Egypt* in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned ; and that they, together with the *Troglodytes*, sent an annual present to the Persian monarch, consisting of two chænixes of unrefined gold, 200 bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* boys, and twenty elephant's teeth of the largest size, even to his time.

A body of
Ethiopians
serve un-
der *Xerxes*

Amongst the various nations that composed the vast army of *Xerxes*, *Herodotus* ranks the *Ethiopians*, both from *Asia* and *Africa*. These last were covered with the skins of lions and leopards, and armed with bows full four cubits long. They had also javelins pointed with goats horns, truncheons armed with iron, and a pointed lance hardened at one end by the fire. Their hair was more curled than that of other people. From this period to the dissolution of the Persian empire, nothing remarkable occurs of the *Ethiopians*.

Ptolemy
Evergetes
penetrates

Alexander the Great was prevented, by death, from undertaking an expedition against the *Ethiopians*, which, it is said, he intended. *Ptolemy Evergetes*, one of his successors in *Egypt*,

Egypt, having a passionate desire, in common with some of the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the *Nile*, with this view carried his arms into *Ethiopia*. Though the particulars of this expedition are nowhere related in history, yet that he subdued most if not all the powerful nations seated in *Ethiopia*, appears from an inscription copied on the spot, at the desire of *Elejbaan*, king of the *Ethiopians*, by *Cosmus Egyptius*, in the time of the emperor *Justin*.

First, He relates, that, at the entrance into the western part of the city, facing the road to *Axuma*, stood a chair of white marble, behind which there was a large stone, three cubits high, but considerably injured by time. This stone, and the chair contained a *Greek* inscription, part of which was to the following effect:

“*Ptolemy Evergetes* penetrated to the farthest parts of *Ethiopia*. He subdued *Gaza*, *Agame*, *Signe*, *Ava*, *Tiamo*, *Gambela*, *Zingabene*, *Angabe*, *Tiama*, *Athagaas*, *Calaa*, *Scmene*, *Lafine*, *Zaa*, *Gabala*, *Atalmo*, *Bega*, the *Tangaitæ*, *Anine*, *Metine*, *Sesea*, *Rausa*, *Solate*, and several other kingdoms. Among the nations he reduced, were some inhabiting mountains always covered with snow, and others seated on ridges of hills, from whence issued boiling streams.”

Gaza, in this account, seems to correspond with *Gheezæ*, a name of the kingdom of *Abassia* in use at this day amongst the natives. *Agame* and *Ava* seem to be the same with *Agamia* and *Afa*, two prefectures of the present kingdom of *Tigre*. An affinity is likewise found betwixt other names on the inscription and those used by the moderns*.

It is probable that *Ptolemy* abandoned his southern conquests, as from this time we find no mention of the *Proper* *Ethiopians* till the days of *Augustus*. About the year of Rome 725, when *Ælius Gallus* had drawn most of the *Roman* forces out of *Egypt* in order to invade *Arabia*, *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, made an irruption into the province of *Thebais* with a numerous army. She herself headed her troops in this expedition, and at first met with great success; ravaged all the country as she advanced; took *Syene*, *Elephantine*, and *Philæ*, the *Egyptian* frontiers on the side of *Ethiopia*, and made three *Roman* cohorts garisoned therein prisoners of war. *Petronius*, the governor of *Egypt*, advancing against her, she retired into her own dominions; where she received a deputation from the *Roman* general; who asked the reason of the late hostilities; demanded restitution of the prisoners and effects, and particularly of the statues of *Augustus* carried off from the cities above-

* Ludolf. ut supra. Cosm. Egypt. in Topograph. Christian. 16
Grand Dissert. iii. Chish. Antiq. Asiat.

mentioned. *Candace* not giving a satisfactory answer, *Petronius*, though he had only ten thousand men, immediately attacked the *Ethiopians*, whose army consisted of thirty thousand, and entirely defeated them. *Efelcha*, which was near the field of battle, soon after surrendering, *Petronius* advanced to *Premnis*, a fortress of great strength, which he made himself master of; and afterwards took and razed *Napata*, where *Candace* held her residence. Her son, however, found means to make his escape. The queen despairing of being able to oppose the *Roman* arms, proposed an accommodation; but *Petronius*, on account of the excessive heats and a want of provisions, being obliged to return to *Alexandria*, the conferences were broken off.

Candace, upon his departure, besieged *Premnis*; but, being baffled in her attempts upon that place, she dispatched an embassy to *Petronius*, who sent her deputies to *Augustus*. That prince gave the *Ethiopian* ambassadors a most gracious reception, and granted their mistress a peace upon her own terms.

Though *Augustus* restored all the towns held by his troops, and remitted the tribute which *Petronius* either did or would have exacted from *Candace*; yet the *Romans* now looked upon themselves as masters of *Ethiopia*, and complimented *Augustus* on the reduction of *Africa*. For several years after, no material alteration happened in the affairs of the kingdom of *Meroe*, which seems to have been the *Ethiopia* known to the *Romans*. Queens still continued to govern there, as appears from scripture.

Christianity introduced into *Ethiopia* Many writers of good authority suppose, that, about the nineteenth or twentieth year of the reign of *Tiberius*, the Christian religion was introduced into *Meroe* by the eunuch baptized by *Philip*; who, upon his return home, they think converted his royal mistress to the Christian faith.

Little occurs concerning the *Ethiopians* for about two hundred years after this period. *Julius Spartianus* relates that the emperor *Heliogabalus*, by way of diversion, frequently confined his most intimate friends, for whole nights together, with little old *Ethiopian* women; saying, That these women were the most beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of *Christ* 220, there was an intercourse between the *Roman* empire and the *Ethiopians*. About fifty years afterwards, *Probus* undertook an expedition against the *Blennyas*, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering on the frontiers of *Thabais*; vanquished and sent many of them prisoners to *Rome*.

The *Blennyas* conquered by *Probus*. Towards the close of the third century, *Dioclesian* finding his revenue in *Upper Egypt* scarce sufficient to maintain the garrisons placed there to protect them against the *Ethiopians*, assigned the *Nubate* lands in the *Roman* dominions, and gave both them and the *Blennyas* a considerable annual sum to be

fit from their former practices. They nevertheless, according to *Procopius*, continued pillaging the *Roman* subjects till the time of *Justinian*, who ordered *Narses*, the commander of the garrison in *Philæ*, to demolish the temples of the barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to *Byzantium*; which orders he therefore accordingly executed*.

Procopius also affirms, that, before the reign of *Dioclesian*, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire extended so far into *Ethiopia* that they were not above 23 days journey distant from *Axuma* the capital. Nothing after this is recorded of the *Ethiopians* for a long series of years. The modern *Abassines* inform us that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of *Bazen*, a prince of the *Solomonican* line; and the twenty-fourth from *M-nilech*, surnamed *El Hakim*; that is, *the Wise*; or, *the Son of the Wise*. They likewise enumerate thirteen kings, whose reigns amounted to three hundred and twenty-seven years, betwixt *Bazen*, *Abreha*, and *Atzbeha*, who sat upon the throne when *Fruventius* carried the light of the Gospel into *Abassia*. *Fruventius*, according to some, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. *Matthew*, who had applied himself to the conversion of the *Nubians*; among whom the eunuch of *Candace* first sowed the seeds of Christianity. Of the planting of the Christian faith in *Abassia*, whither St. *Matthew* could not reach, *Rufinus* and others have given us the following relation,

Mercapius, the philosopher, a native of *Tyre*, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffic, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy. This man, after having wandered over all *India*, in his return home was either murdered by the natives, or died a natural death in an island in the *Red Sea*. *Fruventius* and *Ædissus*, two of his kinsmen, who had accompanied him, falling into the hands of the barbarians, were brought before the king, who, on account of their talents and industry, honoured and advanced them. *Fruventius* was appointed treasurer, and *Ædissus* his butler; in which posts they behaved themselves with so much applause, that, upon the king's death, the management of public affairs was committed entirely to *Fruventius* during the minority of the king's son. He made use of his new authority to bring the people of the island to the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST; and granting great privileges to some Christian merchants that traded betwixt that island and *Abassia*; he thereby excited a desire in the *Abassines* of being instructed in the principles of Christianity. *Fruventius* having obtained leave to depart from the island went to *Alexan-*

* *Bio. August. script.* Calmet in voce *Candace*. *Procop. de bel. Pers.* *Strab.* l. xvii.

dria, where he was consecrated bishop of *Axuma* by *Athenasius*, the patriarch; and arriving at *Ethiopia* about the year of our Lord 335, baptized vast numbers of the *Abassines*; ordained deacons and presbyters; built churches, and made converts in almost every part of that vast region. The *Ethiopic* book at *Axuma*, held in the highest veneration by the *Abassines*, agrees in the main with this relation. However, according to an oriental author of some note, either the nation in general, or at least the court and noblesse, afterwards relapsed into paganism, but embraced again the Christian religion about the fourth year of the emperor *Justin*, in the year of Christ 521*.

Abra and *Asba* re-
fuse to
admit A-
rianism,
Abreha and *Atsbeha*, or *Abra* and *Asba*, who jointly swayed the sceptre, are greatly celebrated by the *Ethiopian* historians, particularly on account of the singular harmony that reigned betwixt them. *Constantius* the emperor used many expedients to introduce Arianism into *Ethiopia*, and sent ambassadors to those kings in order to prevail with them to put *Frumentius* into the hands of the Arian bishop of *Alexandria*; but they refused to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines, as well as person, with an unshaken resolution. His conduct amongst them was so mild and amiable, that they called him *Abba Salamah*, the *peaceful father*.

The *E-*
thiopians
conquer
the *Homerites*.
History is silent as to the *Ethiopian* affairs from the reign of *Constantius* to the time of the famous *Elefbas*, or *Elefbaan*, called *Caleb* by the *Abassines*, who seems to have been the same prince with *Adad*, or *Aidog*. This conqueror having concluded a peace with an *Indian* prince named *Xenodon*, or *Axenodon*, with whom he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the *Homerites*, or *Sabæans*, in *Arabia Felix*, by vanquishing in battle *Dunawas*, *Dunaan*, or *Dhu Nowas*, the last king of that people, who was of the Jewish religion. *Elefbaan*, during this war, made a solemn vow to become a Christian, in case he proved victorious: he therefore, upon his victory, embraced the faith of CHRIST, and placed a Christian prince upon the throne of the *Homerites*. After this prince's death, which happened in winter, when the *Ethiopians* could not transport a body of forces into *Arabia*, *Dunaan* seized upon the throne, and began a violent persecution against the Christians, great numbers of whom he put to death by the most exquisite tortures. *Elefbaan* being excited by letters from the *Alexandrian* patriarch, to espouse the cause of the persecuted Christians, transported an army over the *Red Sea*, and was favoured by God with a complete victory, which gave the *Abassines* the possession of

* Ludolf. ut supra. Baronii annal. ad an. 523. Aflernan. bibl. Orient.

Arabia Felix, till the time of *Abd al Notaleb*, the grandfather of *Mahomet*.

The Mahometan writers generally agree, that *Atzham*, or *Asbamah*, the *Najashi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, during *Mohammed*'s mission, did not only take under his protection a considerable number of *Mohammed*'s friends, when driven into banishment, but likewise became a convert to the new religion of that impostor. There is, however, great reason to doubt the truth of this relation, as the *Ethiopians*, as well as those authors who have written the histories of the patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and of the *Saracens*, are entirely silent on this head.

Gebra Meskel, successor to *Elesbaan*, according to an *Ethiopian* poet often cited by *Ludolfus*, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions, though we have no particulars of his conquests. During a good part of his reign, however, his subjects enjoyed the sweets of peace, which was owing chiefly to the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. *Procopius* relates, that the emperor *Justinian* entered into an alliance with him, and that even then the *Axumites*, or *Ethiopians*, were so little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they crossed the *Streights* of *Bab al Mandab* in rude vessels consisting of nothing but planks or boards fastened together with ropes. Next to *Gebra Meskel*, whom the *Abassines* represent as a pious king, one *Constantine* ascended the throne, and after him one *Fresenna*, whose name imports *good fruit*. History is quite silent as to any material transactions of the *Ethiopians* during the interval between *Fresenna* and *Deload*, who reigned about the year of *Christ* 960, about which time the usurpation of the *Zagean* family commenced*.

* *Ludolf*. in comment. hist. Eth. *Marraccius* in prodrom.
Procop. de bell. Pers.

B O O K XIX.

The antient History of the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Ger-
mans*, and of the several northern barbarous Na-
tions, who invaded, and at length ruined, the *Ro-
man Empire*.

C H A P. I.

The antient History of the Spaniards.

The li-
mits of
Spain.

ANTIENT *Spain*, including *Lusitania* and *Portugal*, was surrounded on one side by the ocean, and on the other by the *Mediterranean*. Being joined to the continent of *Europe* only by the *Pyrennes* on the North, it may be considered as a large peninsula; and it extended about six hundred miles in length, and five hundred and eighty in breadth. *Spain*, by the generality of *Greek* writers, was called *Iberia*, not probably, as *Varro* supposes, from a colony of *Iberians*, a people bordering upon Mount *Caucasus*, planted there, but from the *Iberus*, the *Ebro* of the moderns, one of the most noted rivers of this country. The antients before *Polemius*, however, understood by *Iberia* only that part of *Spain* extending from the *Pyrennes* to *Calpe*, or the *Straits* of *Gibraltar*, the other part being unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and consequently going under no name amongst them. The proper *Iberia* probably was originally only that part of *Spain* called *Celtiberia*, from a body of *Celts* settling in it, bounded by the *Iberus* the *Pyrennes*, and the *Mediterranean*.

The
country,
whence
called
Spania.

The generality of *Spanish* writers derive its present name from *Hisbar*, the son of *Hercules*, or *Hispal*, one of their fabulous kings. Father *Briet* deduces the name from *Fan*, the lieutenant of *Bacchus*, to which the syllable *his*, which in the *Teutonic* tongue signifies *West*, was added to denote its situation with respect to the rest of *Europe*. According to *Bechart*, *Spain* was named by the *Phœnicians* *Spanija*, or *Spania*, from *Shappar*, or *Span*, a rabbit, because it abounded with those animals. *Casaubon* and *Salmasius* inform us, that in many manuscripts of *Curtius*, *Justin*, *Capella*, *Spelman*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Athenæus*, and others, for *Hispania* is read *Spania*, which it is probable the *Romans* deduced from the *Spanija* of the *Phœnicians*. Moreover, that this country, or at least a considerable part of it, produced rabbits in vast abundance, appears from *Varro*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ælian*, and many other writers of good authority, who tell us of an immense damage those creatures had done this country by spreading their burrows so far as to undermine and overturn whole cities. From its western situation *Spain* was likewise
sometimes

sometimes called by the ancients *Hesperia*, and *Hesperia Ultima*, which appellation it had in common with *Italy**.

Spain, before the *Carthaginians* made any conquests there, was inhabited by many cantons independant on each other, and governed by their own princes. But what was the number of these, or into how many provinces the *Carthaginians* divided that part of *Spain* subject to them, is uncertain. The first division of *Spain* made by the *Romans* was into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, which two provinces, however, they afterwards united in the beginning of the *Macedonian* war. They again disjoined them in the consulare of *Q. The three* *Ælius Patus*, which last disposition was again changed by chief di-
Augustus, who divided *Hispania Ulterior* into two provinces, visions of
namely *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, and affixed the name of *Tara-* *Spain.*
conensis Provincia to *Hispania Citerior*.

Lusitania was bounded on the west by the ocean; on the Theboun-
south, by the *Anas*; on the north, by the *Durius*, or *Douro* darics of
of the moderns; but on the east its limits seem not to have *Lusitania.*
been certainly fixed. It was inhabited by several people,
namely, the *Lusitani*, who lay next the ocean; the *Cellici*,
or *Mirobrigenses*, who inhabited betwixt the *Anas* and the
Tagus; the *Vettones*, who lay on the east betwixt the *Tagus*
and the *Durius*; the *Carpetani*, the *Turduli*, and *Turdetani*,
which last occupied a considerable part both of *Lusitania* and
Bætica. This province contained many cities, the princi-
pal of which were the following. *Olisippo*, now *Lisboa*, and
by us *Lisbon*, was situated at the mouth of the *Tagus*, and
being corruptly named *Ulisippo* by several of the ancients,
some have thence imagined, that it was built by *Ulysses* on
his return from the *Trojan* war. But this ought to be looked
upon as a mere fiction. Its name may be derived with
great probability from the two *Phœnician* words *Olis ippo*,
which signify the pleasant bay. *Talabriga* was situated upon
the *Vagus*, and *Langobriga* between the *Vagus* and the *Du-*
rius, not far from the sea-coast. *Araducta*, or *Ara Traducta*,
was a *Roman* town standing to the west of *Langobriga*. *Co-*
nimbrica, now *Coimbra*, lay upon the southern bank of the
Alenda, and betwixt it and the *Tagus* were situated *Arabri-*
ga, *Sellium*, and *Concordia*. Betwixt those rivers also lay
Collippo, a *Roman municipium*, and *Scalabis*, another *Roman*
colony; not far from which place stood *Aritium Prætorium*,
and *Hierabriga*. On the southern bank of the *Tagus* stood
Norba Cæsarea, a town of repute during the government of
the *Romans* in *Spain*. On the *Formis*, which emptied itself
into the *Durius*, was seated *Salmantica*, calied at this day
Salamanca, and famous all over the world for its university,
which has long been deemed the principal seat of literature

* Cellar & Cluver. in Geogr. antiq. Strab. l. 3. Plin. l. 3.
Polyb. l. 3. Bochart. Chan. Mel. l. 1.

in Spain. *Augusta Emerita*, the capital of this province in the Roman times, stood upon the *Anas*, and was built by a body of superannuated soldiers, to whom *Augustus* assigned a district in *Lusitania*. *Ebora*, now *Evora*, lay betwixt the *Anas* and *Tagus*, and was a *Latin municipium*. *Pax Julia* the *Beja* of the Romans, stood in the southern part of the province, near the frontiers of the *Turdetani*. The *Lacabriga* of *Mela* stood under the *Promontorium Sacrum*, now *Cape St. Vincent*. It is at present a village, called *Lagoa*, near the city called *Lagos*. The names of many other towns may be found in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Antoninus*, *Mela*, and *Strabo* *.

The *Lusitanians* are said to have preferred the living upon plunder, rather than the cultivation of their lands, though naturally fertile and rich. In other cases, their manner of living was rude and simple. They used to warm themselves by means of some fire-stones made red hot. They bathed in cold water, eat but of one dish at a meal, and that but very sparingly. Their dress was commonly black. In traffic they either bartered one commodity for another, or for some plates of silver flatted with the hammer, and cut into pieces. They used, like the *Egyptians*, *Gauls*, and other antient nations, to expose their sick on the highways, that travellers as they passed might give them their advice. They were robust and stout, and so warlike, that the *Romans* did not conquer them without great difficulty and length of time †.

The only mountain of note in this country seems to have been the *Mons Herminius* of *Hirtius*, now *Sierra de Estrella*, which is a long mountainous ridge running from north to south, between the provinces of *Beira* and *Tra los montes*. On the top are two lakes of vast extent, and very deep, one particularly, which none has yet been able to fathom. As they are calm when the sea is calm, and rough when it is stormy, and as wrecks of ships are sometimes thrown up by their waves, they are thence judged to have a subterraneous communication with the ocean, which is within four miles distance. The principal rivers of *Lusitania* were the *Anas*, the *Tagus*, the *Durius*, the *Munda*, and the *Vacus*, now named the *Guadiana*, the *Tajo*, the *Douro*, the *Mondega*, and the *Vega*.

The li-
mits of
Bætica.

The province of *Bætica* was so called from the famous river *Bætis*, now the *Guadalquivir*, or great river, which divided it into two parts. On the west it had *Lusitania*, on the south the *Mediterranean* and the gulph and bay of *Gades*;

* See also Laur. Andr. Refend. in Antiq. Lusitan. Gruter. inscript.

† Mela. l. 2, 3. Cellar, Geogr. Briet. Parallel. Laur. Andr. Refend. in Antiq. Lusitan. Vasseri Chron. Zaiaph, de reg. Hisp.

and on the north, the *Cantabric* sea, now the *Bay of Biscay*. Its exact limits towards the north-east, or province of *Tarraco*, cannot be ascertained. In the southern parts, along the *Mediterranean* coasts were situated the *Bastuli*, *Bastitani*, and *Contestani*; and on the other side of the *Bætis* lay the *Turdetani*. The names of many other nations who inhabited this province are given us by *Cellarius*, and some Spanish authors have endeavoured to ascertain the situation of their cities and towns. In this province, which contained what we now call *Andalusia*, part of the kingdom of *Granada*, and the outward boundaries of *Estremadura*, and was the most fertile and the pleasanter of all the rest, the *Romans* had four tribunals, namely, *Gades*, *Corduba*, *Astigi*, now *Ecija*, and *Hispal*, now *Seville*. They had besides one hundred and thirty cities, among which, nine were stiled colonies, eighteen were municipal, twenty-nine enjoyed the franchise of *Latium*, six were free cities, three were allied, and one hundred and twenty tributary.

The chief river in this province was the *Bætis*, and tho' it abounds with mountains of a considerable length and height, yet few of them are mentioned by antient authors. *Ptolemy* takes notice of two only, the *Mariani* and *Hipylæ*. The former run along the famed desert of the same name, now known by that of *Sierra Morena*. The latter run along the territories of *Hispal*, where they were called *Illipa*; but as they came nearer to *Corduba*, they got the name *Themarini* and *Orthosdada*. They all abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead. The inhabitants of this province were healthy and long-lived, and knew so little of physic, that they used to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of travellers. Their very women were so robust and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered. The *Bæticans* bred great quantities of cattle and horses, the latter of which they managed with great dexterity in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine, it is said, was so very rich and fine, that it could not be used either for food or drink, nor even for making of cheese, without some mixture of water. The province abounded with medicinal springs, some of which rose so hot, as even to exceed boiling water.

The third province of *Spain*, named *Taracensis*, was by Limits of far the largest, and was bounded on the east by the *Medi-Taraco*. *terranean*; on the west, by the ocean and *Cantabrian* sea; and on the north, by the *Pyrenæan* mountains. Its exact limits towards *Lusitania* and *Bætica* can hardly be determined. The famed river *Iberus*, now the *Ebro*, ran almost across the whole province, which contained a great number of cities, and a variety of nations. Along the south-west side of the *Iberus* were seated the *Celtiberians*, the antientest, and by far the

the most considerable of all the nations of this province. The names of the different tribes are given us by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Cellarius*, and others.

The following colonies of note were in process of time planted amongst the *Celtic* settlements. In *Asturia* was the famed *Colonia Augusta*, which divided the *Astures* into *Augustanos* and *Transmontanos*. The next was the colony of *Calaguris*, distinguished by *Pliny* by the name of *Nascica*, and rendered infamous among the *Romans* for the murder of the brave *Sertorius*. *Grachuris*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* among the chief cities of the *Vascones*, was built by *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who took it from the *Celtiberians*, and called it by his name. Another colony, named *Intercata*, was a town of the *Vaccæi*, and was celebrated by the antient authors for a single combat which was fought before its walls between *Scipio Æmilianus* and a bold *Spanish* tribune, in which the latter was killed.

The capital city of the province was *Tarraco*, now *Tarragon*, which lay on the *Mediterranean* coast, between the *Iberus* and the *Rubricatus*. Though it is allowed by the *Spanish* writers, that the two *Scipios*, *Publ.* and *Corn.* planted a colony here, yet they carry up the antiquity of the city much farther, and even place its origin as high as *Hercules*.

Below *Tarraco* was the famed city of *Saguntum*, and a little farther south lay *Valentia*, the capital of the *Edetani*. It was founded about three miles from the sea by *Junius Brutus*, who gave it to his army. Near the head of the *Tagus* was situated the *Mentua* of *Ptolemy*; not far from which spot the town of *Madrid*, the present metropolis of *Spain*, is supposed to have been since built. Besides the famous *Pyrenean* mountains, which divided this province from *Gaul*, there were the *Iberian* hills, from whence flowed several rivers; and the *Orstedan* ridge, which were part of the *Mariani* mountains*.

The
islands be-
longing to
Spain.

Among the chief islands belonging to the *Tarraconian* province were *Gades*, *Erythia*, the *Baleares*, and the *Pityusæ*. *Gades* was situated between the *Streights* of *Gibraltar* and the mouth of the *Bætis*, and was not so much famed for its bigness, as for its city and temple, and for the great concourse of foreign nations thither from the earliest times. *Erythia* where *Geryon* is said to have kept his fine oxen, which *Hercules* stole from him, is now very hard to be found. Some have placed it near that of *Gades*; others think it was the same with it; and others have thought, that it was either sunk into the sea, or was to be sought for among the rocks. By others it is placed more southerly off the west coast of *Mauritania*. The *Baleares* were distinguished by *Mela* into *Majores* and *Minores*, now *Majorca* and *Minorca*. Farther

* *Plin.* l. 4. *Strab.* *Ptol.* *Mela.* ut supra. *Cellar.* *Gerund.* l. v. towards

towards the *Streights*, over against the cape *Dianium*, lay the *Pignus*, now called *Ivica* and *Formenteria*, which we formerly mentioned in the *Carthaginian* history. This province, *Pliny* tells us, was divided into seven *conventus*, or provincial assemblies, and contained seventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve *Roman*, and eighteen *Latian* cities, and one hundred and thirty-five *stipendiaria*, or garisons, in the *Roman* pay, and one confederate city.

According to the *Spanish* writers, *Tubal*, the fifth son of *Japhet*, came and peopled *Spain* so early as one hundred and forty-three years after the flood. The *Celtes*, who were the descendants of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, are indeed supposed to have penetrated into the western parts of *Europe* very early ; and it is evident, that some of them fixed in the northern parts of *Spain*. These first inhabitants worshipped one supreme being in groves consecrated to him. They believed a future state of rewards and punishments. They offered victims to the deity, and celebrated some festivals in honour of him. In most things they observed a great simplicity in all their religious rites, during a long series of ages, till by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into several of their superstitions. Very early, however, they adopted the bloody and barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices.

As this country, in process of time, was invaded, and partly possessed, by the *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, and others, it may be concluded, that the colonies from each would bring their own religion and customs with them, though some alterations in all probability would also be produced, as they would mutually communicate doctrines and notions to each other. The *Romans*, according to their usual policy, introduced their gods among the *Spaniards*; and afterwards some changes again happened, when the *Suevi*, the *Goths*, and the *Vandals*, conquered this country.

The *Spaniards*, from the earliest accounts, were found divided into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. Many of these were reduced and held in subjection by the *Carthaginians*, and others lived in alliance with them. When the *Carthaginians* were driven from *Spain* by the *Romans*, the *Spanish* princes, though they had been instrumental in occasioning that revolution, soon found themselves under a more slavish subjection. The *Romans* governed *Spain* by consuls, proconsuls, prætors, proprætors, and præsides, till the reign of *Tiberius*, if not longer. It continued under the government of forty-six emperors from *Augustus*, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to *Honorius*, in whose reign the *Romans* were expelled by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevi*. Under the *Roman* emperors *Spain* was divided into two provinces, but soon after reduced into one, though under several governors. About the reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, it began to be governed by comites or counts ; and, if

if any of these was forced to be absent from his jurisdiction; he left the care of it to substitutes, who were called *vicarii*. After the *Goths* obtained footing in *Spain*, the *Romans* governed the provinces there by *duces* and *prefecti*. Under the *Goths*, the *Spaniards* were governed by nineteen kings during the space of two hundred years. The *Suevi* reigned in *Gallicia*, according to *Isidorus* 177 years; and the united kingdoms of the *Goths* and *Suevi* lasted one hundred and twenty-seven years; that is, from the year of *Christ* 588, to 713; when the *Moors* put an end to the kingdom.

The valour and discipline of the *Spaniards*.

As the *Spaniards* were early divided into many petty kingdoms and some commonwealths, they doubtless were governed by settled maxims, or laws, which would be measures of their conduct in times of peace with regard to their neighbouring states. The *Spaniards*, by their wars with the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, acquired great expertness in military discipline, and all that related to war. The *Celtiberians*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, had such an excellent way of tempering the steel of which they made their weapons, that no shield or helmet could resist them. He likewise commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleness in giving and avoiding of blows; and adds, that they used the same defensive weapons with other nations.

Their learning and arts.

Considering the vast concourse of foreign nations into *Spain*, its excellent situation for trade and commerce, the great quantities of different metals which it afforded, it is very reasonable to suppose that the *Spaniards* began to cultivate the arts and sciences much earlier than any of their neighbours. According to *Strabo*, learning and the liberal arts began early to flourish here; for he relates that the *Turdetani*, a people of *Bætica*, were become very famous for them, and were possessed of a vast number of volumes of antiquity, and bodies of laws written in verse, and other pieces of poetry of about six thousand years standing; which last particular, however exaggerated, shews, at least, that there was some foundation for their claim.

Their language.

The original language of *Spain* was the old *Celtic*, which prevailed early in the western and northern parts of *Europe*. The *Spanish* language, no doubt, suffered alterations from those foreigners who made conquests in that country; but it suffered the greatest change under the *Romans*, who made it their constant practice to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their yoke. They founded schools, and even universities, where youth might be taught the *Latin* tongue, and the arts and sciences and, when that proved no inducement to inspire them with a fondness for it, more forcible means were used; so that, in time, almost the whole kingdom came to speak it as their mother tongue, except a few of the antient inhabitants, who retired into the wild and mountainous countries, where they remained unmolested. Under the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Spanish* language began by degrees

to be corrupted with their barbarisms, and to degenerate into the state in which we see it now; retaining, however, still more of the *Latin* than any other language of *Europe*.

We shall here mention a singular way which the *Spaniards* A singular way of observed in computing their time till within these three or four hundred years. Instead of reckoning from the birth of *Christ*, computing time or from the flood, or from the creation, they computed from a certain æra which took place in the time of *Augustus*, and in *Spain*. was even used by them in their ecclesiastical records. According to *Isidore*, bishop of *Seville*, the æra took place in the year in which, according to the Evangelist, *Augustus* ordered the world to be taxed; and it got its name, he says, from the *æs*, or copper coin, which was exacted by that decree. Archbishop *Usher* places the commencement of the æra about forty years before the birth of *Christ**.

The antient *Spaniards*, in the education of their children, were chiefly attentive to train them up to martial deeds, and to inspire them with a love of liberty and contempt of death. Their women, by being obliged to train up their children, contracted such an habit of bravery, that they seldom, or never, failed of shewing some signal examples of it to them as often as any opportunity offered itself. This country being not only excellently situated for commerce, but abounding with the richest commodities, was therefore invaded by almost all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. These invaders made settlements in the country, founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it. The antient *Spaniards* were brave, noble, magnanimous, and hospitable to an high degree. They were The character of sober, frugal, patient under hardships, jealous of their honour, and so famed for their faithfulness, that several of the the *Roman* emperors preferred them to other nations to be their *Spaniards*. life-guard. Though they did not imitate other nations of Celtic extract, in their sumptuous banquets, and much less in their excessive fondness for strong liquors, yet they had several vices in common with them, and those of pride and cruelty, superstition and laziness, are justly laid to their charge.

Though it is generally supposed that *Spain* was first peo- An account of pled by the *Celtes*, or descendants of *Gomer*, yet, according to the *Spanish* authors, their country had been governed by the first kings one thousand, two hundred, and twenty-six years before the arrival of the *Celtes*. Having adopted the fables of *Spain*, *Berosus*, they fetch their origin from *Tubal*, the fifth son of *Japhet*, who, they say, reigned in *Spain* from the year of the flood 143 to 258. They add, that, during his reign, *Noah*, called by prophane authors *Janus*, came into *Spain* and built

* Gerund. Paralip. Hispan. l. x. Vasei Chron. & Epist. ad Vaseum.

two cities; one of which he called by his own name *Noëia*, in *Gallicia*; and the other *Noega*, in *Asturia*, which last, to this day, retains the name of *Navia*. *Iberus*, the son of *Tubal*, reigned 37 years, and gave his name to the fine river that runs through *Celtiberia*. *Idubeda*, by some called *Juballa*, and *Jubalda*, the son of *Iberus*, reigned sixty-four years, and gave name to the famed *Idubedean* mountains.

Brigo, his son and successor, reigned fifty-two years, and left the kingdom to his son,

Tagus, who reigned thirty years, and gave name to the river of *Lusitania* which runs into the ocean at *Lisbon*. His son *Bætis* gave name to the river *Bætis*, and the province *Bætica*. He is said to have been surnamed *Turdetanus* on account of his introducing and encouraging of learning. The seventh king was *Geryon*, an *African*, or *Libyan*, of a gigantic stature and a bloody tyrant, began his reign in the year of the flood 514; and reigned, according to some, twenty-five, or, according to others, thirty-four years. *Osiris*, or *Dionysius*, king of *Egypt*, came against him with a powerful army; and, having defeated and killed him, divided his kingdom among his three sons, commonly called *the three Geryons*; exacting a strict promise from them, that they would reign amicably, and abstain from plunders, ravages and cruelties, for which he had so justly punished their father.

The three *Geryons*, who are said to have been all of one birth, and the last of the *Geryonic* race, reigned with such surprising concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that represents them with a three-fold body. They were slain, one after another, in the fortieth year of their reign, by *Hercules*, the son of *Osiris*, who suspected that they had been concerned in the death of his father. *Hercules*, it is said, in memory of this exploit, set up the columns between the *Calpean* and *Abylean* mountains; and, having left the government of *Spain* to his son *Hispal*, passed into *Italy*.

A new succession of *Spanish* kings began from *Hispal*, who is said to have reigned seventeen years, and to have built the city of *Hispal*, now called *Seville*. Idolatry, and the bloody rite of offering up human victims, are said to have been first introduced into *Spain* by his father *Hercules*.

Hispan, the son of *Hispal*, reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince, and to have chiefly resided in the city of *Gades*.

Upon *Hispan*'s death, his grandfather, *Hercules*, returned to *Spain*, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639, to 658. Before his death he bequeathed the *Spanish* kingdom to *Hercules*, one of his captains and companions; and dying was buried at *Gades*, where he was afterwards worshipped with great veneration.

Hesperus, after he had reigned in *Spain* eleven years, was driven from his kingdom by his brother *Atlas*, surnamed *Italus*

his, who had attended *Hercules* in all his expeditions, and was left by him in *Italy*.

Atlas reigned ten years in *Spain*, and then returned into *Italy*, where his brother was endeavouring to establish himself.

Orus, or *Sicorus*, the son of *Atlas*, reigned forty-five years, and gave his name to the river *Sicoris*, now the *Segre*, which falls into the *Ebre*. *Sicanus*, the son and successor of *Orus*, reigned thirty-two years; during which he is said to have carried his successful arms into *Italy* and *Sicily*, which island was from him called *Sicania*, and afterwards *Sicily* from his son and successor.

Sicleus, who reigned forty-four years. He is said to have performed very great feats in *Italy*, in assisting *Jasius*, the grandson of *Atlas*, who was then engaged in a war with *Dardanus*.

Lusus succeeded his father *Sicleus*, and, after reigning thirty years, left the kingdom to *Ulus*, or *Siculus*, whom some make the son of *Lusus*, others of *Atlas*. *Ulus* was a warlike prince, and kept up vast armies and fleets, with which he performed great feats both in *Italy* and *Sicily*, in defence of the *Spanish* colonies settled in those countries. After reigning sixty years he was succeeded by

Testa, an *African* or *Libyan*, who, according to the *Spanish* historians, was a good and wise prince, and reigned seventy-four years.

Romus succeeded his father *Festa*, and reigned thirty-three years. The city of *Rome*, afterwards called by the *Romans* *Valentia*, in the province of *Tarragona*, is supposed to be founded by him.

Palatuus, the successor of *Romus*, is supposed to have built the city of *Palantia*. After he had reigned eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquility, a famous warrior, named *Licinius Cacus*, dispossessed him of his kingdom; but, about thirty-six years after, was defeated near *Mount Cajo*; when *Palatuus* recovered the throne. *Palatuus*, after reigning seventy years, was succeeded by *Erythræus*, who was the last of the line of *Testa*.

The next prince was *Gargoras*, surnamed *Mellicola*, because, according to *Justin*, he found out the use of honey and the cultivating of bees. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, a wise prince, and a great promoter of industry. In his reign the famous city of *Troy* having been destroyed by the *Greeks*, many of the *Greeks* who were prevented from returning into *Greece*, came and settled in *Spain*. *Teucer*, the son of *Telamon*, settled first about *New Carthage*, and afterwards passed into *Gallicia*, and built the city of *Salamanca*. *Amphilochus* built *Amphiloqua*, now *Orense*, in *Gallicia*. *Diomedes* founded *Tydo*, now *Tuya*, on the banks of the *Minno*. *Astur* gave name to *Asturias*, *Ulysses* to

to *Ulyssippone*, or *Lisbon*, and *Monestheus* to a port on the coasts of *Andalusia* *.

To *Gargoras* succeeded *Habis*, his grandson by a daughter and a bastard; but, on account of his extraordinary merit, nominated to the throne by his grandfather. He first taught the *Spaniards* to plow their land with oxen; to sow and reap corn; to grind, knead, and then bake it into bread. He likewise gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them seven courts of judicature in seven cities of his kingdom. After his death, his kingdom continued in his posterity several centuries; but we are not to suppose that the whole continent of *Spain* was subject to one monarch, the succession we have mentioned taking place only in a considerable part of it, while the rest was governed by other petty princes.

The *Celtes* or *Gauls* settle in *Spain*.
A.C. 1649
About the year of the flood 699, the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*, are said to have come first into *Spain*; and, about twenty years after them, the *Rhodians*. Of the first it is said that they fought, for some time, with the *Iberians*, or antient *Spaniards*, about their settlements; but at length coming to an accommodation, they became so blended by intermarrying with each other as to be accounted one people under the name of *Celtiberians*. It is probable, however, that the *Iberians* were induced to come to an accommodation with these *Celtes* upon finding them of the stock, and using the same language, religion, and customs, with themselves.

Spain also invaded by other nations.
The *Rhodians* came to *Spain* by sea, and landing at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, built there a city to which they gave their name. The *Phœnicians* are likewise supposed to have settled about this time in *Spain*, and to have built several cities; after which they went and settled in the *Balearic* islands.

According to *Eusebius*, *Spain* was a second time invaded by the *Egyptians*, who held the dominion of the sea thirty-five years, and built *Tarracona*, so called from their leader, besides several other cities. The *Milesians* also, he says, held some government there for the space of twenty-nine years; next the *Carians*, forty-eight years; and after them the *Lesbians*, who built several cities and governed sixty-eight years. The *Phocians*, soon after the foundation of *Rome*, held the government forty-eight years in *Spain*, and from thence went to the south part of *Gaul*. Lastly, *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the conquest of *Judæa*, is affirmed, by *Josephus* and *Strabo*, to have reigned nine years in *Spain*; at the end of which, it is said, he abandoned it to the *Carthaginians*: though, according to the *Spanish* writers, a great part of his vast army settled there, and built cities and castles to which they gave *Chaldee* names,

* Ant. Nebrigenf. Garibay & Vas. ut supra. Justin. l. xliv. which

which may be still traced up to their original. Besides the kings already mentioned, there is notice taken of one *Arganthomius*, king of the *Tartessii*, who is said to have reigned at *Gades* full eighty years, and to have died in the one hundred and thirtieth, according to one; or the one hundred and fortieth, according to another antient author*.

This which we have related may be reckoned the fabulous The Car-
period of the *Spanish* history. From the coming in of the *thagini-*
Carthaginians it begins to turn more clear; and seems to be *ans in-*
supported by records which have enabled historians to treat vited into
of it with more distinctness. According to *Justin* and *Orosius*, *Spain* by
their conquest by the *Carthaginians* was occasioned by the Ty- the Zyri-
rians, who, having founded the city of *Gades*, and built a *ans.*
temple to *Hercules*, were so molested by the *Spaniards* that
they were forced to send to *Carthage* for help. *Meseus* ac-
cordingly sailed from thence to their assistance; and having
suppressed their enemies, made several settlements along that
coast. The *Carthaginians*, invited by the richness of the
country, and the vast treasures, both in gold and silver, with
which it abounded, eagerly pursued their conquests. The Their
renowned general *Hamilcar Barca* greatly extended their conquests
Spanish conquests, which were also enlarged by his sons *As-* in *Spain*
drubal and *Hannibal*. We must refer our readers to the *Ro-*
man and *Carthaginian* histories for an account of the transac-
tions of those generals in *Spain*. *Hannibal*, after destroying
Saguntum, having undertaken his fatal expedition into *Italy*,
the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Spain* began from that time to de-
cline. *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, being defeated by *Scipio*,
was forced to retire to *Gades*; where being again defeated at
sea, and betrayed by *Massinissa*, he, in despair, committed
such horrid cruelties as rendered him and his nation odious to
the *Spaniards* and *Romans*; while the two *Scipios*, on the con-
trary, by some signal instances of their politeness, acquired
the favour and esteem of the *Spaniards*. The *Scipios*, after
two decisive victories, retook *Saguntum*, which had been re-
built by *Hannibal*. These two *Scipios* being afterwards slain,
were succeeded by the younger *Scipio*.

The *Carthaginian* generals made several vain efforts to stop *Spain*, in
the progress of this young hero, and were as often defeated great part,
by him, as were also *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who had re- reduced
volted from him. *Africa* being afterwards invaded by the Ro- by the
mans, the *Carthaginians* were at last obliged entirely to aban- *Romans*,
don *Spain*, the greatest part of which was then brought under
the *Roman* yoke.

The *Romans* no sooner saw themselves unrivalled by the
Carthaginians in *Spain*, than they seized on all its valuable

* Euseb. Chron. Taraph. Garibay. Vaseus ut supra, Cic. de
Senect. Herod. Anacreon. Val. Max. &c.

who strip mines, especially those of silver and gold, and stripped it the inha- of immense wealth: for, in the space of nine years they bitants of fraught from thence one hundred and eleven thousand, five their hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, and four wealth. thousand and ninety-five pounds weight of gold, besides coin and other things of great value, though it had been severely fleeced both by them and the *Carthaginians* for near twenty years before (a).

'The *Spaniards* Referring our readers to the *Roman* history for an account of those transactions that happened in this country while *Spain* was subject to that republic, we shall only mention send an embassy to here one or two remarkable events. One of them is the grand *Alexander* embassy which the *Celtes* and *Spaniards* sent to *Alexander the Great* to congratulate him upon his vast successes; to beg his amity, and that he would send proper persons to adjust some differences that were amongst them. This embassy, it seems, was highly pleasing to that conqueror, who then heard of those nations for the first time, and having granted their request, sent them very honourably home †.

The next is that noble push which was made by the *Celtiberians* in *Lusitania*, to suppress the *Roman* tyranny, and, if possible, to drive those oppressive intruders quite out of *Spain*. The *Spaniards* then, in all probability, would have recovered their liberty, had not their leader *Viriatius*, whom *Florus* calls a shepherd, and *Orosius* a robber, been dispatched by the treachery of *Servilius Cæpio*. His untimely death put an end to all farther opposition; and the *Romans*, by their cruel and treacherous conduct, so far suppressed that noble love of liberty for which this nation was justly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it, the *Spaniards* being at length forced to submit entirely to the laws, customs, and religion of their conquerors; though, as we mentioned, they were not entirely reduced till the time of *Augustus*.

† Arrian. *Geil. Alex. Mag.* l. vii. Orox. l. iii.

(a) Though the *Romans*, while they remained masters of *Spain*, never slacked their hands; but continually brought fresh supplies from thence; yet we do not find that it was at all exhausted: on the contrary, the northern nations were invited by its riches to come and drive out the *Romans*. When the *Carthaginians* first invaded *Spain*, *Strabo*

tells us, they found the *Spanish* utensils, and even their mangers, made of silver. One of the mines yielded *Hannibal* three hundred pounds weight of silver *per* day. And the *Phœnicians*, we are told, when they carried their first merchandize thither, received more silver in return than their ships could carry home*.

* *Arist. de mirab. auscul.* *Diod. Sic.* l. vi. *Vas. Chron.* *Strab.* l. iii. *Plin.* l. xxiii.

As the former part of the *Spanish* history has been anticipated by that of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; so the latter part more properly belongs to the history of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and others, who made conquests in this kingdom. We shall therefore barely mention the *Gothish* kings who reigned in *Spain* from *Ataulphus*, the brother of *Alaric*, king of the *Goths* in *Italy* down to *Rotheric*, the thirty-third king, by whom the *Saracens* were invited into *Spain*. Lastly, we shall subjoin a short account of those brave Christian princes who recovered, by degrees, their several kingdoms from the *Saracennian* yoke, concluding with *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, by whom *Spain* was reduced under one monarchy.

Ataulphus, the first *Gothish* king, having married the princess *Placidia*, sister to the emperor *Honorius*, was by him made prince of some provinces on both sides of the *Pyrenees*, and kept his court sometimes at *Barcelona* and sometimes at *Narbonna*. He was murdered by his treacherous subjects in the third year. *Sigeric*, his successor, was also murdered soon after, and succeeded by *Wallia* or *Aballia*, a warlike prince, who, having enlarged his dominions, died at the end of a three years reign. *Theodoret*, *Theodoric*, or *Thierri*, reigned thirty-one years, and was killed in a battle against *Attila*, the *Hun*. *Thorismond*, the son and successor of *Thierri*, drove *Attila* out of *France*; and, after three years reign, was basely murdered by his own brothers, one of whom, named *Theodoric II.* seized the throne. He being successful against the *Vandals* and *Saracens*, was likewise murdered by his brother, after reigning thirteen years. *Euric*, who reigned sixteen years, enlarged his dominions both in *France* and *Spain*, and left his crown to his son *Alaric*, who, after reigning twenty-three years, was killed by *Clovis*, king of *France*. His bastard son *Gezaleyk*, an usurper, reigned four years, and was expelled by *Amalaric*, the lawful son of *Alaric*, who reigned twenty-one years. The family of the *Visigoths* becoming extinct in *Amalaric*, *Theudis*, the *Ostrogoth*, was raised to the throne, but murdered soon after by a pretended madman. He was succeeded by *Theudisel*, of another family, who reigned only one year. *Agila*, the next prince, was defeated and killed, soon after his election to the throne, by *Athanagild*, who reigned thirteen years. After his death, *Liuba*, or *Liuvva*, was elected and reigned five years. *Lievigild* reigned four years in partnership with *Liuba*, his brother, and fourteen more after him. He joined the kingdom of the *Suevi* to his own, and was succeeded by *Ricared*, who, after reigning fifteen years, left the throne to his son *Liuvva II.* He was murdered, in the second year of his reign, by *Witteric*, who reigned seven years, and was also murdered. *Flavius Gundamar*, his successor, reigned only two years, and was succeeded by *Sisibut*, who subdued the *Asturians*, and died in the ninth year of his reign. *Ricared II.* his son, after reign-

Gothish
kings who
reigned in
Spain.

ing three months, was succeeded by *Flavius Swintila*, the son of *Ricared I.* who quite expelled the *Romans*, and became the first absolute master of all *Spain*. After a reign of ten years, *Sisenand* dethroned him, and reigned four years. He was succeeded by *Chintila*, who, after a four year's reign, left the throne to *Tulga*, who held it three years. *Flavius Chindaswind*, then seized on the crown by force, and held it seven years. His successor *Flavius Racefwinth*, reigned twenty-four years, and was succeeded by *Wamba*, or *Bamba*, and *Ubamba*, who was deposed by *Flavius Ervigius*, who reigned seven years. *Flavius Egica* reigned fourteen years, and left the throne to his son *Vitiza*, a most wicked tyrant, who, to keep his subjects from making an insurrection, caused all the walls and fortifications of his towns to be demolished, and all the arms that could be found in his dominions to be destroyed. After reigning ten years, he was succeeded by *Rotheric*, a prince no less wicked than his predecessor. He having ravished the daughter of his chief favourite Count *Julian*, the latter called in the *Saracens*, who bringing an army of six hundred thousand men, defeated him in action which lasted eight days; after which he was never more heard of. The victorious infidels, in about eight months over-ran the greatest part of *Spain*, which, before they were again expelled, they held seven centuries.

The
Christian
princes
who reco-
vered
Spain
from the
Moors.

The Christian princes who contributed to the shaking off the *Saraccan* yoke were those that follow. *Pelagio*, whose extraction is not known, became so powerful in *Biscay* and *Asturias*, that he gave the infidels several signal overthrows, for which he was raised to the royal dignity, which he held nineteen years. *Favila*, his son, reigned only two years, and left the throne to *Alonzo*, who had married his sister. He reigned eighteen years, and won thirty-four battles against the *Saracens*. *Fruela*, his son and successor, killed fifty-four *Moors* in one battle, greatly enlarged his dominions, and, after a reign of eleven years, was basely murdered by his brother *Aurelius*, who reigned six years. *Silon*, the successor of *Aurelius*, was elevated to the throne in right of his wife, the daughter of *Alonzo*, and enjoyed it nine years. *Mauregat*, his successor, was a bastard son of *Alonzo*, and held the throne five years by the help of the *Moors*. *Bermudo*, or *Veremundus*, a prince of the royal blood, enjoyed it six years. From him it passed to *Alonzo II.* a son of *Fruela*, who, during a reign of forty-eight years, gained very considerable advantages over the *Moors*, and was the first who stiled himself king of *Oviedo*. His successor was *Ramiro*, the son of *Bermudo*, who is said to have slain sixty thousand *Moors* at the battle of *Clavijo*, and, after reigning seven years, left the crown to his son *Ordonno*. He also gained great advantages over the *Moors*, and reigned twelve years. His son and successor *Alonzo III.* surnamed the Great, reigned forty-eight years.

years, and gained many victories over the *Moors*. *Garica*, his son, reigned only three years, and left the throne to his brother *Ordonno II.* who having gained several victories over the *Moors*, made the city of *Leon* the capital of his dominions. He was lineally descended from *Garcia Ximenes*, the first king of *Navarre*, who died in the year 758. Near about the same time we begin to read of the earls of *Castile*, who afterwards raised themselves to the royal title. Not many years after, the earls of *Barcelona* and *Aragon* imitated the example of those of *Castile* *. *Ordonno II.* being at length defeated by the *Moors*, as he was going to assist the king of *Navarre*, *Fruela II.* his brother, then seized on the crown, and held it about fourteen months, when it fell to *Alonzo IV.* the son of *Ordonno II.* who enjoyed it six years, and resigned it to his brother *Ramiro II.* He reigned twenty years, and is said to have slain eighty thousand of the *Moors* in one battle. *Ordonno III.* his son and successor, reigned five years, and was succeeded by his brother *Sancho*, who came to the crown by the assistance of the *Moors*, and was the first who exempted the *Spanish* gentry from taxes. He was poisoned after reigning twelve years. *Ramiro III.* his son, reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by *Bermudo II.* son to *Ordonno III.* The *Moors*, by the assistance of the treacherous earls of *Castile*, destroyed several considerable cities of his kingdom, yet did he at length overcome them. He reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son *Alonzo V.* who gained many victories over the *Moors*, but was at length slain at the siege of *Visco* in *Portugal*, after a reign of twenty-nine years. *Bermudo III.* his successor, lived in peace with the *Moors*. As he had no children, *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, compelled him, in hopes of gaining the succession of his kingdom, to give his sister *Sancha* to his son *Ferdinand*. *Bermudo*, after a reign of nine years, being killed in a battle against the king of *Navarre*, *Ferdinand* of *Castile* then seized on the kingdom of *Leon* in right of his wife. He took many considerable places from the *Moors*, whom he often defeated, and overthrew also his brother *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*. After reigning twenty-eight years, he died, having divided his dominions among his three sons. *Sancho*, the eldest, who had *Castile*, expelled his two brothers from *Leon* and *Galicia*, and soon after was slain at the siege of *Zamora*, an. 1073, in the seventh year of his reign. *Alonzo VI.* king of *Leon*, and I. of *Castile*, succeeded his brother *Sancho*. He reigned thirty-five years, and gained many places from the *Moors*, particularly *Toledo*, which he made his residence. His successor was *Alonzo VII.* king of *Aragon*, who had married his sister *Urraca*, the heiress to his dominions, but he being obliged to divorce her on account of her lewdness,

* Marian. hist. de Espan. Garibai & Vas. ut supra.
thereby

thereby lost his title to the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*, which thereupon fell to *Alonzo VIII.* the son of *Urraca* by her first husband, *Raymund* earl of *Burgundy*. *Alonzo*, in the fifteenth year of his reign, caused himself to be crowned emperor at *Toledo*. During his reign, which continued thirty-four years, he took many towns from the *Moors*. *Sancho*, his son, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Castile*, reigned only one year. His son, *Alonzo IX.* surnamed *the Good* and *the Noble*, married the princess *Eleanor*, daughter to *Henry II.* of *England*. He was a warlike prince, and gained many advantages over the *Moors*, two hundred thousand of whom he is said to have slain in one battle. After reigning fifty-six years, he was succeeded by his son *Henry*, who, after reigning three years, was killed by the fall of a tile from an house, in the fourteenth year of his age. *Ferdinand III.* surnamed *the Holy*, the son of his sister, succeeded him. This prince reigned thirty-five years, and was very successful against the *Moors*. He was succeeded by his son *Alonzo X.* surnamed *the Learned*, for his great knowledge in astronomy and other sciences. Though he was chosen emperor of *Germany*, yet he was prevented from going thither to be put in possession of the imperial dignity, by the commotions among his subjects in *Spain*. After reigning thirty-eight years, he died, and left his *Spanish* dominions in no small confusion. *Sancho IV.* surnamed *the Brave*, and second son of *Alonzo*, seized on the crown, for which he had a long and bloody contest with his two nephews, the sons of his elder brother. Having at length got the better of them, he reigned eleven years, and left his crown to his son *Ferdinand IV.* whose reign was filled with commotions on account of his bad title to the crown. He suppressed the knights templars, and having unjustly condemned two of them to death, they, at their execution summoned him to answer it before CHRIST's tribunal in thirty days. He accordingly died on the thirtieth day, after having reigned seventeen years. *Alonzo XI.* his son and successor, was a valiant and successful prince, and gained several places from the *Moors*, of whom two hundred thousand were slain at the battle of *Tariffa*. After reigning thirty-eight years, he was succeeded by his son *Peter*, surnamed *the Cruel*, who, after reigning nineteen years, was murdered by his bastard brother *Henry*, who, after reigning ten years, left the crown to his son *John*. This prince married *Beatrice*, the heiress of *Portugal*, and engaged in a war to assert his right to that crown against *John*, the bastard of king *Ferdinand*, who held it from him. He was killed in the eleventh year of his reign by a fall from his horse. His son, *Henry III.* surnamed *the Sickly*, succeeded him, and married the lady *Catherine*, daughter to *John of Ghent*, duke of *Lancaster*. He reigned sixteen years, and left the crown to his son *John II.* then an infant. Though the crown was offered by the rebellious nobility to his uncle *Ferdinand*, yet that

that prince not only generously refused it, but maintained his nephew on the throne till he was called to that of *Aragon*. *John*, after a troublesome reign of forty-eight years, left the crown to his son *Henry IV*. He was involved in great troubles by his rebellious subjects, who attempted to set up his younger brother *Alonzo* on the throne. That prince dying, part of the malecontents submitted; but the rest offered the crown to his sister *Elizabeth*, and obliged him at length to declare her his heiress, though he had a daughter of his own, named *Joanna*. After reigning twenty years, he was succeeded by *Ferdinand*, son to *John*, king of *Aragon*, who had married *Elizabeth*, or, as she is commonly called, *Isabella*, heiress of *Castile*, and by that means united the two crowns of *Aragon* and *Castile* in himself and his successors *.

* Marian. hist. de Espanna. Mendez. Sylv. Catalogue genealog. Garibai & Vaf. ut supra.



C H A P. IV.

The History of the GAULS, to their Conquest by Julius Cæsar, and from thence to the Irruption of the Franks.

THE Gauls are universally allowed to have been a nation of the *Celtes*, or the descendants of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*. Though they spread over great part of *Gaul*, *Europe*, and were known by various appellations, yet in the times of the *Roman* republic, their chief seat was looked upon to be the same with the modern *France*, and the low countries with the greatest part of *Lombardy*; and the names they were best known by were those of *Gauls* and *Celtes*. *Gaul*, in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, was bounded on the east by part of the *Alps* and the river *Var*; on the south, by the *Mediterranean* and the *Pyrenean* mountains; on the west, by the *Atlantic* ocean; and on the north by the *British* channel and the *Rhine*. The antient names of the *Gauls* were *Cimerians*, *Cimbrians*, *Cumbrians*, which are supposed to be corruptions of their most antient appellation, namely *Gomerians*, by which the *Welch* still distinguish themselves. Antient *Gaul*, when the *Romans* first invaded it, is generally allowed to have been in as flourishing a condition as any other in *Europe*, excepting *Greece* and *Italy*. They seem indeed not to have had either vines, olives, or any other fruit and

and grain, except corn,, till after the times of the *Roman* emperors; but it appears plainly from experience, that those deficiencies were not owing to the coldness of their climate, and the rigours of their seasons, which were looked upon as extreme by the antients*.

The religion of the antient *Gauls*.

They worship'd a supreme deity under the name of *Esus*.

The *Greek* and *Roman* writers have scarce left us any accounts of the religion of the antient *Gauls*, which indeed is not much to be wondered at, considering that the *Gauls* made it a constant rule never to commit any thing to writing, and that their *Druids*, or *Bards*, made it a main part of their policy to conceal their religion, at least the most considerable points of it, even from their own laity. The *Gauls*, it is evident, antiently adored a supreme being, under the name of *Esus*, which perhaps is only a corruption of the *Celtic* word *Dhew*, from which the *Greeks* probable borrow'd their *Θεός* and *Ζεύς*, and the *Romans* their *Deus*, the *s* being part of the *Greek* and *Roman* termination, and the *Dh* being pronounced like a soft *Th*. The belief of a Supreme Being was religiously preserved by their *Druids*, who nevertheless suffered the worship and images of inferior deities. Though the *Druids* connived at the abominable ceremonies and barbarous and inhuman rites that by degrees prevailed among the people, and were practis'd by them; yet the worship of the true God was still carefully kept up among them, and the oak esteemed the symbol of the Deity.

No temples erected to him by the *Gauls*.

It will not be thought strange, that this notion of a supreme being should have been preserved among the descendants of *Japheth*, when we find such lively traces of it even among the idolatrous *Syrians*, *Midianites*, and *Canaanites*, as in the family of *Laban*, *Jethro*, and the two *Abimelechs*, in the times of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. The *Gibeonites* in *Joshua's* time, *Adonibezek* in the time of the *Judges*, and *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, also all retained the notion of a supreme being, notwithstanding their idolatry, but had likewise a peculiar name distinct from those of their other gods. The *Gauls*, it may be observed, in the midst of the gross superstitions which crept by degrees into their religion, never erected any temples or idols unto this *Esus*, or supreme deity. From the account which *Tacitus* gives of the *Senones*, who were a *Gallic* nation, it appears, that they had very sublime notions of the supreme being. They, says that author, have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unless he carries a chain in token of his dependance on God, and as an acknowledgment of the supreme dominion, which he has over him. If a person

* *Pezron. Ant. Celt. Var. & Columel. de re Rust. Strab. l. 4. Diod. l. 5.*

chance to fall down in the grove, none must dare to help him up; but he must either roll himself, or crawl upon his belly out of the place. Their whole religion, he adds, consisted in an acknowledgment, that the deity which makes his abode there governs all things, and that all things depend on him, and ought to obey him. *Strabo* relates much the same of the *Celtiberians*, another branch of the *Celtes*, and adds, that they worshipped the God without a name, and danced every full moon before their houses all the night, in honour of him.

As the *Gauls* worshipped the Supreme Deity under groves of oak trees, they, in common with the old patriarchs and *Jews*, had a great veneration for that tree. *Abraham* is recorded to have pitched his tents under some famed oaks. He is also said to have planted groves of them. The oaks under which *Abraham* dwelt were still shewn in *Constantine's* time, and resorted to with great devotion by Christians, *Turks*, and even Heathens*.

The patriarchs probably resorted to those trees only for the sake of the shade; but, among both *Celtes* and *Gauls*, the oak was looked upon, and revered, as an emblem of the Deity, or as his peculiar residence. The fruit of it, especially the mistleto, which grows upon it, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, and was used as a kind of universal medicine for man and beast, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly. The leaves, or some small boughs, of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were constantly performed under oaks. The oaky groves were of different forms, and in their centre there was an area, open at the top, and encompassed with several rows of these oaks set very thick and close. Within the large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded, as is supposed, with large stones, which served for the sacrifices and other most solemn parts of their worship. In the centre of these small circles, or near it, were placed solid stones of a large size and convenient height, which were surrounded with another row of stones. Some of the interior circles are by some thought to have served for their courts of judicature, and for their grand council, or assembly; but others imagine that they were wholly appropriated to religious purposes.

A French author has remarked a surprising conformity betwixt the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and *Jews*, in very many particulars. The *Gauls* had a sovereign pontif, or head, of the druidish order, to whom both these and the whole nation paid the highest regard. The *Jews* also had their high-priest, and even *Abraham* paid tythes of the spoil to the priest *Melchizedech*. The druids, under their chief, An affinity between the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and *Jews*.

* Genes. c. xxviii. Judg. c. vi. Nic. Damas. Joseph. &c. had

had such an uncontrollable sway, that whoever refused to submit to their decisions, even in civil matters of the greatest concern, was interdicted from assisting at their solemnities, which, to them, was the greatest punishment. Excommunication, which was the greatest punishment among the *Jews*, was also denounced by the high-priest against contumacious offenders. The druids were obliged to assemble themselves once a year, in the territories of *Chartrain*. The males among the *Jews*, during their three grand festivals, were obliged to repair to *Jerusalem*. Both the druids and *Jewish* priests wore white garments. The druids lived in woods and groves, and so, generally, did the patriarchs, the sons of the prophets, and the *Essenians*, a kind of monks among the *Jews*.

The *Gauls* had their female druids, some of whom were in high repute among them, and bore a great sway in the government. The *Jews* also had many prophetesses, and *Deborah* was a famed judge in *Israel*. The *Gauls* vowed to *Mars* some parts of the spoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. In like manner the *Israelites* were to abstain from the spoil of those cities and kingdoms which were subject to *Anathema*. The *Gauls* worshipped a brazen bull; and the *Israelites* golden calves. The *Gauls*, as well as the Patriarchs and *Jews*, had power of life and death over their servants. They also began their days from the evening, and distinguished the year only into three seasons; namely, spring, summer, or harvest, and winter. The *Gauls* believed the immortality of the soul; so that no people under heaven could shew a greater contempt of death. The Patriarchs and *Jews*, if we except the Sadduces, were famed for looking on this life only as a meer passage into a better. The *Jews* had the waters of jealousy to assure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The *Gauls* had some kinds of ordeals, or tryals, to the same sense; and *Julian*, the emperor, tells us that the waters of the *Rhine* had some secret virtue to punish those wives who had gone astray.

The druids made it a constant maxim not to commit any part of their laws, philosophy, or history to writing; but composed poems and canticles, which their disciples were obliged to get by heart, though it very often cost some of them twenty years to be entirely masters of them. It is probable that this was the antient custom of the Patriarchs and other nations in *Canaan*, before *Moses*, who quotes some of those canticles, and composed others himself.

Their custom of offering human sacrifices might, perhaps, have its rise from the tradition of *Abraham's* readiness to sacrifice his son *Isaac* *.

* Relig. des Gaul. l. i. Julian Orat. xvi. Cæsar. Comment. l. vi.

This bloody custom, according to *Procopius*, was still in use among the *Gauls*, for some centuries after they had embraced Christianity. With what ceremonies this sacrifice was accompanied within their sacred groves is uncertain; but *Cæsar* and *Plutarch* give us the following account of those unhappy ones who were offered abroad without the circuit of the groves.

When a man's life is in danger, either through sickness or other accident, they immediately sacrifice some human victims, or at least make a vow so to do. They erect an huge pile of osier, which they fill with these unhappy wretches, who are quickly suffocated with smoak, and reduced to ashes soon after. They imagine that criminals of any kind are the most acceptable victims; but, if they are not to be had, the innocent must go in their stead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the funeral-pile every thing that the deceased delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long since they threw likewise into it all his favourite servants and slaves. Some of his near relations, likewise, flung themselves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the other world,

After the manner of the *Jewish* scape-goat, the *Gauls* Their sometimes devoted a vicarious victim to death, praying that manner of all the curses due to them might fall upon it. The *Massili-* offering *ans*, particularly, are reported to have, in times of pestilence, human made choice of some indigent person, that offered himself victims. voluntarily, for a sacrifice. Having fattened him, during a whole year, with the daintiest fare, they then dressed him with garlands, and other rich ornaments, and led him thro' the streets, loaded with the bitterest imprecations, to his death.

If the *Gauls*, in such calamitous times, could procure any of the nobler and handsomer sort to offer themselves to such a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them, by large rewards and encomiums. These were led, like the poorer sort, out of the city and stoned; and the former thrown down some high precipice. The common notion among them was, that such a spontaneous death for the public good, entitled the sufferers to a rank among the gods. In other cases, the human victims were tied down, or nailed, to some tree, or post, and shot to death with arrows. Others were burnt with a number of beasts on a pile of hay. All their sacrifices were occasional and unlimited, except those which *Lucan* calls national, and which were constantly performed at noon or midnight.

The *Gauls* were exceedingly addicted to all kinds of super- Their su- stition, and attentively regarded the singing and flight of birds perstitious and all matters relating to augury, never undertaking any observ- thing of consequence without the advice of their aru- ances and spices, who were, for that reason, in high request among rites. them.

The

The circles of large stones which they had in their sacred groves, are still remaining in several parts of *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the isle of *Anglesey*. These stones are of such a monstrous size, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of those demons that were supposed to attend on that kind of worship. The *Gauls* are affirmed, by the generality of authors, to have constantly assisted at these sacrifices in complete armour; and to have carried some small thing belonging to the victim away with them, in their mouths or hands, after it had been offered up or had been led to the altar. The *Gauls* worshipped *Mars* under the figure of a naked sword that was reposed upon an altar in one of their sacred groves; and as they vowed to him what spoil they took from their enemies, they generally deposited it in any place where they chanced to be; and those consecrated heaps, *Cæsar* tells us, were to be found in most cities in *Gaul*. *Cæsar*, according to *Suetonius*, pillaged those heaps to support his army. The *British* druids were the standards of the *Gaulish* religion, and from them all the others received their finishing instructions.

The *Romans*, according to *Tacitus*, when they invaded this island, made it their first care to destroy those woods and groves which the druids had polluted with the blood of human victims; but, as he makes no mention of their destroying their temples, it may thence be concluded that the *Gauls* had not any such structures either in this island or in *Gaul*. The *Gauls*, instead of embracing the religion of their neighbours, made it a constant maxim to demolish their temples, from a principle bred amongst them, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him to any place; whence *Cicero*, in his oration for *Fontei*, exclaims that the *Gaulish* religion chiefly consisted in a hostile contrariety to all others.

They seem, however, even before their conquest, to have worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses. We have observed that *Mars* was worshipped by them under the emblem of a naked sword. They also, in general, had the highest veneration for *Mercury*, on account, as is supposed by *Perron*, of the vast benefits and improvements which their trade, commerce, arts, and sciences had received from him. The veneration paid to their statues grew in time into downright idolatry and polytheism. By the account of *Cæsar*, it plainly appears that the *Gaulish* religion was very different from that of the *Romans* and *Greeks*; but probably after their conquest they were forced to adopt the religion and gods of their conquerors; who, by that innovation, would hope, by degrees, to secure the fidelity of that warlike people.

In ancient times, the *Gaulish* women seem to have had the greatest sway in all civil matters. We find, in the treaty
which

which the *Gauls* made with *Hannibal* in his passage to *Italy*, it was agreed, that, if a *Gaul* offered any injury to a *Carthaginian*, he should be tried before the court of the *Gaulish* women*.

The *Druids*, however, at length, by means of the people's superstition, raised themselves to the supreme power. As they could not but be very averse to the innovations introduced by the *Romans*, they used their utmost endeavours to oppose them, or to prevail on the people to shake off the yoke. The *Romans*, sensible of their disaffection, were assiduous to strip them of their great sway. *Augustus* issued out a decree against them; and at the same time introduced a census among the *Gauls*; upon which the nation threatened a revolt. The edict of the emperor seems not to have been executed there, but the *Gauls* were prevailed upon by *Drusus* to assist at the dedication of *Julius Cæsar's* temple, and to build an altar to *Augustus*. *Claudius* renewed the edict against the *Druids* for their bloody custom of offering human sacrifices; but, if religion had been the real cause of those edicts, the *Romans* ought to have sent them to most of the nations under their empire who were guilty of the same barbarity; which was even also practised by the *Romans* themselves.

These edicts against the bloody rites of the *Druids* were probably issued out with the design of intimidating them, and suppressing their exorbitant power. Though their authority was thereby lessened, yet they were far from being wholly suppressed; but were in high vogue some centuries after, and even authorised by the emperors *Severus*, *Aurelian*, and *Dioclesian*. Their sect still continued down to the times of *Solinus*, *Polybius*, and of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*; and much longer still in their chief abode in the province of *Chartrain*, where whole towns continued in their antient paganism, even down to the fifth century; not long before which time the practice of human victims began to cease among the *Romans* themselves.

During the reign of *Augustus*, the *Gauls*, as we have mentioned, were prevailed upon to build a temple to *Cæsar*. Under *Tiberius*, the *Gauls* transformed their chief deity, *Esus*, into *Jupiter*, the god of heaven and earth; or, rather, divided his worship with him. Both were worshipped, at first, in groves, or under oaks; but, at length, the former deity was quite swallowed up in the latter.

The *Gauls* having, in vain, made some struggles for their liberty under *Caligula* and *Claudius*, the whole country, soon after, was filled with *Roman* temples; their deities were adopted and worshipped; and even lakes, rivers, marshes, and fountains, were held in veneration, as the residence of peculiar deities. The *Gauls*, however, notwithstanding their

* *Plu. de Mulier. Polyan. Strat. l. 7.*

great multiplicity of temples, still retained a great veneration for their oaks, even to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, according to some authors.

The *Druids*, to avoid the penalties of the edicts, thought proper to submit to them; and, so compliable did they shew themselves, that, from that time, whether to make their court to the *Romans*, or to take off the odium which their name laid them under, they exchanged it for that of *Senani*; which, in their language, signified elder, or venerable. The *Gauls* sacrificed to the new gods introduced among them only brute beasts; but they continued, nevertheless, to offer human sacrifices under their oaks and in their groves; perhaps with a design to hide their bloody rites from the *Romans*, who had prohibited them. The statues of their gods were sometimes erected on a pedestal, which served likewise for an altar; and sometimes on a column of a prodigious height. Many of their temples were rich and magnificent: witness that famed one, called *Vasso*, at *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered, on the outside, with carved stones; and, on the inside, with small ones, nicely wrought and polished, and on the top incrustated with marble and compartments of mosaic work. The pavement was likewise of marble, and the top was covered with lead. Our readers will find descriptions and full accounts of these edifices in *Keyser's* Northern Antiquities, and in the Treatise of the Religion of the *Gauls*.

Jupiter
worship-
ped by
them, and

Upon the planting of Christianity in this country, many of these edifices were destroyed; but others of them were preserved and converted into churches. Though the *Esus* of the *Gauls*, when converted into the *Roman Jupiter*, was first worshipped under the symbol of an oak, and even of a shapeless stump of a tree; but, at length, as they gave wholly into the *Roman* superstition, they came to erect altars and statues to him, and to represent him after the *Roman* manner. His name of *Jupiter* is never met with, but only that of *Jau*, or *Jouis*; which was preferred by them as being of *Celtic* extract. In that part of *Gaul* nearer the *Alps* he was called *Peninus*, and those high mountains were called *Peninæ*, from the *Celtic* word *Pen*, which signifies an head, an height, or summit.

Mars.

Mars was esteemed by the *Gauls* as the chief protector of their nation; and was held in such veneration by them, that, whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their possessions, and about the time of the onset they vowed to him all the plunder. If they came off with victory, they frequently sacrificed their prisoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their slain enemies about the necks of their horses. They even enclosed some of the most considerable ones in frames of cedar; and, upon proper occasions, shewed them to strangers. They are accused of poisoning their arrows with a juice which they extracted from

a tree

tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a most deadly quality. At first he was worshipped under the emblem of a naked sword, but afterwards was represented under the habit of a *Roman* warrior with a spear in one hand and a shield in the other, and known by the name of *Camulus*.

The *Gauls* also worshipped *Apollo*, and held him in great *Apollo* and veneration on account of his being the god of physic. The *Aquileians* and *Teetofagi* chose him for their patron and protector: and the latter, who had a vast territory about *Tholsa*, dedicated a very rich and magnificent temple to him in that city, which was their metropolis. *Apollo* was generally represented by them, youthful, naked, with a radiant crown or golden tresses. He was sometimes called *Belenus* and *Abellion*, which signify *fair*; sometimes by the *Persian* name of *Mithras*: and, at other times, by that of *Dolichenus* and *Peninus**.

The deity in greatest veneration among the *Gauls* was *Mercury*. *Mercury*, who had altars and temples erected to him every where throughout the country. He is called, by several antient authors, *Theutat* and *Theutates*; which, in the *Celtic* language, signifies the father of his people: and they often boasted themselves to be sprung from him, in imitation of the *Thracian* kings, who were another branch of the antient *Celts*. They called him *Mercury* because he was the first who civilized them and introduced traffic among them; that word, in their language, signifying a *merchant*. He was, with them, the god of riches; and hence he came to be confounded with *Pluto*, and to share in his honours and attributes. As he was worshipped as their progenitor, he was often joined in those statues and inscriptions erected to him with the goddess *Postverta*, who assisted women in labour, and is by some supposed the same with *Proserpine*. According to *Lucian*, the *Gauls* worshipped *Hercules*, whom they called *Ognius*, as the god of eloquence: but, as *Mercury* was sometimes adorned with the club, quiver, and lion's skin, it is probable that *Ognius* was also a *Gallic* name for *Mercury*. Under this character he was represented as an old decrepit man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travellers he was represented naked and without sex and beard; and with his winged cap, his caduceus, &c. sometimes, also, with a purse in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, with wings on his heels, and a crescent over the wings of his cap. How he was worshipped by the *Gauls*, under any of his denominations, is hard to guess; only we may suppose that they borrowed some of their rites from the worship which the *Roman* merchants

* Relig. des Gaul. Simoni Limag. d'Auverge Cornell. dict. hist.

paid to him in their country; a description of which is to be found in *Ovid's Fasti*. l. 5. The *Gauls* likewise worshipped some other male deities, such as *Mithras*, from the *Persians*, whom they looked upon as the same with *Mercury*; *Neptune*; *Erebus*; *Orcus*, supposed to be the same with *Pluto*; *Bacchus*, and some others, whom they borrowed from the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

Their
goddesses.

Their chief goddesses were *Diana*, or *Luna*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Proserpine*, *Arctina*, supposed to be the moon; and *Cybele*, whose priests were all castrated in honour of her, and distinguished by the name of *Galli*. This name was given them by the *Romans*, according to *St. Jerom*, (*Comment. in Hos.*) in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon the *Gauls* for having taken their metropolis. They were generally *Phrygians*, and held in such abhorrence, that no other people would converse with them.

Their
Druids.

The *Druids*, before the conquest of *Gaul*, as we observed, had the sole care of all religious matters, which they introduced so dextrously into every other concern both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation. They were distinguished also by the name of *Sennothi*, or worshippers of the godhead; and are named *Saronides* by *Diodorus Siculus*, on account of their great regard to such old oaks as were decayed and stripped of their bark; for such is the meaning of that word. The last name they adopted was that of *Senani*, which signifies *wise*, or *venerable*; and their Druidesses were called *Senoe*, and *Senes*, words of the same signification with the foregoing. Their antiquity is looked upon of the same date with that of the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Magi* of *Persia*, the *Chaldees* of *Babylon*, and, in a word, with the oldest sects of philosophers. Considering the surprising conformity of their doctrine, which they can never be imagined to have communicated to each other, it may well be supposed that they all received it from the same hand; namely, from *Noah* and his immediate descendants; and carried it each to the different places of their dispersion.

Their ex-
cessive
power.

Among many instances of the excessive power of the *Druids*, *Cæsar* mentions one by which we may guess at the rest: namely, that they chose the annual magistrates of every city, who had, during that year, the supreme authority, and sometimes the title of king. These, notwithstanding their great pomp and state, were but the creatures and slaves of the *Druids*, and could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not even so much as call a council.

The *Druids* were every where esteemed as the chiefs of every *Gaulish* common-wealth; and had the sole management and instruction of youth in every thing but the training them up in the art of war. They and their disciples were exempt from going to war, and from all kinds of tribute; which greatly increased their credit with the people and also the
number

number of their followers; for every man, without distinction of tribe or family, was admitted into their order if approved by the society. Their grand Druid was chosen from among them by a plurality of votes; and, when any dispute arose, it was often terminated by the sword. They observed a constant celibacy, and lived chiefly in woods in societies separated from others. The three grand fundamentals of their religion consisted, first, in their worship of the gods: articles of secondly, in abstaining from all evil: and, thirdly, in their behaving with intrepidity upon all occasions. In order to enforce this last they taught the immortality of the soul, and a life after this of bliss or misery, according as they had lived.

The Druids also pretended to great skill in some branches of geography and astronomy, such as knowing the bigness and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the stars. They would even seem to have been acquainted with telescopes; for, according to *Hecateus*, as cited by *Diodorus*, the inhabitants of a northern island little less than *Sicily*, over against the *Celtæ*, could shew the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains, &c. This island could be no other than *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*.

The Druids, according to *Pliny*, studied natural philosophy and practised physic. This last consisted chiefly in the knowledge and use of simples; but they soon rendered it more intricate and mysterious by intermingling astrology and other superstitions with it. The configuration of the planets must be consulted; the herb must be gathered with one hand and not with the other; the hand must be covered with the opposite lappet of the man's robe; he must be dressed in white, his feet washed and unshod*, &c.

We have observed, a little above, that antiently the *Gaulish* women bore a great sway among the *Gauls*, of which the Druids in time stripped them. But it is likely that the *Druidesses* held still great part of their credit, especially on account of their being thought endowed with the spirit of prophecy; for it does not appear that they were famed for any thing else. There were three classes of *Druidesses* in *Gaul*, the chief of which was of those who kept a perpetual virginity, for these were thought to have the spirit of prophecy. The next rank was of those who were married, yet were allowed to use the matrimonial intercourse only one single time in the whole year; after which they returned to their office, which was to assist the Druids at their religious functions. The last order, as appears from some antient monu-

The *druidesses*.

Three orders of them.

* *Cæsar*. Comment. l. 6 & 7. *Lucan*. l. 1. *Plin*. Hist. l. 24 and 29. *Relig. des Gaul*.

ments and inscriptions, were a kind of servants or attendants on the other.

Both Druids and Druidesses pretended to a great knowledge in astrology; calculated people's nativities; erected figures, and foretold future events sometimes by bloody and inhuman auguries. *Strabo* tells us, that, among the *Cimbri*, who were a branch of the *Celtes*, the Druidesses dragged the captives taken in war to a cistern, and, plunging a knife into their breasts, formed their predictions from the flowing of their blood. Those of them who were stiled prophetesses were thought to have a gift superior to the rest, their knowledge being looked upon as supernatural. These were called by some superior title, and were in the highest request, not only among their own people, but likewise among foreign nations. The others were much less regarded, and, on account of their night assemblies about ponds and marshes, and the forceries they pretended to use, they were looked upon as downright witches, canibals, *lamiae*, *pythonyssæ*, *strixæ*; and every thing that is black and horrid, is attributed to them, from the sixth century downwards.

The Bards
differ
from the
Druids.

The next order among the *Gauls* in great esteem, was that of the bards, whom some have erroneously confounded with the Druids. That they were different, appears from *Strabo*, who tells us that the Druids were in the highest power, and gave laws to the Vates, Eubates, and Bards, who were not allowed to do any thing without their consent. These bards were so called from their office, which was to sing the praises of their heroes, and to accompany their songs with musical instruments; and their compositions were held in the highest esteem, as the most effectual means of eternizing the memory of those who were celebrated in them.

According to *Diodorus*, they could, at any time, put a stop to a whole army's engaging by their interposition; so great a power had wisdom and the muses over those barbarians. During the onset they used to give loud shouts, sometimes as of victory, at other times to inspirit them when they seemed to give way; so that, though they did not really fight themselves, they were so intermingled with the army, that they, in some measure, ran the same risk with the combatants*.

The Vates
and
Eubates.

The Vates, and Eubates, or Eubates, seem to have been inferior to the bards; but whether they were two orders, or the same under two names, is uncertain. As the Druids were more known to strangers than the rest, their name were given to all indifferently by antient historians. Tho' the Flamens, or Flammes, have been supposed by some to belong to the druidish order, yet Bishop *Stillingfleet* has sufficiently disproved them to have been of the *Celtic* or *Gaulish* extract.

We shall conclude with observing, that, in spite of all the severe edicts of the *Roman* and *Christian* monarchs, there

* See also the poem of *Fingal*.

were still very visible traces of the *Gaulish* religion, and of the very worst part of the druidish rites practised even to the middle of the sixth century, as appears from some human sacrifices offered by the *Gauls* in *Italy*, of which *Procopius* tells us he was an eye-witness*.

The *Gauls*, when the *Romans* first became acquainted with them, were under different governments, some of which were monarchical, others aristocratical, others partly so and partly democratical; and these were, by way of distinction, called *free*. *Tacitus* reckons no less than sixty-four of these cities, or rather small districts who were under this kind of government. These little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they chose a magistrate for civil, and a general for military, affairs. All the states agreed in a general maxim, and at a certain time annually assembled a council of the whole nation, in which what ever related to their common interest was debated and settled. Among the free states it was a law, that, who ever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borders, which concerned the common interest, were obliged to acquaint their magistrates with it, and conceal it from the people.

The government of the *Gauls*.

A general council of the *Gauls*.

The commonwealths appear to have been jealous of their liberty; for that of the *Ædui*, we find, ordered *Certillus*, the father of *Vercingetorix*, a man of great power and credit; and esteemed the first man in *Gaul*, to be put to death for having aspired to the kingdom. At the same time they were extremely jealous of each other's power, and entered into confederacies and combinations against each other. When *Cæsar* entered *Gaul*, he tells us that he found it divided into two factions; the *Ædui* being at the head of one, and the *Arverni* at the head of the other. Both, he says, had, for many years, contended for the superiority, whilst the *Bituriges*, neighbours of the *Arverni*, were in subjection to the *Ædui*; and the *Sequani*, who were neighbours to the *Ædui*, were under the protection of the *Arverni*.

The *Gaulish* kings, who were very numerous, differed from the magistrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary, but was sometimes conferred by the people upon such as were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another; and sometimes a powerful and ambitious man forced himself upon the throne. Those who seem to have come to the throne by succession, were far from being arbitrary; but were as much accountable to the people as those who were chosen by them.

* *Pere Coint. T. 1 and 3. Fleury's Eccles. Hist. Relig. des Gauls.*

The *Gauls* founded their right upon their swords.

What were the peculiar laws and maxims that prevailed among the *Gauls*, is no where recorded. It seems to have been an established principle among them that the longest sword had the best title; and, that it was the design of the Supreme Being that the strongest should strip the weakest; and, that he who had not power to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The *Gauls* we find openly professed this principle to the *Roman* ambassadors who came to intercede in behalf of the *Clusians* who were unjustly attacked by them. The same maxim prevailed in the decision of private right among themselves; for, when any debates arose among them about their possessions, about any injury or affront given or received, especially among those of the better sort, in case the parties did not acquiesce in the sentence of the council or public magistrate, they generally decided the point by single combat. Their magistrates could not deny them that liberty when once insisted upon by either party; nor could the opposite decline the challenge without giving up the point, and being branded with infamy. If the dispute happened to be so intricate that the judges could not readily determine it, they themselves used to adjudge the contenders to this method of ending the contest. Even the very witnesses, if their depositions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themselves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by single combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any sentence that was passed either by the king or the court of judicature.

Military discipline neglected by them.

They seem not to have made much progress in military discipline, but to have trusted chiefly to their bravery and numbers; which accounts for their bad success whenever they engaged with the *Romans*. Their chief talent seems to have consisted in invading, rather than in defending; in pouring in their numberless troops with incredible fury and speed, and spreading terror where-ever they came; in surmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardships, that fell in their way; and falling upon their enemies with dreadful shouts and desperate eagerness. When all these failed, as they often did, when they were engaged with troops well disciplined and trained up in all the politic arts and stratagems of war, their last resource was to signalize their valour, and love of liberty, by putting an end to their own lives.

When they came to be divided into small kingdoms and commonwealths, their method was to divide their armies in time of action in the same manner that the merit and prowess, as well as the faults and misbehaviour of every nation and tribe might be better known. This disposition, though well designed, was frequently attended with great inconveniences, and often threw things into confusion, which would have been prevented by a general discipline.

In their warlike enterprizes they were very careful in observing the moon, and avoided, as much as possible, engaging the enemy before it was past the full. They looked upon an eclipse of the moon as such a bad omen, that, when it happened, they avoided fighting; and, if attacked, defended themselves more like desperadoes than regular troops. They gave particular heed to their Druids and aruspices, who, if the augury promised them success, used to march before them with songs, dances, and musical instruments, till the onset began. If they were forced to engage after a sinister omen, then such panic, horror, and despair, reigned through their hosts, that they rather strove to avoid slavery by a speedy death, than to annoy the enemy, and give the lie to their knavish aruspices.

Their offensive weapons were bows and arrows, the sword and lance. Some of them used shields; but, in general, they despised the helmet, cuirass, and other such defensive armour, and rather chose to fight half naked, or even quite naked. They were utter strangers to those machines which other nations used in sieges. They had indeed learned the method of undermining, but they depended more upon a brisk and fierce attack, and attempted to scale the walls with the utmost intrepidity. This fierceness often proved fatal to them when they chanced to meet with a stout repulse; for, in all such cases, they lost all their courage and presence of mind, and suffered themselves to be butchered without making any defence. Those who chose rather to surrender, laid down their arms and presented their left shoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked bosoms, in token of submission*.

The language of the antient *Gauls* is universally allowed to have been the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, which is still preserved in *Biscay*, *Britany*, *Cornwal*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, but no where more purely than in *North Wales*. The *Celtic* language also appears to have antiently prevailed over almost all *Europe*; and not only most of the modern *European* languages are manifestly dialects, more or less distant of the old *Gomerian*; but even the *Greek* and *Latin*, and other antient tongues, had a surprising affinity with it†. The reason why it has been retained by the *Welch* in its greatest purity, must be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themselves from intermixture with other nations.

The *Massilians*, on the southern coast of *Gaul*, were originally a *Greek* colony; and, as they cultivated all sorts of polite literature, and particularly the *Greek* language, the *Gauls* in their neighbourhood became admirers of that tongue;

* Pelloutier. Hist. Celt. Rowland's Mona Antiqua. Appian. Oros. Strab. Dio. Cas. in Exc. Vales. † Bullet. Dist. Celt.

inasmuch

inſomuch that, about the time of *Strabo*, they began to write their contracts and bargains in it. Many of them, not only private perſons, but whole ſtates, invited ſeveral learned men out of that famed city to inſtruct their youth, or ſent their children to be educated there.

Their
contempt
of writing

The *Gauls* continued, for many ages, without the uſe of letters; but at length adopted the *Greek* characters. They were long prevented from uſing writing, by their contempt of foreign learning; which prejudice was improved by the Druids, who wanted to keep the people in ignorance, and alledged, that the practice of writing would be a means to make them forget the tranſactions of their anceſtors, which were beſt preſerved by memory. They therefore looked upon it as a diſhonour for any of them to learn to read or write; and, even after they began to introduce the uſe of letters in their contracts, and the like civil concerns, the Druids never ſuffered them to commit any thing relating to their hiſtory, laws, or religion, to writing. Hence *Origen* tells his antagoniſt *Celfus*, that he never heard of any of their writings: and hence that ſcarcity of materials in relation to their hiſtory, ſince they had no records but thoſe ſongs and verſes which they carefully kept from ſtrangers, and which perished, in all likelihood, with their liberty; or, at leaſt, with their old heatheniſh religion upon their embracing Chriſtianity. How the *Romans*, by their intercourſe with the *Gauls*, afterwards introduced their character among them, is obvious to every one.

Their
fondneſs
for poetry

Next to the military art, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, eloquence was that wherein they prided themſelves moſt. They received from their infancy moſt of their inſtructions, by learning the poems compoſed by the Bards and Druids. They heard them, upon all public occaſions, either read or ſung; and, as the greateſt part of them were of the heroic kind, ſo it inured them to a pompous and high-flown ſtile. They affected a concise and nervous ſtile; but, after their acquaintance with the *Romans*, they could not forbear being taken with their artful declamations and pieces of oratory; which *Cerealis*, a *Roman* general, upbraided them with in the time of *Veſpaſian*.

The whole nation of the *Gauls* ſeems to have been divided into three eſtates: namely, firſt, the Druids, with the Bards, and others under them: ſecondly, the Nobles: and, thirdly, the mercantile part, which was by far the greateſt. The two former had their revenue, partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands and the ſpoils of war.

Some of the *Gauliſh* nations, if what *Athenæus* tells us may be depended on, interdicted the uſe of gold and ſilver; which being all dedicated to *Mars*, became ſacred and inviolable; and they allowed of no coin but that which was made of

copper

copper and brass. It is likely that this contempt of the two superior metals vanished away upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, especially with the *Romans*, who made no scruple to rifle those treasures which, before that time, lay exposed to the wide world untouched*.

As *Gaul* abounded with vast forests, wherein were numbers of wild beasts, the *Gauls* spent much of their time in hunting. *Caesar*, *Pliny*, and other authors, mention several wild beasts that used to be hunted by the *Gauls*, none of which are now to be found. The alces, according to *Caesar*, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to sleep leaning against a tree. The bonassus, according to *Aristotle* and *Pliny*, had a horse's face, and the rest resembled a bull, its horns bending so far back that there was no riding upon it. They also relate wonders of their birds; one sort of which cast such a brightness from their feathers, that travellers made use of them to see their way in the darkest nights. The real animals were, the urus, or wild bull; which, according to *Caesar*, was little less than the elephant; but, by more exact descriptions, not much bigger than the common bull; the elk, which, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or sledge; the wild-goat, and several other kind of animals†.

The *Gauls* are said to have been so dexterous at fowling, that they killed the birds by a dart thrown by hand, and in that diversion they are likewise said to have used the sling, and the bow and arrow. The professed huntsmen held a feast every year to *Diana*, and, among other offerings, each of them presented her with a purse, in which was a certain sum for every beast they had taken during that year. They are said to have been excellent horsemen and charioteers above all other nations in *Europe*. As this skill could not be attained but by long practice, we find they had their hippodromes, horse and chariot races, tilts and tournaments, at all which the bards assisted, celebrating the praises of all those who had formerly won the prize, and by their poems and musical instruments inspiring the new candidates with a noble ardor to signalize themselves; and happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in those records of fame. All their exercises tended to render them lighter, stronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compass of a girdle of a certain size, either by fasting, running, riding, swimming, or any other laborious diversion; for if they exceeded the extent of the girdle, it was not only a disgrace to them, but they were likewise fined for it. They

* Pelloutier Hist. Celt. Cæs. Comment. 1. 6. Strab. 1. 4. Du Chene. rer. Franc. Tacit. Hist. 1. 4, Athen. 1. 6.

† Cæs. Com. 1. 6. Plin. 1. 8. Pausan in Beot. Arist. de anim. 1. 9. Strab. 1. 4.

were so very expert at swimming, that they could cross the *Rhine*, *Danube*, and *Rhone* without breaking their ranks.

All their public assemblies and exercises, all their birthdays, weddings, burials, and anniversary solemnities, were always accompanied with sumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good cheer both vocal and instrumental music. At these feasts, those who were most famed for valour and wisdom were reckoned the chief guests. It was customary at these entertainments to drink hard, the chief guest always beginning first, and putting the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round. As they generally sat at their feasts till next morning, and the cup went often round, they so heated themselves with liquor and wrangling, that the entertainments seldom ended without duels. If the feast proved a peaceable one, besides the music and songs, it was accompanied with dances, in which the dancers were completely armed, and beat the measure with their swords upon their shields. Their chief liquor was beer, but some time after their conquest by the *Romans*, vines were introduced among them, and wine soon became their favourite liquor. Their martial temper inspired them with such contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it to their wives, old men, and slaves, and all handicraft trades in general were looked upon by them as vastly below the care of a warlike nation.

The disposition
of the
Gauls.

The *Gauls* are accused by the antients of fierceness, laziness, and drunkenness. Their ferocity and cruelty need not be wondered at, when we consider, that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death, and were quite strangers to those sciences that humanize the mind. The laziness attributed to them seems to have been owing rather to their pride, than to any dislike they had to labour under an honourable title; for it is plain, they scrupled not hardships and fatigues of any kind for military fame. Their drunkenness may justly be looked upon as a consequence of their fierceness and idleness; for being strangers to more refined amusements, intoxication might easily be esteemed by them a most rapturous pleasure. According to *Diodorus*, they would give a slave for a gallon of wine, on which account the merchants from *Italy* and *Greece* were very ready to furnish them with that beloved commodity. The *English* merchants at this day are no less forward to supply the savages of *North America* with rum, with which those ignorant barbarians delight to intoxicate themselves. The vice of drunkenness seems to have been very predominant amongst the *Gauls* and their northern neighbours, since *Charles the Great* was forced to make some severe laws against it, one of which obliged the judges of the bench and the pleaders to continue fasting.

The

The *Gauls*, though they were noted for the vices above-mentioned, are nevertheless highly commended by the ancients for their hospitality, not only to passing strangers, but to such as took refuge among them. It was, it seems, a constant custom among them to invite their strangers to all their feasts, and at the end of the entertainments to enquire who they were, and wherein they might be served. The *Celtiberians*, who were looked upon as some of the cruelest among the *Gauls*, observed this custom, and came in crowds to invite a traveller to their houses, he being thought a happy man, whom the stranger chose for his host. If the circumstances of the host would not permit him to afford the stranger a very long entertainment, he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any *Gaul* was convicted of having refused this courtesy to a stranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but was fined by the magistrate; and in some places a corporal punishment was added to the fine. Strangers were conducted by them from one territory to another, and those persons from whom they had received any damage, or ill treatment, were punished upon the spot*.

Many antient authors commend their fidelity and justice, in proof of which it is alledged, that not only the *Roman* emperors chose them for a part of their life-guards, but that before the time of *Augustus*, the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* were in great credit and trust with *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*; with *Herad*, king of *Judæa*; with *Cleopatra*, and many other princes. They have, however, been branded with the reverse vice by several *Greek* and *Roman* historians, who have recorded many instances of their fickleness and perfidy.

Little is known of the marriages of the *Gauls*, except, that they do not seem to have allowed of polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives. From the testimony of *Mela* it is plain, that they burned their dead bodies; but that they sometimes buried them without burning may be also gathered from those entire bodies which have been found in many places in *Gaul* and *Germany*, but especially in the mounds of *Salisbury Plain*; for as the *Gauls* received their religious laws and customs from the *British* Druids, it may be concluded, that they were the same in both countries.

There is very little mention of the transactions of the History of *Gauls* before the time that they were visited by the *Romans*; the transactions after that period their affairs are greatly interwoven with those of *Rome*. The *Gauls* being a numerous, hardy, the *Gauls*.

* Ammian. Marcellin. l. 25. Cæsar & Mela. Tacit. Germ. Xen. Anab. l. 7. Plut. Symp. Posid. ap. Athen. Rel. des Gaules. Pelloutier.

† Cæsar. Polyb. Liv. l. 23.

and enterprizing people, great multitudes of their youth frequently made excursions into other countries, far and near, and spread terror wherever they came. These colonies being frequently molested in the countries where they settled, obtained fresh succours from their native country, the *Gauls* readily pouring out their numerous swarms on such occasions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back to them. We shall refer our readers to the *Celtic* history for an account of those settlements they made in several parts of *Asia*.

The *Gauls* settle in *Italy*. The earliest excursion of the *Gauls* that we have recorded is that which they made into *Italy*, under their famous leader *Bellovesus*, nephew to the king *Ambigatus*, who crossing the *Rhone* and the *Alps*, till then unattempted, defeated

Before *Chr.* 622. the *Hetrurians* and their allies near the *Tesino*, and settled themselves in that part of *Italy* now called *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, about the year of *Rome* 160. The *Cœnomani*, who dwelt between the rivers *Seine* and *Loire*, made the second grand expedition under their general *Elitonis*, and settled in the territories of *Brescia*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Carniola*, and *Venice*. The third was made by the *Læves* and *Ananes*, the former of whom settled in *Novara*, on one side of the *Po*, and the latter in the territory of *Placentia*, on the opposite side. In a fourth excursion, the *Boii* and *Lingones* having passed the *Pennine Alps*, settled on the south side of the *Po*, between *Ravenna* and *Bolegna*.

In the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of *Bellovesus*, the *Senones*, seated between *Paris* and *Meaux*, were invited into *Italy* by an *Etruscan* lord, and settled themselves in *Umbria*. While *Brennus* their king was besieging *Clusium*, the *Roman* ambassadors who had arrived at his camp, afterwards took part with the *Clusians*, which so exasperated the *Gauls*, that they turned all their forces against the *Romans*, and having defeated them, entered *Rome*, which plundered they plundered and burnt. Not long after, however, they and burnt were entirely cut off by the brave *Camillus*, as is related in by them. the *Roman* history.

The next expedition of the *Gauls* into *Italy* was equally unfortunate. Those *Gauls* who had settled in the northern parts of *Italy*, being continually harrassed by the *Romans*, solicited fresh reinforcements from *Gaul*; but these coming in vast numbers to their assistance, they became more afraid of their countrymen than of the *Romans*; so that they made no scruple to turn their arms against them, and having killed their two leaders, easily put the whole army to flight. The *Romans*, who bore in remembrance the sacking of their city, finding how enterprizing the *Gauls* were in *Italy*, and what vast armies they could draw from their mother country, were under no small apprehensions, and for their security committed an act of barbarous superstition in burying a *Greek* and a *Gaulish* man and woman alive in the ox-market. They

They besides made vast preparations, when they heard that the *Gesatæ*, another brave *Gaulish* nation, were invited into *Italy*. These being of a fiercer nature than the other *Gauls*, scorned all kind of defensive armour, as mean and cowardly, and generally chose to fight naked. The *Romans*, according to *Polybius*, were so alarmed, that they raised an army of eight hundred thousand men, horse and foot. The *Gauls*, who were but fifty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, nevertheless forced themselves through the *Romans*, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military discipline, as they were in numbers, they were at last totally defeated. Forty thousand of the *Gauls* were killed on the spot, and ten thousand taken prisoners, among whom was *Concolitanus*, one of their kings, while the other, named *Aneroestus*, only escaped to a neighbouring village, and there killed himself, his example being also imitated by many officers who had accompanied him, according to the *Gaulish* maxim of preferring death to slavery.

The *Gauls* being tenacious of their settlements in *Italy*, and the *Romans* being no less bent upon extending the limits of their dominion, and seeing no rivals on their side the *Alps*, the two nations thereupon conceived an inveterate animosity against each other. *Hannibal* easily prevailed with the *Gauls* to join him against the *Romans*, and owed part of his successes to their valour. They likewise gave great assistance to the other *Carthaginian* generals in *Italy*. As they had served as auxiliaries to the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, during the first *Punic* war, and always readily joined the enemies of *Rome*, the *Romans* began at length to be afraid, lest they should acquire a knowledge in military discipline, which would render them still more formidable, and therefore resolved with the first opportunity to carry their arms into *Gaul*.

Italy was not the only place whither the *Gauls* carried their arms; for in the year after *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epire*, passed into *Italy*, the *Gauls* sent out three vast colonies to seek new habitations in the eastern countries. *Brennus*, the commander of one of the armies, marched into *Pannonia*, or *Hungary*; *Cerethrius*, who commanded the second army, proceeded to *Thrace*; and *Belgius* marched with the third into *Illyricum*, and the western parts of *Macedonia*. *Belgius* and his party being almost all cut off, *Brennus*, hearing of the riches of the country they had invaded, hastened with his army thither, being probably joined by the broken troops of the other leader. His army consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse; but a mutiny happening in it, *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, two of the chief leaders, carried off twenty thousand men to *Thrace*, and joining themselves to *Cerethrius*, seized on *Byzantium* and the western coasts of *Propontis*, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them. *Brennus* having soon after received

The *Gauls*
are defeat-
ed by the
Romans.

The *Gauls*
make an
excursion
into *Illy-*
ricum.
Before
Chr. 279.

fresh

They in- fresh supplies from *Gaul*, and enlisted some *Illyrians*, invaded
vade Ma- *Macedonia* with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand
cedonia foot, and sixty thousand horse, and defeating *Sosthenes*, ra-
and Greece vaged the whole country. He then advanced towards the
 Straights of *Thermopylae*, with an intent to invade *Greece*;
 but being stopped by the forces that guarded that pass, he,
 by the assistance of guides, marched over the mountains in
 its neighbourhood, and having entered *Greece*, proceeded di-
 rectly with the bulk of his army towards *Delphi*, with a de-
 sign, as is supposed, to plunder that rich city and temple.
 When his troops approached that place, the *Greeks* tell us,
 they were suddenly harrassed with a dreadful storm of thun-
 der, lightning, and hail, which destroyed a great number of
 them; many others also being crushed to pieces by the
 rocks that fell from the mountain, which was shaken by an
 earthquake; so that they, in their terror and disorder, at-
 tacked and slaughtered each other all night. Next morning,
 when half of their army was destroyed, they were attacked
 on all sides by the *Greeks*, who defeated them with terrible
 slaughter, though the other half of the army had come up
 and joined them, *Brennus* being desperately wounded, as-
 sembled all his chiefs, and having advised them to slay the
 wounded and disabled, to render their retreat the more expe-
 ditious, he put an end to his own life. *Acichorius*, the next
 in command, led the remainder of this shattered army back
 as well as he could; but they had so many hardships, and
 so much opposition to encounter, that they were wholly
 cut off. Such was the fate of those sacrilegious invaders,
 according to the *Greek* and *Roman* authors *.

They are
defeated
near Del-
phi.

A body of
the Gauls
invade the
coasts of
the Helles-
pont.

Many
Gauls set-
tle in Asia
Minor.

Whilst this expedition was carrying on in *Greece*, the body
 of *Gauls* under *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, parting from the
 others, who were settled in the *Propontis*, marched towards the
Hellespont, and made themselves masters of *Lysimachia* and
 the *Thracian Chersonese*. Here a great misunderstanding hap-
 pening between the two chiefs, they parted their forces, the
 former returning to *Byzantium*, and the latter remaining
 where he was. Some time after, however, they rejoined
 their forces, and passed into *Asia*, being invited thither by
Nicomedes, whom they assisted against his brother, and fixed
 him in all his father's dominions, in acknowledgment of
 which he assigned them a part of *Lesser Asia*, which was
 from thence called *Gallia-Græcia* and *Galatia*. Hither came
 a great number of those other *Gauls* who had settled in
Thrace, and who were driven from thence by *Antigonus Go-*
rrus, king of *Macedon*. These *Asiatic Gauls*, who were the
 only remains of the three great armies that continued in a
 body, increasing in number, endeavoured, according to

* *Justin.* l. 24, 25. *Polych.* l. 1. *Pausan.* in *Phoc.* *Diod.*
Sic. l. 2. *Lib.* l. 38, &c.

custom, to enlarge their territories, and sent their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad. *Justin* tells us that all *Asia* swarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eastern prince at war that did not hire them as mercenaries.

Though they, for some time, alarmed and annoyed their neighbours, they were at length suppressed by the proconsul of *Asia*, *Corn. Manlius Vulso*, who gave them several defeats, and obliged them to live quietly, and keep within their own limits: but they are affirmed by some to have been subdued about 53 years before by *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*; and, if so, they must have found out some means of recovering their liberty to have been so powerful in the time of *Manlius*. The *Galatians*, above one hundred and thirty years after the time of *Manlius*, were governed by their own tetrarchs; one of whom, named *Dejotarus*, was, for his services done to *Pompey the Great*, created king by him.

The *Romans*, as we have mentioned above, had formed a resolution of invading *Gaul*, and made many fruitless attempts for that purpose. At length the consul, *Q. Martius Rexp*, penetrated between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, though he was stoutly opposed by the *Gauls*, especially the *Steni*, who, finding themselves overpowered by him, set fire to their habitations, killed their wives and children, and threw them and themselves into the flames. *Marcus*, for the security of his conquest, planted a colony in the country of the *Volcae Tectosagi*, where he built a city which he called *Narbo*, now *Narbonne*. His successor *Scaurus* not only conquered some other nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Gentisci* and *Carni*, who inhabited part of *Noricum*, but made some excellent roads thither from *Italy* to facilitate the sending of troops into their country.

The *Cimbri* and *Teutones* being alarmed at these successes of the *Romans*, took up arms against them, and gave them several considerable overthrows. The *Tigurini*, who inhabited that part of *Switzerland* called *Zurich*, joining the *Teutones*, surprised the *Romans*, and made them and their general pass under the yoke. The *Cimbri* having retaken some parts of *Gaul*, and particularly the famed city of *Thoulouse*, from the *Romans*, *Cæpio* marched his army thither; and, though he was peaceably admitted into the city, he gave it up to be plundered by his troops, and carried off the immense sacred treasures that had been deposited there by the *Gauls*. This treasure, according to the most moderate accounts of it, amounted to one hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and the same of silver.

The *Gauls* were so exasperated at the avarice and sacrilege of *Cæpio*, that they joined the *Cimbri*, and, taking advantage of the squabble between the general and his colleague, fell furiously upon the *Romans*, and, in one day, slew eighty thousand of them, besides forty thousand sutlers and servants. The *Gauls*, who had devoted all the spoil to *Mars*, threw the silver and gold into the *Rhone*, drowned all the horses,

horses, and murdered all the prisoners they had taken. Afterwards they deliberated whether they should march immediately into *Italy*, or reduce those provinces which the *Romans* held in *Gaul*.

The *Romans* dreading an irruption of the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, sent *Marius*, who had returned from the conquest of *Numidia*, to defend the frontiers of *Italy*, appointing *Sylla* to serve under him. While *Sylla* gained several advantages over the *Teutones*, and took *Copilius*, one of their kings, prisoner, *Marius* remained on the defensive till his army should be reinforced. The *Marfi*, in the mean time, having joined the *Cimbri*, with a design to enter *Italy* with them, *Sylla*, who was sent to oppose them, found means to gain the former over to the *Roman* interest. The *Cimbri*, nevertheless, obliged *Sylla* to retreat to *Aqua Sextia*, new *Aix*, in *Provence*. In his retreat, the brave *Ambrones*, who inhabited the Canton of *Born*, attacked him with the greatest intrepidity; but their valour being baffled by the discipline of the *Romans*, a great slaughter was made of them. Their wives also fought with great resolution, but, being overpowered by the *Romans*, they offered to surrender on condition that their honour should be preserved; that they should not be sold into slavery; and, that they should be employed in the service of the vestals. These conditions being denied, they would have contented themselves with the first: but that being inhumanly refused them, they murdered all their children and themselves. The *Gauls*, after this defeat, seem to have been quiet for some time, their friendship being even courted by the *Romans*, who were then rent into two powerful factions. *Sylla*, by his address, drew the *Gauls* to his side; whence it is likely that he suffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorship; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for some space after his death.

Not long after, an army of the *Gaulish* slaves, headed by *Spartacus*, raised a war in the heart of *Italy*; but, after several successes, they were defeated by *Crassus*, who slew forty thousand of them, the rest escaping to *Lusitania*.

The Gauls engaged in a war with *Julius Caesar*. The *Gauls* beyond the *Alps*, whatever feuds they might have among themselves, seem to have lived in quiet and good friendship with *Rome* from the time of *Marius* till they were invaded by *Caesar*, who ardently embraced the first opportunity of renewing hostilities in that country. The *Helvetii*, or *Swiss*, by the persuasion of *Orgetrix*, one of their chiefs, being determined to go in search of a better country than their own, burnt all their towns and villages, and assembled in arms, with the design of penetrating farther into *Gaul*. *Julius Caesar* was no sooner informed of their intention, than he hastened from *Rome*, and arriving in eight days at *Geneva*, he caused the bridge of that city to be broke down; and, in a few days more, finished a wall, which reached from thence to Mount *Jura*, now *St. Claude*, being no less than seven-
teen

teen miles in length, sixteen feet high, and fortified with a ditch, towers, and castles, at proper distances.

The *Helvetii* demanding to pass in a friendly manner thro' the country of the *Allobroges*, or *Savoyards*, *Cæsar* amused them for some time, till all his reinforcements were arrived, and then peremptorily refused them a passage: whereupon a dreadful battle ensued, in which they lost one hundred and thirty thousand men, besides a number of prisoners; among whom was the wife and daughter of *Orgetorix*, the leader of this unfortunate expedition. The rest, upon submitting, were permitted to go and settle among the *Ædui*, from whom they were originally sprung. *Cæsar's* incredible dispatch, and decisive victory, gained him such reputation, and struck the *Gauls* with such a dread, that they strove which should pay him the first homage and congratulations.

That general, finding the *Gauls* divided into a vast variety of governments, some of which were powerful, and held other smaller states in a dependance next to slavery, artfully insinuated himself into their factions, and soon became the protector of the oppressed, a terror to the oppressor, and the umpire of all their contentions.

The country of the *Sequani*, now *Franche Comte*, having a few years before been taken from the *Ædui*, who were allies of the *Romans*, by *Ariovistus*, king of the *Germans*, in conjunction with the *Auverni*, one of the most powerful states of the *Gauls*, the *Ædui* now made their complaints to *Cæsar*, being, as is supposed, privately instigated by him to ask his assistance, that he might have some pretence for continuing the war. He accordingly demanded of *Ariovistus*, a restitution of the territory of the *Sequani*, and of the hostages sent to him by the *Ædui*. The *German* prince returning him a haughty answer, *Cæsar* marched against him; and receiving intelligence that the *Germans* had been prohibited by some of their prophetesses from fighting before the full of the moon, he forced them to a battle before that time, and gained a complete victory; after which he put his army into winter-quarters, and returned to *Italy*.

His rapid successes in *Gaul* so greatly alarmed the *Belgæ*, that they entered into a general confederacy against the *Romans*. *Cæsar* being informed of their designs, by his lieutenant *Labienus*, set out from *Rome*, and in fifteen days arrived on their confines, when the *Rhemi* immediately submitted to him. The rest, however, took the field against him, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men; but, in passing the *Arona*, now the *Aisne*, they were defeated with great slaughter. This victory struck such terror into those *Gauls* who had escaped, that they dispersed themselves; immediately after which the *Suessones*, *Bellovaci*, *Ambiones*, and some others, submitted to him. The *Nervii*, *Atrebates*, and *Remandui*, however, still held out, and, having secured

who de-
seats the
Helvetii
with great
slaughter.

Cæsar in-
terests
himself in
the pri-
vate dis-
putes of
the *Gauls*.

The *Germans* un-
der *Ario-
vistus* de-
feated.

The *Bel-
gæ* form a
powerful
confede-
racy a-
gainst *Cæ-
sar*.

their wives and children, made a stout resistance, till the greatest part of them were slain. The rest, upon their submission, were allowed to live in their own cities and towns.

The *Aduatici*, who were the remains of those *Cimbri* whom *Marius* had formerly defeated, pretended to submit to *Cæsar*, but afterwards endeavoured to cut off the *Romans* by surprise; on which account they were sold for slaves to the number of fifty thousand. Young *Crassus*, the son of the triumvir, conquering seven nations of the *Belgæ*, that country at length submitted, and also some nations beyond the *Rhine*. The *Veneti*, who inhabited the coast of *Britany*, were also obliged to send hostages; but, during the winter, made great preparations by sea and land to recover their liberty. *Cæsar* returning from *Illyricum*, equipped a fleet on the *Loire*; and, having given the command of it to *Brutus*, ordered him to sail against the *Veneti*; who, being attacked both by sea and land, were at length reduced, and many of them sold for slaves.

The *Romans* extend their conquests in *Gaul*.

The *Unelli*, with *Veridrix*, their chief, together with the *Lexovii* and *Aulerci*, were, about the same time, subdued by *Sabinus*; and the *Aquitani* by *Crassus*; with the loss of thirty thousand men.

Cæsar afterwards marched against the *Morini* and the *Menapii*, who inhabited part of the present Low Countries. Finding them entrenched in inaccessible fortresses, he contented himself with burning and ravaging their country, and returned to *Italy*.

A few months after, he repassed the *Alps*, and defeated four hundred thousand *Germans*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. *Cæsar* chastised the *Germans* by invading their country, and afterwards sailed over into *Britain*. The *Gauls*, in the mean time, suffering greatly by famine, almost universally revolted from the *Romans*. *Ambiorix*, one of the chiefs of the *Eburones*, or people of *Liege*, having betrayed a Roman legion into an ambush, cut it entirely off. The *Aduatici* had attempted to surprize a legion left in their country under the command of *Q. Cicero*. *Labienus*, with another legion, was also attacked by the *Rhemi* and *Senones*; but, in a successful attack, put them to flight and killed their general. Though *Cæsar* quelled all these revolts, yet his troops were thereby reduced, that he was obliged to ask some reinforcements from *Pompey*, who sent him two legions.

The *Gauls* revolt, and form a new confederacy.

As *Cæsar* was greatly involved in debt, he made no scruple of seizing the sacred treasures of the *Gauls*; which so irritated them, that, in his absence, they again revolted. Though the *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii*, and *Treviri*, were soon reduced, yet the revolt became almost general, the great part of the *Gauls* having united under the brave *Vercingetorix*. *Cæsar* repassed the *Alps* in the midst of the winter, and, assembling his troops in *Narbonne*, he soon

Noviodunum, now *Noyons*, and defeated *Vercingetorix*, who attempted the relief of that place. The *Romans* next took *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*; and made such a slaughter of the garrison, that, of forty thousand, scarce eight hundred escaped. Whilst they were besieging *Gergovia*, *Cæsar*, being informed that the *Nitiobriges*, or people of *Agennois*, were in arms; and that the *Ædui* were sending ten thousand men to *Vercingetorix*, left one of his lieutenants to carry on the siege, and marched against the *Æduci*, who submitted in appearance and were pardoned, but soon after rose up in arms and murdered all the *Italian* troops in their capital. On this news, *Cæsar* raised the siege of *Gergovia*, and attacked the enemy's camp with some success; but proposing afterwards to march to *Noyons*, where his baggage and military chest were left, he heard that the *Ædui* had carried them off and burnt the place.

Though *Labienus*, about the same time, defeated a Gaulish general named *Camolugena*, the revolt, nevertheless, spread all over *Celtic Gaul*. *Vercingetorix*, before his supplies arrived from thence, hazarding a battle, was defeated, and forced to retire to *Alesia*, now *Alise*, in *Burgundy*, where he was immediately besieged by *Cæsar*, who drew a double wall round the city. The *Gauls*, to the number of one hundred and sixty thousand men, made several fruitless attempts on *Cæsar's* trenches; so that *Vercingetorix*, having no hopes of relief, surrendered at discretion. *Cæsar* used all his prisoners with great severity, except the *Ædui* and *Arverni*, who being treated kindly by him, he, by that means, gained their nations, which were the two most powerful of *Celtic Gaul*. The *Ædui* receiving him into their capital, he there spent part of the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters.

Before the winter was over, the *Gauls* again revolted, and appeared in arms in several provinces at once; but were again soon reduced by the bravery and activity of the *Romans*. *Uxellodunum* being the last place that submitted, *Cæsar* caused the right hands of all that were fit to bear arms in the place to be cut off, to deter the rest from revolting afresh. Thus, at length, the conquest of *Gaul* was finished, from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* to the *Rhine* and the ocean, all which tract was now reduced to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor.

Thus ended, in a great measure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their singular valour. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, *Pliny* tells us, were permitted to remain free; and others retained the title of confederates to *Rome*. The miserable condition of the rest, who were reduced into the form of a province, may be guessed at by what *Chritognatus*, the *Arvernian*, as quoted by *Cæsar*, says of it. "If you would know," says he, "after what manner distant nations are used by the *Romans*, you

“ need but look at our neighbouring *Gaul*, now reduced in-
 “ to a province ; which, having its laws and customs
 “ changed, and being brought under the power of the *Aac*,
 “ is oppressed with perpetual slavery.”

The *Gauls*'
 revolt un-
 der *Nero*.

In the reign of *Tiberius*, the continuance of the taxes, the extortions of usurers, and insolence of the soldiers, were become so intolerable, that it drove the *Gaulish* cities into a fresh rebellion. *Suetonius* also relates, in the life of *Nero*, that the world having, for near thirteen years, groaned under his tyranny, at length shook it off, the *Gauls* setting the first example to all the rest. We do not read of any considerable revolt of the *Gauls* during the life of *Cæsar*, nor even under his successor *Augustus*, who, in the beginning of his reign, made them undergo a census ; to which, though doubtless very galling to them, they seem to have submitted very patiently. Some years after, however, when *Drusus* was sent thither to stop the incursions of the *Germans*, and had begun a second, and perhaps a more strict, census, they then seemed universally inclined to take up arms and regain their liberties. *Drusus*, however, by soothing them in a politic manner, prevailed with them not only to drop their intended revolt, but to build an altar to *Augustus*, and to pay him divine honours during his life.

Vindex
 assembles
 an army.

Under the reign of *Caligula*, the violent extortions and horrid butcheries which the *Gauls* underwent, were sufficient to have spirited up a less warlike nation. Though their design was not ripened during that short reign, nor during the government of *Claudius*, yet under *Nero*, who treated them more cruelly than ever, the brave and noble *Julius Vindex*, at that time governor of *Celtic Gaul*, declared his resolution to free his country from slavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. His design was no sooner known than the *Gauls* flocked to him from all parts, so that, though he had no *Romans* under his command, he soon saw himself at the head of 100,000 armed men. *Nero* expressed great joy at the news of this revolt, thinking it would afford him an occasion for fresh extortions and cruelties ; but, when messengers came to him in great numbers, and acquainted him with the progress that *Vindex* had made in *Gaul*, and that *Galba*, at his instigation, had revolted in *Spain*, he left *Naples* in a fright and repaired to *Rome*. Though he still neglected to take any measures for stopping the progress of the revolt, yet it was soon quelled by *Rufus Virginius*, who defeated the *Gauls* and killed twenty-two thousand of them on the spot. *Vindex*, after the defeat, laying violent hands on himself, the rest dispersed for want of a leader. *Galba* had much better success, and was soon after raised to the empire ; but the *Gauls*, though heavily oppressed by him, and grievously loaded with taxes, yet were so narrowly watched, that they durst not undertake any thing against him.

He is de-
 feated by
Virginius.

In the struggle between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, the successors of *Galba*, the *Gauls*, though they heartily hated both the competitors, were forced to declare for the latter by *Fabius Valens*, who committed the greatest plunders and extortions in his march through their country towards *Italy*. The *Gauls* were obliged to atone for their revolt under *Vindex*, by bribing *Valens* with large presents to save their towns from being either plundered or burnt. Notwithstanding all their oppressions, they recovered themselves so far as to make several bold pushes for their liberty, especially in the reign of *Vespasian*, who thought fit to clap up a peace with them.

The emperor *Adrian*, in his progress through the empire, visited this province; and, as it had been greatly oppressed and impoverished during the former reigns, he left, wherever he passed through it, some tokens of his pity and munificence to the inhabitants, and built some stately edifices there, especially a sumptuous palace in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan's* widow. At the same time, to keep them from any thoughts of a revolt, he repaired all the *Roman* towns and fortresses in their country.

Vespasian
concludes
a peace
with them

Gaul seems to have been considered as a very considerable branch of the *Roman* empire; for, in the famous contest between *Severus* and his competitors, the *Gauls*, having first saluted him emperor, their example was followed by almost all the provinces in *Europe*. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at least to the Christians in this country, having raised a bloody persecution against them, instigated thereto by his favourite *Plautianus*, who took occasion of a soldier's refusing to wear a crown as a donative to seize on the estates of all the Christians of rank and quality, and to put a great number of them to death.

Gaul again became the scene of war in the contest for the empire between *Gallicenus* and *Posthumius*; the latter of whom having delivered this province from the dominion of the *Germans*, under which it had groaned for some time, was thereupon acknowledged emperor both in *Gaul*, in *Spain*, and in *Britain*. *Posthumius* being murdered by his soldiers for debarring them from the plunder of *Mentz*, *Lollianus* got himself proclaimed emperor of that part of *Gaul* which borders upon the *Rhine*, while the rest was governed by *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumius* had taken for his colleague. Both *Lollianus* and *Victorinus* were soon after murdered; and the infant son of the latter being named his successor, the *Gauls* murdered him likewise, and set up, in his room, one *M. Aurelius Marius*, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and strength. He being run through by a soldier, who was formerly his journey-man, and with a sword, as himself told him, of his own making, *Postumius Tetricus*, a man of senatorial and consular dignity, was proclaimed in *Gaul*, and soon

Fresh disturbances
in *Gaul*.

after acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*. The emperor *Aurelian*, however, after restoring peace in all other parts of the empire, entered *Gaul*, and defeated *Tetricus* at the battle of *Chalons*, reduced this province to its former obedience.

A new division of *Gaul* under *Constantine*. In the time of *Constantine*, who is supposed to have first divided the empire into four parts, each of which contained a number of provinces or dioceses, and was governed by a distinct præfectus prætorio, *Gaul* was made a diocese, and had its provinces assigned to it. This præfectorship then contained *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*; and *Gaul* itself then included seventeen provinces, six of which were stiled consular, and the rest were under certain presidents who resided in the capitals of each: 1, *Narbonne*, in *Languedoc*, was the capital of *Narbonensis Prima*: 2, *Aix*, in *Provence*, of *Narbonensis Secunda*: 3, *Vienne*, in *Dauphine*, of the *Viennensis*: 4, *Mozestriers*, in *Savoy*, of the *Alpes Graiaæ* and *Penninaæ*: 5, *Ebrodunum*, now *Embrun*, in *Dauphine*, of the *Alpes Maritimæ*: 6, *Lugdunum*, or *Lyons*, of the *Lugdunensis Prima*: 7, *Rean*, in *Normandy*, of the *Lugdunensis Secunda*: 8, *Cæsaredunum*, now *Tours*, in *Touraine*, of *Lugdunensis Tertia*: 9, *Sens*, in *Champagne*, of *Lugdunensis Quarta*: 10, *Bezancon*, in *Franche Comté*, of *Sequania*: 11, *Bourges*, in *Berry*, of *Aquitania Prima*: 12, *Bordeaux*, in *Guienne*, of *Aquitania Secunda*: 13, *Auscorum*, now *Aux*, in *Gascony*, of *Novem Populonia*: 14, *Colonia*, now *Cologne*, of *Germanica Secunda*: 15, *Moguntia*, now *Mentz*, of *Germanica Prima*: 16, *Civitas Trevirorum*, now *Triers*, of *Belgica Prima*: 17, *Civitas Duracorum*, now *Rheims*, of *Belgica Secunda*.

Besides the governors of these provinces, *Constantine* appointed comites, or counts, in the cities, and duces, or dukes, in the frontier towns; to administer justice according to the *Roman* laws.

This was the state and government of *Gaul* when the *Goths* got footing in the southern part, which was granted them by the emperor *Honorius* upon their quitting *Italy*. For some services they did afterwards to the empire they obtained a fresh settlement in *Aquitania*. As the *Gaulish* borders towards the *Rhine* were afterwards threatened with an invasion from the *Franks*, *Stilicho* called in the *Burgundi*, another German nation, to oppose them; and these seized on all the south-east part of *Gaul*, which from them was called *Upper* and *Lower Burgundy*. This did not, however, hinder the *Franks*, a fierce and warlike nation of *Germany*, from entering *Gaul*, and settling themselves in that part of it which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Maes*. These afterwards assisted some of the maritime *Gaulish* provinces, especially those of *Britany*, *Normandy*, *Flanders*, and *Picardy*, to shake off the Roman yoke; by which means they possessed themselves also of the *Franks* of the *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*, and of the two *Belgica*, A.C. 412. obliging the *Romans* to consent to their encroachments. Soon after

after they chose *Pharamond* for their king, who was the founder of the *French* monarchy*.

* Cæsar. Comment. ut supra. Plin. Hist. l. 4. Eutrop. l. 6. Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. Anton. itin. Sueton. in vit. Aug. Tiber. & Ner. Tacit. l. 1. Strab. l. 4. Plut in Galb. & Cæsar.



C H A P. III.

The History of the Germans.

NOTHING is more uncertain than the origin of many nations that inhabited the vast regions beyond the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. Antient authors commonly speak of them in general under the names of *Celtes*, *Scythians*, and *Celtoscythians*. As to the *Germans*, in particular, we may venture to affirm, after a great many modern, and some of the antient, writers, that they were originally one and the same nation with the *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and were both descended from the antient *Gomerians*, only that the towards the north and east were very much intermixed with the old *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*. In all other parts of *Germany*, we find such an exact conformity in the religion, laws, customs, and language of the inhabitants, with those of the *Gauls*, as leaves scarce any room to doubt but that they were both descended from the same antient stock*.

The *Germans* are thought to have been so called from the *Celtic* words *Ghar Man*, a warlike man, to which their name of *Allman* alludes, and signifies a complete man. The appellation *German*, however, appears plainly not to have been their original name; but seems to have had its rise in latter times on the other side of the *Rhine*, when the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cærafi*, and *Pæmani* crossed that river, after the example of some others of their countrymen, and went to settle in *Gaul*. If they really called themselves by it, as *Tacitus* says they did, it is surprising that it has not been preserved by them, and handed to us in their own language.

* Cæsar. Comment. Tacit. Germ. Plin. Hist. Strabo. Justin. Cluver. Bochart. Phaleg. Pezron. Ant. Celt. Pelloutier. Rel des Gaules. Joseph. Hieron. Eustat.

From

The *Cimbri* probably the most ancient inhabitants of *Germany*.

From what has been observed of their original descent from the ancient *Gomerians*, and from several monuments they have left in several parts of *Germany*, it is not improbable that they called themselves *Cimbri*, or *Cymbri*. Also a nation of this name are allowed to have been one of the most ancient people of *Germany*. On the north side of the *Elbe* they gave their name to the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, now the kingdom of *Denmark*; and they are thought to have extended from thence to the *Palus Mæotis*, where they were known by the name of *Cimmerians*. The name of *Teutones*, from which their present name of *Teutchen*, or *Dutch*, is thought to be derived, is another by which they were antiently known, and is of a much older date than that of *Germans*. The *Teutones*, according to *Mela*, antiently inhabited the coasts and islands of the *Baltic Sea*; but growing too numerous for their narrow territories, part of them went with their wives and families to seek new settlements in other countries. They often, in conjunction with the *Cimbri*, *Cimbrones*, and others, made incursions into *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*; and a body of them, who were left to guard the heavy baggage along the *Rhine*, being harassed on all sides, fought their way quite to *Belgic Gaul*, where they settled, and became, in time, known by the name of *Atuatici*.

The limits of *Germany*.

The most ancient limits of *Germany* were, the river *Rhine*, on the west; on the north, the *Northern Ocean*, and afterwards the *Baltic Sea*; on the east, the *Vistula*, and a line drawn from its source to the *Sarmatian* mountains; and, on the south, the *Danube*. Many *German* nations, however, inhabited on the southern banks of the *Rhine* as far as the river *Scheld*. The *Cimbri*, already mentioned, and the *Saxons*, inhabited on the northern side of the *Elbe*. On the south side of that river lay the *Chauci*, through whose territories run the *Visurgis*, now the *Weser*. They were supposed to have been a branch of the *Saxons*, and were bounded, on the south, by the *Cherusci* and *Chamavi*. The *Frisii*, *Upper* and *Lower*, were divided from the *Chauci* by the river *Amasia*, now the *Ems*; and from each other by an arm of the *Rhine*. The *Bructeri* were parted from the *Frisii* by the *Isela*, now the *Isle*; and the *Marsi* were situated about the river *Lupia*, or *Lippe*. On the other side of that river were the *Usipites*; but, as these were famed for often changing their habitations, they are also found in other territories. The *Teneteri* were settled on the *Rhine*, in the country of the *Menapii*. Next to these were the *Fubones*, or inhabitants of *Juliers*. The *Cotti* inhabited part of *Hesse* and *Thuringia*, from the *Hartzian* mountains to the *Rhine* and *Weser*. Their nearest neighbours were the *Sedusii*, who bordered on *Suabia*; the *Narisci*, or antient inhabitants of *Northgow*; and the *Marcomanni*, whose country antiently reached from the *Rhine* to the head of the *Danube* and to the *Neckar*. Betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Neckar*,

Its various inhabitants.

sa, or *Maese*, were the *Ubi*, whose neighbours were the *Tungri*, who are supposed to be the same whom *Cæsar* calls *Eburones* and *Condrusi*. Higher up from them, and on the other side of the *Moselle*, were the *Treviri*; next to whom were the *Triboci*, *Neimetes*, and *Vangiones*. The *Mediomatrici* were situated along the *Moselle*, about the city of *Metz*, in *Lorraine*: and above them, on the *Rhine*, were seated the *Raurici*, or *Rauraci*, who inhabited that part of *Switzerland* about *Basil*. Between the heads of the *Rhine* and the *Danube* were seated the ancient kingdoms of *Vindelicia*; and between the banks of the *Danube* and the *Drave*, lay *Noricum*, which contained a great part of the provinces of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, and some other states of less note. On the other side of the *Danube*, west from the *Marcomanni*, lay the *Hermunduri*, whose country ran northwards along the *Hercynian* mountains quite up to the river *Sala*. Beyond the *Hercynian* mountains, lay the kingdom of *Boiohemum*, now *Bohemia*. Next to *Bohemia* were situated the *Quadi*, whose territories extended from the *Danube* to *Moravia*. These, with the *Marcomanni*, and other *German* nations, were comprehended under the general name of *Suevi*; part of whom, in after-times, forced their way into *Spain*, and settled a kingdom there. The *Bastarnæ* were parted from the *Quadi*, on the west, by the *Grana* and by the ridge of the *Carpatian* mountains called from them *Bastarnicæ Alpes*. They antiently lived on this side the *Danube*, and are accounted of *German* extract by *Pliny*. Between the *Danube* and the *Vistula*, along the *Hercynian* forest, are placed the *Martingi*, *Burii*, *Borades*, *Ligii*, or *Legiones*, and some other nations. The country of the *Rhætii*, now the *Grisons*, antiently spread itself from the *Alps* towards *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Austria*. The *Suevi* were a numerous nation, antiently seated on the other side the *Hercynian* forest, from the *Vistula* to the *Elbe*; but, in time, a great part of them either penetrated through that forest, or went round it, and came and settled in the more southern parts of *Europe*. The *Longobardi* were antiently seated betwixt the *Elbe* and the *Odre* in the *Middle March of Brandenburg*. The *Burgundi*, or *Burgundiones*, are placed, by *Cluverius*, north from the *Longobardi*, on the east side of the *Oder*. The *Semnones* were a nation of the *Suevi*, and possessed part of the electorate of *Saxony*, of *Brandenburg*, *Lusace*, and *Silesia*. They also seized one of the most fruitful parts of *Gaul*; where they grew so rich and considerable, that they are thought to have been called *Semnones* on that very account; it being an old *Celtic* word which signifies opulent and venerable. The *Æstii* were an antient tribe of the *Suebi* who inhabited along the coast of the *East Sea*, from whence vast quantities of amber were brought both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Æstii*, according to *Tacitus*, worshipped the mother of the gods; and placed such confidence in her safeguard, that they scarcely knew the use of

of iron weapons. They were more industrious than the rest of the *Germans* in cultivating their corn and other fields; and dived into the rivers and seas for amber, which they sold to strangers rough and unwrought. In the reign of *Nero*, a *Roman* knight bought of the *Æstii*, for the use of the emperor, thirteen thousand pounds weight of amber; among which was one single piece that weighed thirteen pounds. We find, in *Cassiodorus*, a letter sent by *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, to the *Æstii*, wherein he thanks them for a large parcel of amber which they had sent to him, and promises them his friendship*.

On this side of the *Æstii*, and, as is supposed, near the mouth of the *Vistula*, were the *Gepidæ*; and farther north, on the coasts of the *East Sea*, were the *Chaiboni*. The *Gepidæ* are famed in history for having reared themselves into an early kingdom, and extending their territories into *Pannonia*; as likewise for their wars with the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and *Romans*. *Germany*, in the reign of *Augustus*, was divided into *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*; and was guarded by eight legions of *Roman* forces, which, when-ever they were not engaged in the field, were employed in making high-roads, new fortifications, and other useful works.

Vast forests in
Germany.

As *Germany* was antiently very ill cultivated, and, in a great measure, overspread with large forests, and had scarce any towns, the *Romans* looked upon it as a most inhospitable country, and have given very shocking descriptions of its soil and climate. The *Hercynian*, or *Oreinian*, forests, according to *Cæsar*, extended sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. As all the forests, woods, and groves in *Germany*, even the boughs and leaves, were reckoned sacred, the antient *Germans* therefore religiously abstained from cutting them down, unless it were some branches of the oak and of some other trees, which they carried with them on particular solemnities.

After the *Romans* penetrated into their country, many groves were cut down, partly for conveniency and partly out of a dislike of those superstitious and bloody rites which were performed in them. After the *Germans* embraced Christianity, many more woods were destroyed upon the same accounts. Some forests are still remaining, particularly the *Black forest*, towards the head of the *Rhine*, and *Cæssian forest*

The chief in the duchy of *Cleves*.

rivers in *Germany*. The most noted of the *German* rivers were the *Danube* and the *Rhine*. The *Danube* rises in *Suabia*, and being increased in its course by sixty rivers, empties itself by two mouths into the *Euxine* sea. The *Rhine*, which antiently divided *Germany* from *Gaul*, rises from two springs in the *Alps*, and

* Strab. l. 3 & 5. Mascov. l. 13. Dio. Cass. l. 54. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. Bucher. Belg. Rom. Tacit. Germ. Vel. Paterc. l. 2. c. 106. Plin. Hist. l. 37. Varia. l. 5. ep. 2.

crossing the western part of *Germany*, empties itself into the ocean by two mouths. The *Vistula*, now *Weichsel*, was another considerable river, which divided *Germany* from the *European Sarmatia*. The *Drave*, or *Draw*, springs from the *Alps* in the *Tyrol*, and falls into the *Danube* near *Esseck*. The *Moraw* rises in the confines of *Bohemia*, divides *Moravia* into two parts, and falls into the *Danube* not far from *Vienna*. The *Neckar* in *Suabia* rises from the *Black Forest* not far from the *Danube*, but takes a different course, and falls into the *Rhine*. The *Weser*, antiently *Visurgis*, descends from *Franconia*, and passing by *Aremen*, falls into the *German* ocean, between the mouths of the *Elbe* and *Ems*. The *Elbe* rises in the *Giant Mountains* in *Silesia*, and running through *Bohemia* and *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, empties itself into the ocean at the north-west extremity of *Germany*. The *Ems*, antiently *Amisia*, rises in the bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and falls into the ocean a little below *Embsen*.

No cities were built in *Germany* till the coming in of the *Romans*, who founded several on some of the chief rivers, that have since become very famous. The *Germans*, with regard to their religion, differed very little from the *Gauls*. They worshipped the supreme deity, whom they named *Esus*, or *Hesus*, under the emblem of an oak, consecrated that tree more peculiarly to him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itself, but for its leaves and fruit, especially the mistletoe, which they call to this day by the old name of *guthyl*, that is, *good heal*, and ascribe extraordinary virtues to it, especially in epileptic diseases. The *Druids* had the sole care and direction in all religious, and the greatest sway and authority in civil matters. Though both the *Germans* and *Gauls* held some sort of women, whom they looked upon as prophetesses, in great esteem, yet the former seem to have exceeded the latter in this kind of superstition, and to have expressed a much greater fondness and veneration for their pretended oracles. The *Germans* consulted those women on all matters of importance, and would even forbear fighting an enemy, let the advantage appear ever so great on their side, if those women disapproved of it. In other things they were subject to the grand *Druid*, who had his residence in one of the *British* islands. The *Germans* not only offered the same expiatory human victims as the *Gauls*, and used them in their auguries and other parts of their religion, but treated them much more cruelly than they, and made them undergo many grievous indignities and torments before they dispatched them. They offered victims also of domestic animals, and of these the horse was reckoned the most acceptable. The flesh of the victims was to be dressed in the heart of their groves, and was afterwards served to the votaries by way of feasts, the blood being sprinkled upon the altar, trees, and by-standers, by way of ablution. Though the *Gauls* did the same with the blood of human victims. it does

Cities first
founded
in Germa-
ny by the
Romans.

The reli-
gion of
the Ger-
mans.

Their de-
ities.

Odin the
same with
Mars.

does not appear that they eat the flesh of them. The *Ger-
mans* had no temples, but performed their religious rites in
groves erected for that purpose, or in woods, forests, and
desart places ; but after the *Gauls* began to conform to the
Roman worship, they, after some time, were prevailed upon
to imitate them, and adopted their deities, *Jupiter*, *Mars*,
Apollo, *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Diana*, &c. though under different
names and attributes. *Jupiter* was worshipped by them un-
der the name of *Thor*, *Tharam*, or *Taran*, that is, the *Thun-
derer*. They worshipped *Mars* under the names of *Odin*,
Othin, and *Woden*, which deity the *Romans* have sometimes
confounded with *Mercury*. Some other writers have ab-
surdly imagined this *Odin* to have been the same with *Hesus*,
or *Efus*, being probably led into the mistake by the great
veneration which they observed was paid to *Odin*, by their
calling upon him at the beginning of a fight, and vowing
to him all the plunder, and even lives of their enemies.
Mars was looked upon not only as the god of war, but as
the patron and guardian of those who were slain, whose
souls the survivors bequeathed to him in words to this ef-
fect ; *Odin receive thee ; May'st thou be with Odin*. From some
sepulchral inscriptions and funeral orations still extant, it ap-
pears, that the wishing of their friends souls to be with *Odin*
was even in use among them for some time after they had
embraced Christianity. According to their antient poets,
the souls of their deceased were to be entertained by *Odin* in
a large hall, and to carouse with exquisite beer in human
skulls, whilst he alone drank wine. They were moreover
to be served by elegant virgins, whose business it was to fur-
nish them with a constant supply of whatever could make
them happy and merry ; and this notion of a sensual para-
dise was no small spur to warlike actions, since every man's
felicity, there, was to rise in proportion to the number of ene-
mies he had conquered, or killed *. We need not therefore
wonder at their consecrating so great a share, and sometimes
all the plunder of their enemies to this god, making him heir
of all their wealth, keeper of all their treasure, and often
vowing their own lives to him, since they expected to be so
amply rewarded by him in the next life, and with such a
kind of happiness as best suited with their genius. (A)

Though

* Keysser. dissert. de Mulier. sat. Lucan. Pharsal. l. 1. Edda
Mythol. 34 & 35. Carmen in Ladbrog. reg. ex Bartholin.
Mascov. & Lediard Germ.

(A) Some of the German my-
thologists have transformed this
deity into a northern hero, whom
they bring from *Asia* into *Scan-
dinavia*, and who, they alledge,
left his followers a body of laws.
on which account, and for his
many great actions, he was by
them

Though their antient theology appears plainly to have differed much from that of the *Romans* and *Greeks*, yet it is impossible to say how much of this kind of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the *Romans*. The *Germans*, even according to the testimony of *Roman* writers, neither presumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to represent them under any forms, nor admitted into that number any but such as they saw, and received assistance and benefit from, such as the sun, moon, and *Fulcan*, or the god of fire. Their veneration for their deified heroes and heroines, and the encomiums they gave them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their strength and courage, victories and conquests; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even their most monstrous and unnatural vices*.

No temples or images among the *Germans*.

Though the *Germans*, as well as *Gauls*, were in the first ages taught by the *Druids* an over-ruling providence, and the immortality of the soul, yet a too eager desire of the people, of prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in the *Druids* and diviners of being more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, gradually introduced an infinite variety of auguries and superstitions. A belief of a future life and immortality being once corrupted with the false notion of a sensual happiness, if they should die in the field of battle, proved but too fatal a spur to rashness, ambition, and cruelty, and made them less solicitous to enquire whether the motives of their wars were just or unjust. Next in authority to their pretended prophetesses were their priests, or *Druids*. *Cæsar* says, indeed, that they had no *Druids*; but *Tacitus*, who was better acquainted with them, describes their office and authority as the same with those of the *Gaulish* *Druids*.

What were the laws and government of the antient *Germans*, it is impossible to determine: probably each tribe had its own form of government, independent of the rest, except, perhaps, that they had some laws in common for the better union and preservation of the whole body against foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance amongst themselves. Each canton held their national councils at least once a year, in the spring, and oftener, if need required,

Their laws and government.

them deified. Other mythologists have split this *Odin* into two; some imagining the antientest to have been *Mars*, and others the sun, and the youngest to have been one of their deified heroes.

* Keyfler Aut. Sept. Vorm. literat. Cæs. Comment. Tacit. Germ. Laetan. M. Felix.

and

and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magistrates, and other annual officers, the sending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other such points, according to their present exigence. These assemblies were so exactly observed, that, we are told, the last comer to them was sure to lose his life, which was in imitation of the cranes, who did so by those which came last to rendezvous upon their taking their flight to other countries. It is probable, that all matters relating to property, all crimes, and such like, were here finally determined by the plurality of votes, and sometimes, as we are told, they were decided by single combat. In those states that were under a kingly government, as a great many of them were, they applied to the prince only in matters of small moment; but in those which concerned the whole nation, to the grand council of it. Neither allowed they any other revenues to those monarchs, but a part of the fines, and such free-will offerings as the people thought proper to make to them, of cattle and the fruits of the earth; so that they had little else to keep up their grandeur, except their hereditary estates. All their subjects fit to bear arms were obliged to follow them at their own expence into the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make part of their retinue. The subjects were distinguished into several ranks or classes, such as nobles, free-born, freedmen, and bondsmen. That they had several customs and usages that served them for laws, and were preserved among them by tradition, appears from this, that these were still observed by them, even after those of the *Romans* had been introduced among them. Judges they had of their own, and their office was held in such esteem, that men of the highest rank were promoted to it, and of the greatest probity, years, and discretion. They neglected the building of cities and fortresses, looking upon them as productive of effeminacy, it being a common saying among them, that even wild beasts would lose all their strength and courage if penned up. This custom, we are told, subsisted in *Gaul* till the eighth century, and much longer in *Germany*†.

The education of their youth.

No nation could take more care than the *Germans* did, to inure their children to all hardships, to inspire them with a contempt of danger, and even of death, and to rear them up to martial deeds. This was their chief and surest road to wealth, honour, and preferment; and, as their priests taught them, even to the greatest happiness in a future life. Hence they were never at a loss to raise, in a very short time, nu-

† Pelloutier. hist. Celtes. l. 2. Tacit. Germ. & annal. l. 4. Cæf. Comment. Mascov. Germ, l. 2. Vols. de idolatr. Ann. de repub. l. 7. Pint. in Mar.

merous and powerful armies, either to repulse an enemy, or to assist their friends:

Whenever any country was disengaged from war, the Their ablest soldiers were sent into foreign service, not singly, or armies, how according to their own option, but in considerable bodies, disposed, and under the command of such officers as were set over them by the state. They placed their main strength in their foot, having but little cavalry; but that, however, was extremely well disciplined, though their horses were inferior to those of the *Romans*, either in bigness, swiftness, or dexterity. As for saddles and stirrups, they were quite neglected by both *Gauls* and *Germans*, who mounted and dismounted by their own agility, and could, whenever occasion required, fight as well on foot as on horseback. They used no art or stratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onset on the enemy, and continuing it with a desperate intrepidity till they had either won or lost the day. In their order of battle, every canton, or district, were placed together, that their bravery or cowardice might be distinguished. Their cavalry was armed Their armour and weapons, with shields and spears in common with the foot; but the latter had likewise darts, bows, and slings. Helmets, armour, and coats of mail were generally despised among them, and some of them even affected to fight naked; so that the armour they wore was rather for distinction than for defence, upon which account they adorned their helmets with the horns and heads of some wild beasts. Their arms were esteemed their favourite furniture, and chiefest ornament. They never appeared in public without them, and nothing was so earnestly wished for by their youth, as the day on which they became qualified to wear them. If any lost his shield in fight, he was forced to live in disgrace all the rest of his days. The *Suevi*, according to *Tacitus*, were the only people in all *Germany*, among whom private men had not the liberty to wear arms, or even to keep them at home, as the arbitrary princes, under whom they lived, took care to strip their subjects of them. The other *Germans* wore their arms at their familiar banquets, religious dances, and the like. When they sat down they had their sword by their side, and a servant behind to hold their shield and spear. In a word, they looked upon themselves as wedded to their arms, and they commonly caused them to be burnt, or buried with them, when they died.

The *Germans* observed a strict martial discipline; and cowardice and neglect of duty were severely punished among Their punishments them. In civil matters they were not so strict, but adapted their punishments to the different purposes of the commonwealth, being severe against some offences, and remiss towards others; insomuch, that even murder was not esteemed capital among them, but was punished by such a fine of great or small cattle, as was deemed a sufficient compensation

to the family for their loss. In disputes or accusations, whenever the case appeared dubious or intricate, they decided the matter either by their pretended divine auguries, or by single combat, both which cases they looked upon as appeals to heaven.

Their ignorance in the sciences.

The sciences seem to have been entirely unknown to them, if we except the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, who had made some considerable progress not only in navigation and building of ships, but probably also in some branches of astronomy, as well by observation, as by their converse with other nations. The rest were all rude and ignorant, and, in all probability, knew not the use of letters. Their knowledge in physic was like that of the *Gauls*, partly consisting of superstitious observances, and a slight knowledge of the virtues of a few plants. However uncouth their music and poetry might be, there was a set of men among them, whose business it was to couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric poems, and sing them to the people upon proper occasions.

Their exercises.

Their sports, games, and exercises, were chiefly of the masculine kind, and fit to inure them to the martial trade. The youth performed their exercises naked, and with incredible agility, such as running, shooting, swimming, leaping, and the like. They were so fond of gaming, that when they had lost all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one cast more of the dice. Manufactures were not introduced very early among them, except that of linen, which was perhaps one of the first, if not the only one, they cultivated for a considerable time, as it was the favourite dress of their women, priests and men of quality.

Their drefs.

For a long time their only dress was the skins of beasts, and when they exchanged these for cloaths made of flax and wool, they did not wear their new habits long and full, as the *Sarmatians*, but short and strait, and fit to display every limb of their body. As they became more acquainted with the *Romans*, they not only improved in their dress, and the manner of weaving, flowering, and embroidering those stuffs of which they were made, but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have since excelled other nations.

The liberal arts, or even the art of writing, did not find so easy access among them. We are told, that *Charles the Great* caused some of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only sung by heart, to be committed to writing for their use, and to encourage them to learn to read, as these poems contained the actions of their antient kings and heroes. The *Saxons* had such a contempt for letters, that they refused to learn to read the gospels, till they were put into verse, and set to such tunes as they could easily sing. Even their laws, it seems, were not reduced to writing till about the twelfth or thirteenth century; from whence it may be concluded, that their Runic characters are not of so

antient

assign a date as some moderns have imagined. *Venantius*, who lived in the sixth century, is the first who is found to have made any mention of them*.

The *Germans* are generally described to us by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, as resembling one another in their genius and character through all their large territories, and as differing from other nations by the largeness of their stature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, yellow and bushy hair, haughty and threatening looks, strong constitutions, and patience of hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardships. Their native disposition displayed itself chiefly in their martial genius, and in their singular fidelity, for both which, but particularly for the latter, they were highly esteemed by other nations; insomuch, that *Augustus* and several of his successors committed the guard of their persons to them; and their friendship and alliance was either courted by their neighbours, or they were hired as auxiliaries by them. But when they thought themselves ill used by those who hired them, they, in such cases, were easily stirred up, and were extremely vindictive. In other cases, *Tacitus* tells us, they were noble, magnanimous, and beneficent, without ambition to aggrandize their dominions, or to invade those from whom they received no injury; rather chusing to employ their strength and valour defensively than offensively, to preserve their own, than to ravage their neighbours.

All strangers were sure to meet with a kind reception from them. They affected in their houses, furniture, diet, and other things, rather plainness and simplicity, than sumptuousness and luxury, and seem not to have had a taste for grand and elegant entertainments. Every man was contented with one wife, except some few of their nobles, who allowed themselves a plurality, more for show than pleasure, and both were so faithful and chaste, true and disinterested, in their conjugal affections, that *Tacitus* prefers their manners in this respect to those of the *Romans*. The men sought not dowries from their wives, but bestowed them upon them; and it was a common rule with them not to marry young, those being most esteemed who continued longest in celibacy, because they looked upon it as an effectual means to grow tall and strong; therefore to marry or to be concerned with a woman, before they were full twenty years old, was accounted shameful wantonness. The women shared with their husbands not only the care of their family, and the education of their children, but even the hardships of war, looking upon such constant attendance on them not as a servitude, but as a duty and an honour. In the field they sometimes, by their courage and

* Belloutier hist. Celt. Rel. des Gaules Bouterone. tr. des monnoies.

bravery, recovered a victory, when it was upon the point of being snatched from them. But what appears to have been still an harder fate upon the antient *German* daæes was, that their great *Odin* excluded all those from his *Valkalla*, or paradise, who did not by some violent death follow their deceased husbands thither.

Their funerals.

The *Germans* performed their funerals with the same plainness and simplicity that they observed in all other things. The only grandeur they affected was to burn the bodies of their great men with a particular kind of wood ; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the cloaths, and other fine furniture of the deceased, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums. Each man's armour, that is, his sword, shield, and spear, were flung into it, and sometimes his riding horse ; and all the ceremonies they performed were done in consequence of those excellent notions which their antient religion had taught them, the immortality of the soul, and the bliss or misery of a future life. Though *Tacitus* does not mention their notion of the great *Odin* and his paradise, yet it might be older than his time, and he know nothing of it by reason of their scrupulous care of concealing their religion from strangers. The notion of a future happiness, obtained by martial exploits, made them bewail the fate of those who lived to an old age, as dishonourable here, and hopeless hereafter. On this account they had a barbarous way of sending them into the other world, willing, or not willing, which custom lasted several ages after their receiving Christianity, especially among the *Prussians* and *Venedi*, who dispatched, by a violent death, not only their servants and the sick, but even their children, their parents, and sometimes themselves. At their funerals, as well as in all their other feasts, they were famed for drinking to excess. Beer and strong mead, which were their common liquors, were looked upon as the chief promoters of health, strength, fertility, and bravery ; upon which account they made no scruple to indulge themselves to the utmost in them, not only in their feasts, and especially before an engagement, but even in their common meals.

Their fondness for strong liquors.

The early transactions of the *Germans* obscure.

As the *Germans* had no written records, and both *Greeks* and *Romans* were almost wholly unacquainted with them till latter ages, their early transactions, on these accounts, are entirely buried in oblivion. Before the *Romans* came over the *Alps*, they had so little knowledge of them, that they confounded them with the *Gauls*, and called both nations by the same name. When the *Romans* first entered *Germany*, the *Germans* were then so far from being formed into one community, that they were divided into a vast number of small kingdoms and commonwealths. As these, however, were alarmed at the encroachments which the *Romans* were daily making upon all their neighbours, they could not help giving assistance to the *Celts*, *Illyrians*, and other neighbouring states.

states, that were attacked by them. Hence arose those wars and conquests which ended in their total reduction ; for the politic *Romans* soon took the advantage of their being divided into so many different republics, and by fomenting jealousies among some of them, bribing and corrupting others, and by using all their force and art against the rest, found means gradually to subdue the greatest part of the country, which they formed into a *Roman* province.

Several ages before the *Romans* crossed the *Alps*, *Germany* The *Gauls* was invaded by the *Gauls*, under the conduct of *Segovesus*, invade son to the sister of *Ambigatus*, king of the *Celtæ*, whilst his *Germany*. brother *Bellovesus* marched with another colony into *Italy*. Both colonies were directed by the flight of birds, and that under *Segovesus* passed the *Rhine*, and settled in the *Hercynian Forest*. Some time afterwards, the *Germans* made reprisals upon the *Gauls*, and the *Belgæ*, one of their fiercest and The *Bel-* most warlike nations, expelled the *Gauls* from one of their *gæ* invade cantons, where they seated themselves so firmly, that neither *Gaul*. their neighbours, whom they continually annoyed, nor any other nation, could ever drive them out of it. They afterwards peopled the coasts of *Britain*, drove the natives into the inland parts, and waged continual war with the *Germans*. From this irruption of the *Belgæ* into *Gaul*, both *Germans* and *Gauls* continued in a kind of alternate state of hostility and friendship, sometimes invading each other's territories, at other times assisting each other against the *Romans*.

The first *Germans* we read of, who ventured to invade the *The Cim-* *Roman* territories, were the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. Having left *bri* invade their countrymen in the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and on the *Italy*. coasts and islands of the *Baltic* sea, they ravaged *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, and penetrating beyond the *Alps*, defeated the *Romans* in several pitched battles, and threw all *Italy* into the greatest consternation. After all their successes, however, they were at length totally defeated by the consul *Marius*, who, on the day of battle, had posted himself so advantageously, that the *Cimbri* had not only his army, but the sun, wind, and dust, to combat with, whereby they were the more easily overthrown. Those few that escaped the slaughter probably returned into their own country ; for they are said to have sent afterwards a submissive embassy to *Augustus*, and are likewise mentioned by *Tacitus*, and other authors of a later date, as the most warlike of all the northern *Germans*, down to the time of *Claudian*, who calls the north sea by their name. The *Saxons*, their neighbours, probably joining with them in their excursions, and growing by degrees more famous, the *Cimbrian* name was swallowed up in theirs.

The next excursion of the *Germans* we find recorded is Many that which happened in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, on occa- *Germans* sion of the jealousy which it is justly supposed that politic settle in conquerer fomented between the *Ædii* and *Arverni*, the lat- *Gauls* under ter of whom not being countenanced by him, called in the *Arverni*. neighbouring

who is
defeated
by Julius
Cæsar.

The Bel-
gæ enter
into an
alliance
with the
Celts
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Cæsar.

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duced.

neighbouring *Germans* to their assistance. At first, only fifteen thousand came over to them ; but these becoming enamoured with *Gaul*, to keep their footing in it, sent for fresh supplies from over the *Rhine*, insomuch, that they amounted at last to an hundred and twenty thousand. Though the *Arverni*, and their allies the *Sequani*, by the assistance of these troops, soon subdued the *Adui*, yet they were forced by *Ariovistus*, the *German* king, to evacuate one third of their territories for settlements for his troops. He soon after obliged them to yield another third to him, as a settlement for forty thousand *Harudes*, who crossed to him; and, at the same time, by his address, induced *Julius Cæsar*, then consul, to allow him the title and honour of a king. But *Cæsar*, who only cared him for his own ends, soon found a specious pretence to dispossess him of his new kingdom. The politic *Roman*, under pretence of redressing the grievances of the *Gauls*, whom he had spirited up to complain to him, sent to desire an interview with the *German* prince, who returned a contemptuous answer, and got six other nations, or cantons, to join with him. As *Cæsar* was informed, that a large body of the *Suevi* were also on their march to join *Ariovistus*, he hastened towards him to prevent that junction. *Cæsar* and *Ariovistus* having had a conference, without coming to any accomodation, a desperate battle was soon after fought betwixt them, in which the *Germans* being totally defeated with great slaughter, they fled with great precipitation over the *Rhine*. *Ariovistus* also made his escape ; but from a passage of *Cæsar* it may be concluded, that he did not long outlive his disgrace. After his defeat, the nations which fought under him dispersed themselves ; the *Marcomans* into *Boisheimum*, under the conduct of *Maroboduus* ; the *Tribechi*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*, staid in *Gaul*, or went over the *Rhine*, but submitted with the *Ubii* to the *Romans* ; for we find them still seated along the banks of that river. As for those *Suevi* who were assembled on the same side, they retired upon the news of the defeat of their countrymen, only a great number were cut off in their flight by the *Ubii*, who had been treated in an hostile manner by them.

The year after the defeat of *Ariovistus*, the *Belgæ*, alarmed at the success of the *Romans*, formed a great alliance with the *Celts*, *Germans*, and *Gauls*, in order to drive *Cæsar* farther from their neighbourhood. That *Roman*, however, found means to sow such divisions among them, that many of the confederate cantons submitted to him ; and the *Norvii*, *Atrebatæ*, and *Vermandui*, who stood out, were at length reduced. The *Aituati*, who had left their habitations to come to the assistance of the *Atrebatæ*, entertained no small contempt of the *Romans*, when they found them so far inferior in stature. However, they were afterwards undeceived ; for being besieged in their capital, fifty-three thousand of them were reduced to such a hard condition, as to be obliged to

to surrender at discretion, when they were sold for slaves. *Cæsar*, not long afterwards, was forced into a war with the *Tencteri* and *Usipites*, two other *German* nations, who having been forced out of their own territories by the *Suevi*, had passed into *Gaul*, and settled themselves in the neighbourhood of the *Eburones* and *Condrusi*. They sent an embassy to *Cæsar*, upon his return from *Italy*, informing him of the reasons of their coming into that country, and begging that he would allow them settlements there; promising, if he did, to serve him upon all occasions, otherwise they would maintain their ground by force of arms. *Cæsar* not only refused to grant their request, but fell suddenly and furiously upon them, and cut off great part of them, with their wives and children; many others perished in endeavouring to cross the *Maese*; but their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, crossed the *Rhine*, and fled to the *Sicambri*.

The *Ubii*, near *Cologne*, about the same time, begging assistance of *Cæsar* against the threatening *Suevi*, he embraced that pretence for passing with his army into *Germany*, by building a bridge over the *Rhine*, to the great surprize of all the *Germans*. The *Ubii* had offered to waft him over in their boats, but he rejected their assistance, and, in ten days, completed a strong wooden bridge over that river. Having entered *Germany*, he ravaged the country of the *Sicambri* in an unmerciful manner; set fire to their houses, and cut down their corn. When he returned to the *Ubii*, they, at his approach, ran, with all their effects, into their forests, and exhorted the *Tencteri* and *Usipites* to do the same. This, in all probability, was the first time that the *Romans* had set foot on the *German* territories; and it would seem that *Cæsar* only intended thereby to awe the *Germans*, without designing to make any conquests in their country.

The *Romans*, prompted by their boundless ambition, were not satisfied with barely visiting *Germany*, but wanted to extend their dominions beyond the *Rhine*. The *Germans*, on the other hand, tenacious of their liberties, took all opportunities of distressing their encroaching neighbours. The emperor *Augustus*, having, at this time, issued some edicts against the inhuman superstitions of the *Druids*, which, in all likelihood, affected both *Gauls* and *Germans*, the latter passed the *Rhine* and ravaged those countries that were subject to him. *Agrippa* coming against him, they were so intimidated that they quickly repassed that river; but, while he was gone into *Spain*, they repassed it and defeated a body of *Roman* horse, and afterwards the *Gallic* proconsul *M. Lollius*, from whom they carried off a standard; though he soon recovered his honour, and drove them back again with considerable loss. The *Gauls*, in the mean time, being in great ferment, *Drusus* took the command of the troops in that country; and, having quieted the commotions, passed the

Rhine, drove all before him, and penetrated almost to the *German Ocean*.

The *Roman* legions soon after revolting in *Pannonia*, the *Romans* made that a pretence for a fresh invasion of *Germany*; which *Germanicus* carried on with great havock and slaughter of the *Germans* for fifty miles about; and, if we may believe *Tacitus*, without the loss, or even the wounding, of one single *Roman*. This action may more properly be called a massacre than a conquest; for the *Roman*, hearing that the *Germans* were celebrating some great festival, at which he knew it was their custom to drink and carouse to great excess, crossed the *Cassian* forest all night, and slaughtered them next morning without opposition, sparing neither age nor sex. He afterwards routed some other *German* armies; and, a rupture happening between two *German* chiefs, *Arminius* and *Segestes*, he became an ally of the latter; by which means he greatly extended the *Roman* conquests in *Germany*; but *Tiberius* becoming jealous of his reputation, he was recalled from thence.

The *Germans*, as we have related in the history of *Rome*, made many brave attempts to throw off the *Roman* yoke; and at length indeed accomplished their end and subdued their conquerors.

The down
fall of the
Roman
empire in
the west.

About the time of the declension of the western empire, when it had been not only much weakened by the division of it made by *Constantine the Great*, but was torn by intestine broils and wars, the *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Franks*, *Suevi*, *Heruli*, *Burgundi*, and other *German* nations, made frequent and successful incursions into *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*. *Odoacer*, king of the *Heruli*, made so successful an expedition into *Italy*, that *Augustulus*, then on the throne, not being in a condition to make head against him, was forced to yield the empire to him. The *Heruli* were in a short time driven out of *Italy* by the *Ostrogoths*, and these were at length expelled by *Justinian*; so that the province became again a part of the eastern empire; but, not many years after, was seized upon by the *Lombards*. The *Franks*, in the mean time, having made a conquest of the countries on the *Lower Rhine* with great part of *Gaul*, formed a very powerful kingdom. The popes of *Rome*, being oppressed by the *Lombards*, and wanting to throw off the jurisdiction of the eastern emperors, who claimed to controul them as their sovereigns, had recourse to the illiterate *Franks*, who, having lately embraced the *Christian* religion, adored them as gods. Accordingly, the victorious *Charlemagne*, king of the *Franks*, at the solicitation of pope *Adrian*, led a powerful army into *Italy*; and, putting an end to the kingdom of the *Lombards*, confirmed the usurped power and temporal dominion of the pope, who, forgetting his allegiance to the eastern emperors, conferred the title of emperor upon *Charles*. The greatest part of the dominions of the new emperor being on this side of the *Alps*,
he

he soon left *Italy*, where the popes had no longer any formidable rivals, and returning to *Germany* fixed the seat of his empire at *Aix la Chapelle*, that he might the more readily oppose the *Saxons*, with whom he had long and bloody wars. Thus did *Germany* become the seat of the western empire, which, though but a shadow of the ancient *Roman*, hath hitherto maintained itself under a continued series of imperial monarchs *.

* Sigon. de regn. Ital. Tacit. Annal. & Germ. Cæsar. Comment. Mascov. & Lediard. Germ. Keyzler ut supra. Polyb. l. 2. Plat. in Mar. Strab. l. 7. Claudian. consul. Honor.



C H A P. IV.

The Antient History of the Hunns.

THE original settlement of the *Hunns* is generally supposed to have been that of the *Asiatic Sarmatia*, which bordered on the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Tanais* *. Their country, as described by *Procopius*, lay north of Mount *Caucasus*, which extends from the *Euxine* to the *Caspian Sea*. In this ridge of mountains were two narrow passes leading out of the *Asiatic Sarmatia* into *Iberia*; and through these the *Hunns* entered into the territories of the *Romans* and *Parthians*. The territories adjoining to the north side of *Caucasus*, *Procopius* calls the *Eulyfinian region*; and he says that its inhabitants were divided into several tribes, but were all comprised under the general name of *Ugri*, changed afterwards into that of *Hunni*, or *Unni* †.

According to a late eminent *French* author, the *Hunns* came originally from *Great Tartary*, and were of the same stock with the *Chinese* and the *Turks* ‡.

When the *Hunns* first broke into *Europe*, mention is made of the *Uturgurian*, *Caturgurian*, *Onugurian*, *Vultinzurian*, *Burgurian*, *Sabirian*, or *Gabrian*, and *Nephthalite*, or *Ephthalite* *Hunns*. *Procopius* tells us that one of their kings had two sons, *Uturgur* and *Cuturgur*, who, upon their father's death, divided his territories between them, and gave their names to the different tribes they ruled over; the *Uturgurian Hunns*, on the

* Ammian. Marcell. l. 31. Agath. l. 5.

† Procop. Bell. Goth.

‡ Hist. Gener. de Hunns, par Deguignes. 1756.

south side of the *Palus Mæotis*; and north of them, towards the *Tanais*, the *Cutugurian*. The *Ephthalite Hunns*, or *Nephthalite*, as *Agathias* styles them, inhabited a rich country bordering to the north on *Persia*, and at a great distance from the *Sarmatian* or *Scythian Hunns*, with whom they had no intercourse, nor the least resemblance, either in their persons or manners. These, who were called the *White Hunns*, contented themselves with their own country, lived under a regular government, subject to one prince; and seldom made inroads, unless provoked, either into the *Persian* or *Roman* territories. Each of their great men used to choose twenty or more companions to enjoy with him his wealth and partake of all his diversions; but, upon his decease, they were all buried with him in the same grave.

The sa-

vage man-
ners of the
Scythian
Hunns.

The *Sarmatian Hunns*, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, were a savage people, and even practised their cruelty upon their own children, on the day of their birth, by cutting and mangling the cheeks of their males to prevent the growth of hair, which it seems they looked upon as unbecoming and unmanly. They had no other food but roots and raw meat, being quite unacquainted with the use of fire, and having no houses, not even huts. Nay, they had such an aversion to houses, which they called the sepulchres of the living, that, when they went into other countries, they could hardly be prevailed upon to come within the walls of any house, not thinking themselves safe when shut up and covered. They used even to eat and sleep on horseback, scarce ever dismounting: from whence, probably, *Zosimus* concluded, that they could not walk. They had no law, nor any kind of religion, but complied with their inclinations, whatever they prompted them to. In battles they began the onset with great noise and fury; but, if they did not succeed, they were thrown into confusion and fled. They were a faithless nation, and thought themselves no longer bound by the most solemn treaties than they found their advantage in not observing them. Several bodies of *Hunns*, after their coming into *Europe*, served in the *Roman* armies against the *Goths* and other barbarian nations; and for hire they were ready to fight against each other. They seem to have been subject to several chiefs, who, in time of war, acted with a sovereign authority, and are styled kings by some historians.

They quit
their ori-
ginal set-
tlement.

A.C. 376.

The *Hunns*, it is said, remained long unacquainted with the people and countries on the opposite side of the *Palus Mæotis*, till an hind, pursued by some hunters, or, as others relate, an ox, stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some *Hunns* followed their guide to the other side, where they discovered a country far more agreeable than their own. Upon their return, they acquainted their countrymen with what they had seen, and at the same time informed them that what they had till then looked upon as a deep sea, was only a marsh, and might be passed without the least danger.

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The *Hunns*, upon this information, passed the marsh, They and, entering the country of the *Alans*, who dwelt on the subdue banks of the *Tanais*, they laid it waste far and near; made a the *Alans* dreadful havock of the inhabitants, and obliged such of them and *Ostro-* as were left alive and able to bear arms, to join them. They *goths*. next fell upon the *Goths*, called by *Ammianus*, *Gruthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Ostrogoths*, and spread every where such terror among them that *Ermenric*, their king, though a warlike prince, and conqueror of many nations, in despair laid violent hands on himself; but, according to *Jornandes*, he was assassinated, and died in the one hundred and tenth year of his age. His successor, *Vithimir*, having hired a body of the *Hunns*, made, for some time, a vigorous resistance; but at length, after many losses, was slain in battle. *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, the guardians of his infant son, though men of valour and experience, thought it best to abandon the country they then held, and retire, with all their people, to the plains between the *Borysthenes* and the *Danube*, which country is now known by the name of *Podolia* *.

Athalaric, king of the *Thervingi*, or *Visigoths*, being in- They formed of what had happened to the *Ostrogoths*, prepared for oblige the a vigorous defence on the banks of the *Danastus*, now the *Visigoths* *Nieper*. The *Hunns*, however, falling unexpectedly upon to fly their him, he was defeated with great loss and obliged to take shel- country. ter on the neighbouring mountains. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, pursued him but slowly, he built a wall with incredible expedition for his own defence, extending from the *Gerasus*, or the *Pruth*, to the *Danube*, in the country now known by the name of *Moldavia*.

This sudden and furious irruption of the *Hunns* alarmed all The *Goths*. the *Gothic* nations in their neighbourhood, who, abandoning are admit- their own habitations, and marching to the *Danube*, sent an ed into embassy to the emperor *Valens*, begging, in a most submissive *Thrace*. manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*. The embassy, at first, threw the *Romans* into great consternation; but *Valens*, at length, granting their request, they entered *Thrace* in such numbers, that *Ammianus* compares them to the sparks which at that very time issued out of Mount *Ætna*, and to the sands of the *Lybian* shore.

The *Gruthongi*, or *Ostrogoths*, being also soon after driven out of their country by the *Hunns*, flocked in swarms to the *Danube*, and, encouraged by the reception the *Visigoths* had met with from *Valens*, begged to be admitted into the *Roman* territories; but their request being rejected, they passed the *Danube* in spite of the *Romans*. Thus the *Hunns*, in the year 376, not only settled in *Europe*, but made themselves masters of that vast country which extends from the *Tanais* to the *Danube*.

* *Ammian. Marcell. l. 31. Jornand. rer. Goth.*

Mesopotamia ravaged by the *Hunns*

We find no further mention of them till the year 388, when great numbers of them are said to have lifted themselves in the *Roman* armies. About five years before, the *Nephthalite Hunns*, who, as we have mentioned, were neighbours to the *Persians*, broke into the *Roman* dominions, overran *Mesopotamia*, and even laid siege to *Edeffa*; but a body of *Goths* coming to the relief of the place, they were obliged to retire.

The *European Hunns* first passed the *Danube* in 391; and, being joined by the *Goths*, and other barbarians, ravaged *Asia* and *Thrace*; but were soon after defeated by *Stilicho*, who shut them up in a narrow valley, where they must either have perished or surrendered, had not the traitor *Rufinus*, according to *Claudian*, persuaded *Theodosius* to grant them a peace.

About four years after, the *Hunns*, from the *Palus Meotis*, broke into the eastern provinces, and, destroying all with fire and sword, penetrated as far as *Antioch*. *St. Jerom* says, that the cruel enemy roved, without controul, where they pleased, preventing by their speed the report of their coming. He adds, that the general terror and consternation spread as far as *Palestine*, upon a rumour that they proposed to advance to *Jerusalem* and plunder the holy city. These *Hunns* returned loaded with the booty of the *Asiatic* provinces, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives, having met with no opposition in their excursion, the *Roman* troops being then employed in the west against the usurper *Eugenius* *.

Thrace ravaged by the *Hunns*, who serve under the *Romans*.

About nine years after, that is in the year 404, the *Hunns* ravaged *Thrace*, and penetrated into *East Illyricum*, destroying with fire and sword whatever they could not carry off with them; but, upon the news of the march of an imperial army against them, they repassed the *Danube* with precipitation. The year following, we find a body of *Hunns*, under the command of their chief, *Uldin*, serving in *Stilicho's* army against *Radagaisus*, who had invaded *Italy*; and to this body of troops was owing a signal victory which *Stilicho* gained in *Heiruna* †.

Uldin, two years after, on what provocation is uncertain, became an irreconcilable enemy to the *Romans*, and invaded *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army of *Hunns* and *Scythians*, another northern nation. *Anthemius*, who was regent during the minority of *Theodosius II.* did all in his power to appease *Uldin*; but he disdainfully rejecting the terms offered him, *Anthemius* sent an army against him; upon the approach of which many of his officers abandoned him; so that he was

* Hier. Epitaph. Fabiol. & Epist. iii. 30. & in vit. St. Chrysos. Chrysos. Psal. 95. Socrat. l. 6. & 10.

† Zosim, Philosorg. l. 12.

obliged hastily to repass the *Danube*. The *Scyri*, however, who were in the rear, were all cut off or taken prisoners †.

The *Hunns* seem to have continued quiet from this time till the year 423, when, upon the death of the emperor *Honorius*, the empire being usurped by his chief secretary *John*, they were prevailed upon by the celebrated *Actius*, to espouse the cause of the usurper; and marched, to the number of sixty thousand, to his assistance, under the command of *Actius*. The *Hunns*, upon their entering *Italy*, fought one desperate battle, in behalf of the usurper; but news being brought that he was surprised and beheaded in *Ravenna*, *Actius* submitted to the emperor *Theodosius*, and, by distributing considerable sums among them, persuaded them to return home. *Thrace*, however, was this very year pillaged and laid waste by some of that nation; led by one *Rougas*, or *Roilas*, who was killed with lightning, while a part of his army was destroyed by a plague, and part consumed by fire from heaven, according to the account of *Socrates*. The Hunns masters of Pannonia.

In the year 432, that is, six years after the last irruption, we find the *Hunns* in possession of *Pannonia*, and that *Actius*, who had been disgraced by *Valentinian III.* had taken refuge among them. The *Hunns* having been indebted to *Actius* for their lands in *Pannonia*, their king, *Roas*, not only received him with the greatest demonstrations of kindness, but sent him back at the head of a powerful army of *Hunns*; which so terrified *Placidia*, the mother of the young emperor, that she restored *Actius* to all his employments, and raised him to the rank of a patrician.

Three years after, a strong body of *Hunns* marching thro' *Germany*, joined *Actius* in *Gaul* against the *Burgundians*, who had then revolted from the *Romans* and ravaged *Belgic Gaul*. The *Burgundians* being defeated by *Actius*, sued for peace, which was granted them; but the following year twenty thousand of them were cut off by the *Hunns* at his instigation, he being provoked, as some authors write, at their revolting a-new; while others charge him, on this occasion, with breach of faith and the blackest treachery †. They join Actius against the Burgundians.

Socrates relates, that the *Burgundians* being all cut off by the *Hunns*, except three thousand, these had recourse to heaven, and, being willing to embrace the Christian religion, were all baptized; after which, being full of courage and confidence, they attacked the *Hunns*, and cutting ten thousand of them in pieces, obliged the rest to save themselves by flight. and oblige the Goths to raise the siege of Nar-

The *Hunns*, notwithstanding this overthrow, marched, either this year or the following, according to *Idatius*, in a

† Idem Socrat. & Prosp. Chron.

† Idat. p. 21. Sidon. car. 7. Val. rer. Frac. Bucher. Belg.

considerable body to the assistance of the *Romans*, against the *Goths* in *Aquitain*, who had revolted and laid siege to *Narbonne*. While the *Goths* were busied in the siege, the *Hunns* unexpectedly fell upon them and put them to flight. The *Hunns*, who thus signalized themselves against the *Goths*, had been employed the year before by the *Romans* against the rebellious *Armorici*, whom they reduced. Afterwards, in their march against the *Goths* of *Aquitain*, they plundered the province of *Auvergne*, though belonging to the *Romans*. *Litorius*, their chief, at first gained great advantages over the *Goths*, and laid siege to *Toulouse*, their capital; but was in the end overcome by *Theodoric*, their king, in a pitched battle, and taken prisoner. About this time, two chiefs of the *Hunns*, *Basie* and *Cursic*, having numerous bodies of their nation under their command, which they had employed for some time against the *Persians*, came to *Rome*, and entered into the service of the emperor *Valentinian III*.

The *Romans* con- sent to pay a yearly pension to the *Hunns*. *Rouas*, king of the *Hunns*, who succeeded his father *Rougas*, in 425, had concluded a peace with *Theodosius II*. by which the emperor promised to pay him a yearly pension of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. Some few years after, *Rouas*, resolving to subdue the *Boischi* and other nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube* under the protection of the emperor, sent an envoy to *Constantinople*, threatening to make war upon *Theodosius* if he lent them the least assistance. Before *Rouas* could put his design in execution, he died, and was succeeded by his two nephews *Bleda* and *Attila*, who concluded an accommodation with the court of *Constantinople* upon terms very honourable to themselves.

Attila and *Bleda* sovereigns of the *Hunns*. In consequence of this treaty, *Attila* and *Bleda* being at liberty to make what conquests they pleased out of the empire, they soon made their authority to be acknowledged by all the barbarous nations from the *Danube* to the most distant coasts of the *Euxine Sea*. Among those nations were the *Acatziri*, who dwelt on the north coast of the *Euxine Sea*, and were divided into several nations, each of them having a king of their own. But the most antient among these princes had, it seems, some pre-eminence above the rest; and he, having favoured *Attila*, was left undisturbed by the conqueror, who dispossessed the other princes, and gave their countries to his eldest son *Ellac*, whom he appointed king over all the nations bordering on the *Euxine Sea*.

Attila subduces the northern nations. *Attila's* ambition being inflamed by his great success, he formed a design of subduing the *Goths* in *Thrace*, and making himself master of the whole empire. He accordingly invaded *Thrace* with a numerous army, and put all to fire and sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. *Theodosius* was at this time engaged in two troublesome wars with the *Persians* and *Vandals*; and, according to *Vorburgus*, *Attila* had invaded *Thrace*, at the instigation of *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals*.

He invades *Thrace*.

Attila

Attila and his brother made themselves masters of several Roman towns and castles on the banks of the *Danube*; alleging that the *Romans* had first violated the peace; the bishop of *Morgum*, they said, having plundered their treasure. The bishop denied the charge; but the *Romans*, being greatly affected with the progress of the enemy, he began to be apprehensive that they would deliver him up to them, and went therefore and surrendered himself, and put the city into their hands. *Attila*, elated with this success, required *Theodosius* to deliver up all the *Hunns* who had taken refuge in the *Roman* territories, to pay him the arrears of his yearly pension, and to settle, without delay, what sums should be paid him for the future.

The answer he received from the emperor not satisfying him, he pursued his ravages with more cruelty than ever, reducing several cities and strong-holds, particularly *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum*. The progress of the *Hunns* in *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, at length so alarmed the emperor that he withdrew into *Asia*, where he continued till the return of the army which he had sent against *Genferic*, to whom he was forced to grant an advantageous peace. What was the issue of the war betwixt *Attila* and *Theodosius* we are not informed, but it is mentioned that peace was concluded betwixt them.

A peace
concluded
betwixt
Attila and
the emper-
ror.

After this peace, *Attila*, who was become a slave to his ambition, most inhumanly caused his brother *Bleda* to be murdered, and then obliged the whole nation of the *Hunns* to acknowledge him for their sovereign. According to *Jornandes*, he was obeyed also by the *Goths*; meaning, without doubt, those who chose to remain in their antient seats, the *Gepidæ*, the *Suevians*, the *Alans*, the *Heruli*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Semandrians*, the *Squiri*, the *Satagares*, the *Rugians*, and the *Acatzirians*; and was sole master of all *Scythia* and *Germany*. The *Romans*, as *Priscus* relates, declined giving him the title of king, and only stiled him general of their armies, disguising the annual tribute they paid him with the specious name of salary: so great was their vanity when their power was at the lowest ebb! *Attila*, however, rejected this title with contempt; saying, That the emperors had slaves for their generals; whereas, his generals were upon a level with the emperors themselves. *Jornandes* writes, that, when *Attila* entered *Gaul*, he was attended by a troop of kings and princes, who stood trembling before him without daring to utter a word, but were always ready, at the least sign, to execute his commands with the utmost care and submission.

Attila
murders
his bro-
ther *Bleda*

This warlike prince, according to *Jornandes*, was black, low in stature, had a broad breast, a large head, a flat nose, and small eyes. He was fond of war, but depended more upon his council than his sword, employing not only force and menaces, but often craft and artifice, and sometimes

His cha-
racter.

low

low wiles, and even lies, to obtain his end. His great power and success so intoxicated him that he would not even hearken to reason, however plain and evident. Insolent pride and haughtiness appeared in all his actions and motions, in his gait, eyes, and looks; insomuch that no one could behold him without concluding that he was sent into the world to disturb it.

In his time a remarkable sword was found, which was thought to be the sword of *Mars*; and, on that account, was held in great veneration by the *Scythians*. *Priscus* relates, that nothing gained *Attila* so much respect among the superstitious vulgar as the discovery of this sword in his time.

Though *Priscus* relates that he was so blinded by pride as to suffer divine honours to be paid him, yet he mentions several good qualities that he was possessed of. He administered justice according to the strictest rules of equity, and treated his subjects with great mildness, suffering them quietly to enjoy their estates, and levying only such sums as they could easily pay. He was ever ready to pardon those who submitted to him, and was never known to have abandoned such as he had taken under his protection. He was so far from placing his grandeur in pomp and show, that, on the contrary, he affected an air of simplicity, and a contempt for state and all kind of outward magnificence. He invited the *Roman* ambassador *Maximinus*, and *Priscus*, who accompanied him, to an entertainment, at which he himself eat off a trencher and drank out of a wooden cup, while the rest were served in silver and gold, and used cups of gold enriched with precious stones. Though something happened during the banquet which made all the company laugh, yet *Attila* maintained his usual gravity amidst their mirth without the least smile or change of countenance. He had, as *Jordanes* expresses it, troops of wives, by whom he had a most numerous issue. Among his children are mentioned *Elic*, his eldest son; *Dengizic*, who perished in making war upon the *Romans*; and *Hernac*, or *Hernas*, the youngest of them all.

He de- *Attila*, seeing himself despotic master of so many nations
spies and looked upon the *Roman* emperors with such contempt that
insults the he is said to have sent, out of meer wantonness, two *Goths*
Romans. with the character of ambassadors, one to *Theodosius*, and the
other to *Valentinian*, with this haughty and insulting message
*Attila, my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for
his reception.* What answer they returned is not mentioned.

As the *Romans* trembled at the very name of *Attila*, he often threatened them with war, and by that means drew from them money, corn, provisions, and whatever else he stood in need of. The ambassadors he sent to *Constantinople* returned always loaded with presents; insomuch that, when

he thought any of his subjects worthy of an extraordinary reward, he used to send them, under some pretence or other, with the character of ambassadors to *Theodosius*.

In the year 447, however, *Attila*, being no longer satisfied with the annual pension and rich presents given him by the emperor, declared war against the empire, and over-ran several provinces, which soon obliged *Theodosius* to conclude a peace with him on most dishonourable terms. A few months after the conclusion of this peace, *Attila* sent one *Edecon* to *Constantinople* as his ambassador, who, appearing to be taken with the splendor and magnificence of that court, and to be desirous of continuing among the *Romans*, the eunuch *Chrysaphus*, the emperor's chief chamberlain, thinking him there-
Theodosius enters in-
upon capable of committing, without remorse, the blackest crimes, prevailed with him to undertake the assassinating of his prince. The emperor not only consented to this wicked attempt; but, that it might be the more easily effected, he dispatched a solemn embassy to *Attila*, enjoining those who attended the ambassadors to assist *Edecon*.

This embassy, however, no sooner arrived at the court of *Attila*, than *Edecon*, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such an attempt, or deceiving the whole time the traitors with more refined treachery, discovered the whole to his prince, who immediately caused *Vigilius*, who was to have been assistant to *Edecon*, to be seized; and sent his secretary, *Orestes*, to *Constantinople* with the purse which had contained *Edecon*'s bribe, to reproach the emperor, in the severest terms, with such a black piece of treachery; and to insist upon his instantly delivering up to him *Chrysaphus*, the author and contriver of the plot. *Theodosius*, however, sending *Anatolius*, his captain of the guards, and *Nomus*, to *Attila*, these prevailed on him, by rich presents, not only to pardon *Chrysaphus* and set *Vigilius* at liberty, but to relinquish his claim to the countries on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, to promise to live in friendship with *Theodosius*, and to send back many *Roman* captives without ransom, the ambassadors also being dismissed loaded with presents.

Marcian, the following year, succeeding to the empire on the death of *Theodosius*, *Attila* immediately dispatched ambassadors to him, demanding the pension paid him by the deceased prince. These ambassadors, however, were dismissed with this answer, *That Theodosius was no more; and, that the present emperor had gold for his friends and steel for his enemies.* *Marcian* refuses to
Attila, on this answer, assembling his troops in order to break into the empire, *Marcian*, to gain time, sent a solemn embassy to him; at the head of which was *Apollonius*, a general of no small renown. The ambassadors, however, not having carried with them the usual presents, *Attila* would neither speak to them nor see them; and they were ordered to quit his dominions and return home.

Attila being impatient of peace, and, on the other hand, not thinking it expedient to engage in a war with *Marcian*, resolved to turn his arms against the western empire, then governed by *Valentinian III.* a weak and unwarlike prince. About seventeen years before, *Attila* had been solicited by *Honorio*, the sister of *Valentinian*, to break the peace and attack her brother. As there was none in the empire a proper match for her, she was honoured with the title of *Honorio*, and enjoined celibacy; but that state not being at all agreeable to her disposition, she pressed *Attila* to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her, sending him even a ring as a pledge of her fidelity. *Attila* then declining to engage in the enterprize, *Honorio* suffered herself to be debauched, and was sent to *Constantinople*; but, nevertheless, continued pressing *Attila* to make war upon her brother.

Attila invades
Gaul.

A.C. 451.

He takes
and plun-
ders se-
veral ci-
ties.

At length, in the year 451, *Attila*, under pretence that *Honorio* was refused him for his bride, made war on the emperor. Giving out at first, however, that he only wanted to attack the *Goths*, many cities in *Gaul* opened their gates to him; but his troops soon making their hostile intention evident, the other towns refused to admit him. *Attila*, hereupon pulling off the mask, besieged, took by storm, and plundered many places in *Gaul*; particularly *Tongres*, *Treves*, formerly the metropolis of *Gaul*, *Strasburg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, *Andernach*, and most of the towns in that neighbourhood.

The numerous army of the *Hunns* being afterwards divided into several bodies, took, pillaged, and laid in ashes, many other cities; and, among the rest, *Arras*, *Besancon*, *Toul*, and *Langres*. They attacked the town of *Laon*, but were repulsed with great slaughter. At *Mentz* they arrived the night preceding the solemnity of *Easter*; and, having entered the city sword in hand, made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, massacred the priests at the altars, and set fire to the place, which was soon reduced to ashes. *Attila*, at length, laying siege to *Orleans*, *Actius*, the *Roman* general, who had arrived at *Arles*, encouraged the inhabitants and garison to make an obstinate defence, promising to hasten to their relief.

Having, with great difficulty, prevailed with *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, to join him, he advanced with his troops, which were also reinforced by the *Franks* under the conduct of their king *Merouee*, with the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, *Armoricans*, the *Lisians* dwelling on the banks of the *Lis*, in *Flanders*; the *Reverins*, or *Pipuaricans*, inhabiting the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*; the *Ibrions*, or *Breons*, placed by *Valesius* in *Suabia* and *Bavaria*; and several other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, whom the *Romans* had formerly commanded as their subjects, but were now glad to reckon among their auxiliaries and allies.

Before

Before the arrival of *Aetius*, *Orleans* was taken by the *Hunns*, He is driven from
 whether by storm or capitulation is uncertain ; but the bar-
 barians were scarce in possession of the place, when they *Orleans*
 were unexpectedly attacked by *Aetius* and *Theodoric*, who cut by *Aetius*
 great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged them to retire and *Theo-*
 out of the town with the utmost precipitation, many of them *doric*.
 in the confusion throwing themselves into the *Loire*, and
 perishing there: *Attila* being driven from *Orleans*, retired
 with his army towards the *Rhine*, and having passed *Troies*,
 halted in the plains of *Chalons*, which he chose as most ad-
 vantageous for his *Hunns*, who were all horse, to engage in.
Aetius resolving to put the whole to the issue of a battle,
 marched after the *Hunns* with the utmost dispatch, and arri-
 ving late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped,
 the *Gepidæ*, who served under *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who
 followed *Aetius*, meeting in the dark, fought with such fury,
 that on both sides above fifteen thousand men were left dead
 upon the spot. The two armies next day drew up in the
 plain, to risk a general engagement ; not any private pique
 or quarrel, but the ambition of one man, as *Jornandes* says,
 thus bringing them out to destroy each other, and supplying
 the room of the most mortal hatred and irreconcilable en-
 mity. “ What pity, (continues our historian) that by the
 “ passion and folly of one man, should perish in a few hours
 “ what nature has produced in many years.”

The battle, which began about four in the afternoon, is
 reckoned by all writers one of the most bloody and obstinate
 engagements mentioned in history. A small brook that
 crossed the plain swelled to a torrent by the great quantity of
 blood that was shed. Both the *Romans* and *Goths* charged
 with the utmost impetuosity ; and though *Theodoric* was
 killed in the action, the latter fought with such ardor, that
 towards evening they drove the *Hunns* to their camp. *Aetius* He is de-
 also repulsed them, but not knowing of the success of the *Goths*, feated at
 he kept the field, and did not pursue. The vast plains ap- *Chalons*
 peared next morning almost quite covered with dead bodies. with great
Aetius expected that *Attila* would have renewed the engage- slaughter.
 ment ; but he kept close in his camp, and was resolved, if
 the *Romans* had forced it, to have burned himself alive, rather
 than suffer himself to be taken prisoner. As the *Hunns* con-
 tinued in their camp, the *Romans* concluded that their loss
 was very great ; but not thinking it proper to attack them,
 they resolved to keep them closely blocked up. In the
 action near three hundred thousand men were killed on both
 sides, according to *Idatius* ; and, according to *Jornandes*,
 two hundred and fifty-two thousand, including those who
 fell the night before the battle, in the encounter between the
Franks and *Gepidæ*.

Both sides suffered extremely, and the *Romans* challenged
 the victory for no other reason, but because *Attila* the next
 day kept in his camp, and afterwards withdrew into his own
 country.

Attila
quits Gaul

country. Though *Thorismund*, the eldest son of *Theodoric*, in revenge for his father's death, resolved again to attack the *Hunns*, *Aetius*, who did not want them entirely cut off, politically dissuaded him, and pressed him to return without delay into his own country, lest his brothers seizing on the deceased king's treasures, should raise disturbances in his absence. *Thorismund* was no sooner gone, than *Aetius*, by the same artifice, persuaded *Merouee*, king of the *Franks*, whose brother aspired to the crown, to depart, and thus got for himself the spoils that were left in the field of battle. The *Hunns* must have been greatly weakened by the battle; for *Attila*, notwithstanding the departure of the *Goths* and *Franks*, did not offer to attack *Aetius*, but retired quietly to the *Rhine*. Such was the issue of *Attila's* expedition into *Gaul*, so much spoken of by the writers of those times. It was a long time before the towns he had ruined were re-built, or re-peopled; nay, so great was the consternation of the inhabitants, that though *Troies* was spared by *Attila*, from his regard to the famous bishop *Lupus*, who attended him to the banks of the *Rhine*, yet the bishop, when he came back, found the city quite abandoned; nor could he persuade his people, who had taken refuge in a neighbouring mountain, to return to their habitations.

and in-
vades
Italy.

A.C. 452.

Attila, rather enraged than disheartened at his great loss and disgrace, resolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where he hoped to find more booty and less opposition. Having therefore reinforced his army with powerful supplies, sent him out of *Scythia*, he left *Pannonia*, and finding the passes of the *Alps* unguarded, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the same year, or in the beginning of the following; but a peace being soon after concluded between him and *Valsutian*, he repassed the *Alps*, and retired beyond the *Danube*.

He returns
into Gaul.

Attila was no sooner returned to his own country, than he began to threaten the eastern empire with an invasion, if *Marcian* did not send him the tribute formerly paid him. This, however, was only a feint to conceal his real design, which was to return into *Gaul*, and there make war on the *Visigoths*. Accordingly, crossing the country of *Rhetia*, he followed the course of the *Rhone*, and entering *Dauphiny*, fell unexpectedly upon the *Alans*; but *Thorismund* coming to their assistance, gave him a total overthrow, which obliged him to return with disgrace into his own country. *Valesius*, however, questions the truth of this second irruption of *Attila* into *Gaul*. As *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that *Thorismund* subdued the *Alans*, perhaps they called in a party of *Hunns* to their assistance.

His death.

We find no farther mention of *Attila* in the ancient historians till the time of his death, which is placed by some in the year 454, and by others in 453 or 452. *Attila*, according to *Jornandes*, having celebrated his nuptials with a young woman of extraordinary beauty, named *Ildico*, and having drunk

drank to excess, contrary to his custom, was stifled in the night by a flux of blood, to which he was subject. The *Hunns*, next morning, to express their grief, cut off part of their hair, according to the custom of their nation, and tore their faces, to bewail so great a warrior, not with tears, but with blood. *Priscus* also relates, that the very night *Attila* died, the emperor *Marcian*, being very uneasy and restless in reflecting on the menaces and great power of that warlike prince, his bow was shewn him broken in many pieces. *Attila*, *Jornandes* says, was justly punished with a dishonourable and ignominious death for the cruel and unnatural murder of his brother, and the streams of blood which his unbounded ambition had prompted him to shed. His body was conveyed with great solemnity from the place where he died to the fields, and there laid under a silken tent, and some horsemen often riding round it, sung, in a doleful strain, the noble achievements of their king. This mournful ceremony was succeeded by a joyful one, a great banquet on the deceased prince's tomb, which lasted till the night was far spent, when his body was secretly interred in three coffins, the first of gold, the second of silver, and the third of iron. In the same grave with him were buried the arms and rich spoils which he had taken in war from other princes and great commanders. In the end, all those were put to death who had been employed about his grave, lest their avarice should, some time or other, prompt them to plunder it*.

Attila, by his last will had appointed his eldest son *Ellac* to succeed him in all his dominions. Though this prince was a man of great boldness, intrepidity, and experience in war, and consequently capable of maintaining, and even extending the conquests of his father; yet, as he had an incredible number of brothers, and they all jointly insisted upon an equal division of their father's dominion, a bloody war was kindled, which involved in confusion not only the northern provinces, but both *Pannonias*, and the other countries on the *Danube*, where the *Romans* had allowed the *Hunns* to settle. While the sons of *Attila* all strove to be sovereigns, they lost the sovereignty for which they strove; for during their contest, *Ardaric*, king of the *Gepidæ*, openly declared that he would not obey the sons of *Attila*, but rescue himself and his people from the yoke they so shamefully groaned under. His example was followed by several other nations that hastened to join him. *Ellac* marched to reduce *Ardaric*, but was killed, with thirty thousand *Hunns*, in a battle that was fought on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*.

* *Jornandes ut supra.* *Idatius.* *Val. rer. Franc.* *Greg. Tur. rer. Franc.* *Priscus.* *Du Chene.* *Allissiod. Chron.* *Cassiod. Chron.*

This overthrow, and the revolt of the conquered people, so disheartened the *Hunns*, that they retired towards the *Euxine* sea and the mouth of the *Danube*, leaving the *Cepidæ* masters of all antient *Dacia*. The *Romans* granted their protection and some territories to several nations who had revolted from the *Hunns*; and *Ernac*, *Attila*'s youngest son, and with him several *Hunns*, submitting to them, they assigned them lands on the most distant borders of *Lesser Scythia* in *Dacia*, and amongst the *Sarmatians*, whom they had settled in *Illyricum*. The other sons of *Attila* made an unsuccessful attempt to drive the *Goths* out of *Pannonia*, and recover that province. About eight years after, while the *Goths* were engaged in a war with the *Satagæ*, *Dinzio*, one of *Attila*'s sons, made an incursion into the territories of the *Goths*, and laid siege to *Bafiana*, thought to be the present city of *Posaga*, between the *Save* and the *Drave*; but they were soon expelled by the *Goths*, with so great slaughter, that they never after offered to molest them.

The *Hunns* having suffered greatly by the disturbances that ensued upon the death of *Attila*, continued quiet till the year 466, when passing the *Danube* in the depth of winter, on the ice, they ravaged *Dacia* with great barbarity, but were at length defeated with great slaughter by *Anthemius*, the *Roman* general. The *Hunns*, upon their return into their own country, asked a peace of the emperor *Leo*, and leave to trade with the *Romans* on the *Danube*, which *Leo* refusing to grant, *Dengizic*, called by *Jornandes* *Dinzio*, and by others *Dinziric*, resented to such a degree, that he was for continuing the war, from which resolution he was in vain dissuaded by his brother *Ernac*. He accordingly marched to the *Danube*, and continued the war in *Thrace*, till he was killed by *Arnagastus*, the *Roman* general.

The *Hunns*, after his death, continued quiet near sixty years, that is, till the first of *Justinian*'s reign, in the year 526, when two of their kings, *Styrax* and *Glones*, broke into the *Roman* empire, at the instigation of the king of *Persia*. *Boarex*, the widow of *Balach*, king of the *Sabirite Hunns*, a woman of a warlike genius, espousing the cause of the *Romans*, led to their assistance an army of an hundred thousand men, and meeting the two kings, cut most of their men in pieces, took *Styrax* himself prisoner, and sent him in chains to *Constantinople*.

The same year, *Gordas*, king of the *Hunns*, dwelling near the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, came to *Constantinople*, concluded an alliance with *Justinian*, and embraced the Christian religion. *Gordas* being loaded with rich presents by *Justinian*, and entrusted with the defence of the borders of the empire on the side of the *Bosphorus*, returned home, and ordered the idols to be broken, and their temples demolished throughout his

his dominions, which so enraged the populace, that they put him to death, and conferred the crown on his brother *Mugaris*. The new king immediately marched against the city of *Bosphorus*, and having surprized the place, put all the *Romans* in it to the sword; but soon after, hearing that an army was marching against them, they abandoned the city, and fled with precipitation.

In the thirteenth year of *Justinian's* reign, *Procopius* relates, The that the *Hunns* passed the *Danube* in great multitudes, laid *Hunns* waste *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, and all the provinces from the *Ionian* sea to the very suburbs of *Constantinople*. They also *Thrace*, crossed the *Hellepont*, and extended their ravages to *Asia*, and *Greece*, thence returning by the *Chersonese*, they marched home, and *Illyri-* loaded with an immense booty. In this irruption they took *cum*. thirty-two castles in *Illyricum*, destroyed *Cassandria*, and car- A.C. 539. ried with them unmolested one hundred and twenty thousand captives. *Justinian*, to keep them quiet, allowed the *Cuturgurian Hunns* some lands in *Thrace*, and agreed to pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to serve him when wanted. As for the *Uturgurians* who had been concerned in the irruption, they retired to their own country on the *Eux-* *ine* sea, but soon after attacked the *Goths*, called *Detraxitæ*, in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and possessed themselves of their country. They afterwards endeavoured to enlarge their bounds on the side of *Sarmatia*. The *Cuturgurians*, in the mean time, notwithstanding the pension paid them yearly by the emperor, made several inroads into the neighbouring provinces; upon which, *Justinian* engaged the *Uturgurians* to come to his assistance, by promising them the same pension. They accordingly fell unexpectedly upon their countrymen, and drove them quite out of the empire.

In the year 558, however, the *Cuturgurians* again passed the *Danube*, ravaged great part of *Mysia* and *Thrace*, and advanced within an hundred and fifty furlongs of *Constantinople*. They are routed by *Belisarius*. A.C. 558. The brave *Belisarius*, though weakened with old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, soon obliged them to remove; but they hearing that he was disgraced upon his return to *Constantinople*, returned before the royal city, ravaging every country through which they passed in a dreadful manner. They were again repulsed by a young nobleman, named *Germanus*; and *Zamerga* their chief, having received a considerable sum of money from *Justinian*, for the ransom of his captives, returned beyond the *Danube*. The *Uturgurian Hunns*, at the same time, being stirred up by *Justinian*, fell upon *Zamerga* in his return, cut many of his men in pieces, and obliged *turgurian Hunns* against the invaders. war between the two nations, which lasted many years, and ended at last in the ruin of both, as they were so weakened

as to become a prey to other nations, and to lose even their very name*.

Venantius Fortunatus tells us, that in the year 560 a great body of *Hunns* took their route through *Germany*, with a design to pass the *Rhine*, and settle in *Gaul*. The four sons of *Clotharius*, then reigning in that country, *Sigebert*, the younger brother, who had his residence at *Mentz*, marched into *Germany* to oppose the invaders, and entirely defeated them on the banks of the *Elbe*.

No further mention is made of the *Hunns* by any credible historian, till the reign of *Charles the Great*, in whose time they were masters of *Dacia*, now *Transylvania*, and *Valachia*, of *Upper Mæsia*, now *Servia*, and of the two *Pannonias*, the *Upper* containing the present provinces of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and the greater part of *Austria*; and the *Lower* comprizing *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* that lies beyond the *Danube*.

The *Hunns* in *Pannonia* entirely reduced by *Charles the Great*. A.C. 794. Two princes of the *Hunns* in 776 entered into an alliance with *Charles*, but soon after they sent, under-hand, succours to *Tassilo*, duke of *Bavaria*, who had revolted from *Charles*. When *Charles* had intirely reduced *Bavaria*, he then resolved to punish the perfidy of the *Hunns*, and having raised two great armies, sent one into *Dacia*, while he himself, with the other, entered *Pannonia* by the way of *Bavaria*. He continued ravaging their territories for the space of eight years, till that warlike nation was entirely subdued, and almost utterly extirpated. The entire conquest of the *Hunns*, according to the best chronologers, happened in the year 794. Some authors write, that by this long war the whole race of the antient *Hunns* was quite cut off, and that the country was afterwards peopled by the neighbouring nations, to whom the present *Hungarians* owe their origin. But the *Hungarian* writers maintain their nation to be descended from the antient *Hunns*; and *Bonfinius* tells us, that in his time a nation was discovered by some merchants on the banks of the *Tanais*, speaking the same language with that used in *Hungary*; and that *Matthias*, then king of *Hungary*, sent an ambassiy into those parts, desiring a colony to be sent from thence into his kingdom †.

* *Agathias*. *Procop.* *hel. Goth.* *Theop.* *Auctor Miscel.* l. 16.

† *Bonfin.* *rer. Hungar.* Dec. 1. l. 3. *Aimonius*, l. 4.

C H A P. V.

The History of the Goths, till the settling of the Visigoths in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy.

THE Goths, according to *Jornandes*, came originally *Scandinavia* out of *Scandinavia*, which comprized the present *Sweden*, the *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finmark*, and was by the antients country of falsely imagined to be an island. By *Pliny* it is called *Scandinavia*, or, according to *Vossius* and *Gronovius*, *Scandinavia*; by *Xenophon Lampfacenus*, *Baltia*; by *Timæus*, *Basilea*; and by *Pytheas*, sometimes *Basilea*, and sometimes *Abalus*. By the writers of the middle age it is named *Scanza*, *Scanzia*, *Scantia*, and *Scandia*. In *Scandinavia Tacitus* places two different nations, the *Suiones* and the *Sittoncs*, of whom the former inhabited the present *Sweden*, and the latter *Norway*. The *Suiones* were divided, according to *Ptolemy*, into the following tribes, namely, the *Chedini*, *Phavoni*, *Phiræsi*, *Dauciones*, *Hilleviones*, *Scritofnin*, or *Scritobani*, and the *Gutæ*. *Scandinavia*, long before the time of *Tacitus*, was inhabited by the *Goths*, though not yet known to the *Romans* under that name; nay, the learned *Grotius*, *Sheringham*, and other northern writers, maintain, with arguments which have not yet been confuted, that the *Cimbrians*, *Getes*, and *Goths* were one and the same nation; that *Scandinavia* was first peopled by them; and that from thence they sent colonies into the islands in the *Baltic*, the *Gherfonesse*, and the adjacent places, yet destitute of inhabitants. The *Danes* confess that their country was first peopled by the *Goths* of *Scandinavia*, and that *Dan*, the son of *Humelus*, king of the *Goths*, from whom their country was called *Dania*, was the founder of their kingdom. *Jornandes* and *Freculphus* also tell us, that the *Danes* were the descendants of the *Ostrogoths* dwelling in *Scanzia*. The peopling of the islands of the *Baltic* sea, and of the adjacent places on the continent, is called by the northern writers the first migration of the *Goths*. Their second migration is supposed to have happened several ages after the first. *Berig*, king of the *Goths*, *Jornandes* relates, went out with a fleet in quest of new settlements, and landing in the country of the *Ulmerugians*, now *Pomerania*, drove out the antient inhabitants, and divided their lands among his followers. He fell next upon the *Vandals*, but, instead of forcing them from their antient seats, he only obliged them, probably because they were of *Gothic* extraction, to share their possessions with the new comers. The *Goths* settled in *Pomerania* and the adjacent parts of *Germany*, afterwards went out in great numbers, under *Filimer the Great*, their fifth prince after their leaving *Scandinavia*, and advancing

The first
of the
migration
of the
Goths.

Their second
migration.

The Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

advancing to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, drove out the *Cimmerians*, and settled in the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic Lake*. Thence, in process of time, they sent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, and into the countries bordering upon the *Euxine* sea. In all these countries they were one and the same people, though subject to different princes, and known by different names. Thus in *Cimmeria*, *Sarmatia*, and *Scythia*, they were called *Cimmerians*, *Sarmatians*, *Scythians*; in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, and *Mæsians*; and in the neighbourhood of the *Ister* and the *Pontus*, *Istrians* and *Pontics*. The *Goths*, as *Grotius* observes from *Jornandes*, were distinguished into western and eastern, or *Westrogoths* and *Ostrogoths*, before they left *Scandinavia*, the former inhabiting that part which borders on *Denmark*, and the latter lying eastward towards the *Baltic*. Many authors assert that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same nation, and that they had been long known to the *Romans*, and likewise to the *Greeks*, by the former name, but not by the latter, till their breaking into the empire*.

The migration of the Goths under Woden.

The *Scythian Goths*, in process of time, being greatly increased, returned into *Germany*, under the famous *Woden*, the *Goths* or *Oden*, or *Godan*, of whom many strange and wonderful things are related. He was king of the *Asgardians*, supposed to be the same with the *Aspurgians* mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. *Aspurgia* was the metropolis of a province which *Strabo* calls *Asia*, and by the antient Gothic writers *Woden* and his followers are stiled *Asæ*, *Asiani*, and *Asiotæ*; and the *Aspurgian* kings are said to have been masters of all that part of *Scythia* on the west side of Mount *Imaus*. *Woden* committing the government of the kingdom of *Aspurgia*, or *Asgardia*, to his two brothers, *Ve* and *Velir*, went out with incredible multitudes of his people in quest of new settlements, foreseeing, they say, by his magic, that he and his posterity should reign for many ages in the northern parts of the world. Having conquered the inhabitants of *Riisland*, he appointed his son *Bo* to reign over them. *Riisland*, called by the *Latins* *Roxolania*, and *Russia*, extended from the mouth of the *Vistula*, and the northern coast of *Europe*, to the *Palus Mæotis*, the banks of the *Tanais*, and the *Riphean* mountains, and comprized *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and great part of *Muscovy*. From *Riisland* *Woden* proceeded by sea to *Saxony*, which country he reduced, and divided among his children, appointing *Vegdegg* king of *East Saxony*, *Begdegg* king of *Westphalia*, and *Sigg* of *Franconia*. He then advanced to *Reidegotbland*, now *Jutland*, which he likewise subdued, and

* *Shering.* de ang. gent. orig. *Grot.* proleg. in hist. Goth. *Procop.* rer. Goth. & Vandal. *Busbeq.* Epist. 9. *Scalig.* isagog. l. 3. *Mel.* l. 2. *Strab.* l. 1. *Ammian.* Marcel. l. 27. *August.* Script. Oros. l. 7.

gave to his son *Skiold*, from whom descended those kings of *Denmark* called *Skiolldungar*, that is, the posterity of *Skiold*. From *Futland Woden* proceeded to *Suithiod*, now *Sweden*, where being kindly entertained by *Gylfus*, or *Gylvo*, king of the country, he settled with his followers, and building the city *Sigtunum*, there reigned to his death. He then became so famous, that he was by the northern nations ranked among the gods, and worshipped with divine honours. He is supposed to have brought with him out of *Asia* the *Runic* characters, and to have taught the northern nations the art of poetry, whence he is stiled the father of their poets, who were named *Scaldi*, or *Scaldri*. As the *Goths* used the *Runic* letters in all their spells and enchantments, they, upon their embracing Christianity, destroyed several antient monuments, and burnt a great number of books in that character, from their indiscreet zeal. They were quite laid aside in *Sweden* in the year 1001, and were forbidden in *Spain* by *Alphonso*, king of *Castile* and *Navarre*, in 1136.

This migration of the *Goths* from *Asiatic Scythia* into *Scandinavia*, seems confirmed, as *Grotius* and *Sberingham* observe, by the affinity of the language used by the people in both countries. In the time of *Busbequius* the *Gothic* language was spoken by the *Tartars* of *Precop*, and *Josaphat Barbarus*, a nobleman of *Venice*, who lived among them, says, that they not only speak the *Gothic* language, but call themselves *Goths*, and their country *Gothia*. According to some writers, the expedition of *Woden* happened about twenty-four years before the birth of *Christ*; for *Pompey* then laying waste *Syria* and great part of *Asia*, the *Scythians*, they think, might then, to avoid him, go in quest of new settlements. On the other hand, the *Danish* chronologers say, that *Skiold*, the son of *Woden*, lived about a thousand years before *Pompey*. To reconcile these two accounts, some authors are of opinion, that several great men bore the name of *Woden*, and that the exploits of all were ascribed to one, as it happened among the *Greeks*, with respect to *Hercules*.

The descendants of *Woden's* followers in the north parts of *Germany* were first known to the *Romans* by the name of *Cimbrians*, who extended their conquests, by degrees, along first the coast to the mouth of the *Rhine*. The inland countries in the neighbourhood were also inhabited by them; but in the different territories they were distinguished by different *Asiatic* names, some of them being called *Saxons*, others *Suevians*, *Goths*, some *Angles*, *Sicambrians*, *Jutes*, &c. till at length the name of *Saxons* prevailed, which was given likewise by the *Roman* and like writers to the nations whom the *Saxons* had subdued, they were then calling *Saxony* that part of *Germany* which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*, and which had been reduced by them.

The *Goths* were famous for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, even before they embraced the Christian religion; nay, from their being eminently good, they were called, *Goths*.

called, by the neighbouring nations, *Goths*, which name is supposed by many writers to be derived from the German word *Goten*, signifying *good*. They encouraged, says *Dio*, the study of philosophy above all other barbarous nations, and often chose their kings from among their philosophers. They not only allowed, but countenanced, polygamy, every one being valued and respected according to the number of his wives. Of all their children they kept but one at home, sending out the rest, when they came to men's estate, in quest of new settlements. With them adultery was punished with death, and the criminal was never pardoned. This severity, and the practice of polygamy, prevailed among them when they were known to the Romans by the name of *Getes*, as appears from the poet *Menander*, who was himself a *Gete*, and from *Horace*, who bestows great encomiums on the virtue and chastity of their women. The *Goths* seem from all antiquity to have been governed by kings. Their chief gods are supposed to have been the sun and moon, the celebrated *Woden*, his son *Thor*, his wife *Frigga*, or *Fræa*, *Tuisto*, *Theutates*, *Hesus*, *Tharamis*, &c. *Woden* was the god of war, *Thor* presided over the air, and *Frigga* was the goddess of pleasure.

Their religion.

Their dress.

The *Goths*, according to *Apollinaris Sidonius*, were shod with high shoes made of hair, and reaching up to their ancles. Their knees, thighs, and legs were without any covering; their garments were of various colours, scarce reaching to the knee; their sleeves only covered the tops of their arms; they wore green cassocks, with a red border; their belts hung on their shoulders; their ears were covered with twisted locks, and they used hooked lances, and missile hatchets.

Disputes betwixt the *Goths* and the emperor *Caracalla* A.C. 215.

As to the more antient history of the *Goths*, *Jornandes* supposing them to be the same people with the *Scythians*, *Getes*, *Sarmatians*, and *Sauromatæ*, ascribes to them all the exploits that are said by the Greek and Latin writers to have been performed by those nations. As to the later times, the first Roman writer that mentions the *Goths* is *Spartian*, who relates, that the emperor *Caracalla* overcame, in some encounters, the *Getes*, who, says he, were the same people with the *Goths*. Upon the death of *Caracalla*, *Maximin*, afterwards emperor, quitted the service, and retiring into his native country *Thrace*, kept up from thence a friendly correspondence with the *Goths*. *Maximin's* father was by nation a *Goth*, and his mother an *Alan*, whence *Vorburgus* concludes the *Goths* to have been masters of the countries bordering on *Thrace* before *Maximin* was born. The disputes between the *Goths* and *Caracalla* probably happened in the year 215, the fifth of his reign; for about that time he marched from *Germany* to *Dacia*, and the *Goths*, according to *Grotius*, then held part of that province.

This

This warlike nation very early became formidable to the Romans; for in the reign of *Alexander*, which began in 222, They receive considerable sums were annually sent them from *Rome*, to prevent them from disturbing the peace of the empire. Upon annual the murder of *Maximin*, the *Goths*, whether to revenge his person death, as he was of *Gothic* extraction, ravaged *Mæsia*, and from the utterly destroyed the city of *Istria*, or *Istropolis*, on the most *Roman* southern mouth of the *Danube*, retired beyond the *Danube* unmolested. The *Goths*, not long after, made themselves masters of *Thrace*; but about the year 242 they were driven from thence beyond the *Danube* by the emperor *Gordian*.

Philip, the successor of *Gordian*, refusing to pay them their annual pension, they again passed the *Danube*, and ravaged *Thrace* and *Mæsia*. *Decius* the senator, who was sent to oppose them, contented himself with breaking and dismissing the troops that had suffered them to pass the *Danube*. These joining the *Goths*, were kindly received by their king *Ostrogotha*, the grandson of *Amalus*, who being thus reinforced, laid siege to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Mæsia*; but not being able to reduce it, he accepted of a large sum from the inhabitants, and retired. *Ostrogotha* was scarce returned to his own country, when *Fastida*, king of the *Gepidæ*, sent him the following haughty message: *That the Gepidæ being streightened for want of room, he must either allow them lands, or prepare for war.* *Ostrogotha* answering, *That he should be sorry to engage in a war with the Gepidæ, his kinsmen,* (for they were a *Gothic* nation) *but was determined to part with no lands;* both nations thereupon took the field, and a bloody battle ensuing, the *Gepidæ* were defeated with great slaughter.

Ostrogotha was succeeded by *Cniva*, who breaking into *Mæsia*, was defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men, by *Decius*, the eldest son of the emperor of that name. Afterwards, however, he cut almost the whole *Roman* army in pieces, and taking *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*, put the inhabitants, to the number of an hundred thousand souls, to the sword, and then ravaged *Thrace*, and great part of *Macedon*. Not long after, the *Goths* were driven out of the *Roman* dominions by the emperor *Decius* in person. *Cniva* making a second irruption, *Decius* again took the field against them, and reduced them to such straits, that they offered to set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, provided he would suffer them to retire unmolested. The emperor, however, refusing to grant their request, and thinking to crush them at once by a decisive blow, was defeated and slain, with great slaughter of his men. *Gallus*, who was then proclaimed emperor, concluded a peace with the *Goths*, by which they were not only allowed to keep all their booty and prisoners, but were promised, if they continued quiet, a large annual pension. Three years after, they again entered the *Roman* territories, probably

Illyricum
wasted by
the *Goths*.

The *Goths*
also in.
vade *Asia*.

Mæsia a-
gain rava-
ged by
them.

east against the celebrated *Zenobia*, found the *Goths* ravaging probably because their pension was not paid them ; but they were repulsed by *Æmilianus*, who commanded in *Pannonia*. In 256, the *Goths*, with the *Carpi*, the *Barani*, and the *Burgundians*, all nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a new inroad into the empire, ravaging all *Illyricum*, and even *Italy*, without opposition. The following year *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, taking the command of the troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, drove the *Goths* out of those provinces, and pursuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waste their country. The *Goths* continued quiet after this till the year 262, when breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, they made themselves masters of that province, and over-running all *Macedon*, laid siege to *Thessalonica* ; but they were repulsed by *Macrianus*, who had assumed the title of *Augustus*. Another party of the *Goths*, at the same time, having crossed the *Hellestont*, under the conduct of one *Raspa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Asia*, and even plundered the famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. They also destroyed *Chalcedon*, and on their return laid in ashes the poor remains of antient *Troy*, and re-passing the *Hellestont*, ravaged *Thrace*, and returned loaded with booty. The following year, 263, they again made an irruption into *Asia*, but were repulsed by the *Roman* troops quartered there. Two years after, they made themselves masters of all *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, and, encouraged with this success, they built an incredible number of vessels, and, the next year, embarked on the *Euxine* sea, and landing at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, over-ran *Asia Minor*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, made themselves masters of *Nicomedia*, plundered the *Greek* cities in those countries, and laid waste the provinces of *Phrygia* and *Troas*. Having gained a victory in *Bithynia*, they pursued their ravages, and advanced as far as *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*. The brave *Odenatus* hastened to the relief of *Asia*, which news obliged the *Goths* to reembark ; but being attacked in their return by the *Roman* fleet, many of them were drowned.

The following year they made a descent at the mouth of the *Danube*, and ravaging *Mæsia*, advanced as far as *Illyricum*, but were defeated in several encounters, and obliged to retire. When *Claudius*, who had proposed to cut off their retreat, was raised to the empire, they assembled in incredible numbers on the banks of the *Nießer*, and built, says *Zosimus*, six thousand ships ; but *Pollio* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* say only two thousand. Having employed a whole year in preparations, they embarked, in the year 268, to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and landing in *Lesser Scythia* and *Mæsia*, besieged *Tomi* and *Marci-anopolis* : but being repulsed at both places, they re-embarked, and entered the *Bosphorus*, where, by the rapidity of the current, their ships were driven against each other, and many of them were lost. Being repulsed by the *Byzantines*, they made a fruitless attack upon *Cyzicus*, and afterwards entering

but

the *Ægean* sea, they laid siege to *Cassandria* and *Thessalonica*; but it being reported that *Claudius* was advancing at the head of a numerous army, they raised the siege of *Thessalonica*, and made a descent in Greece, advancing into the country on the river *Axius*, they plundered *Pelagonia*, and the country near *Doberus* in *Pæonia*, where three thousand of them were cut off by the *Dalmatian* horse. The rest took their rout to *Upper Mæsia*, where, in the neighbourhood of *Naissus*, they were totally routed by *Claudius*, and in their retreat they lost great numbers of men through famine. The *Roman* cavalry attacking them in front, cut off many thousands of them, and by guarding the passes of *Macedon*, obliged them to pass the whole winter on Mount *Hæmus*, in the greatest hardships imaginable.

During the siege of *Thessalonica*, one part of their fleet ravaged the open country of *Thessaly* and *Achaia*, without being able, says *Zosimus*, to reduce one single city. *Zonaras*, however, tells us, that they made themselves masters of *Athens*; and that having laid together in one heap all the books they found there, with a design to set fire to them, they would have deprived the world of that invaluable treasure, had not one among them, more discerning than the rest, told his companions, that while the *Greeks* amused themselves with those books, they neglected the art of war, and were easily overcome. From *Athens* they sailed to the islands of *Crete*, *Rhodes*, and *Cyprus*, but no where performed any thing worth mentioning. As the plague, which raged among them, cut off great numbers of their men, they returned to *Macedon*, where, in the winter, the contagious distemper completed their ruin; great numbers also perishing by the same malady, and by famine, on Mount *Hæmus*. Early in the spring *Claudius* attacked those on the mountain, and continued harassing them daily for some time, till at length they were obliged to submit, and beg quarter, which was granted them. As the army was composed of divers northern nations, and followed by a great number of women, servants, and children, all the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, among whom were several kings and persons of distinction.

They are reduced to the greatest distress.

Quintillus, a few months after this victory, succeeding *Claudius*, a party of the *Goths*, who had escaped from Mount *Hæmus*, plundered the city of *Anquialum* in *Thrace*, and made an attempt upon *Nicopolis* in *Lower Mæsia*, but were driven from thence by the *Roman* troops. The same year, 270, the *Goths*, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained, made an irruption into *Pannonia*, which they ravaged. *Aurelian*, who had been just raised to the empire, marched against them, and attacked them; but both parties fighting till night with the greatest obstinacy, neither could claim the victory. The *Goths*, however, in the dead of the night, re-passing the *Danube*, next morning sued for peace, which was granted them. This peace, however, was but of short duration; for two years after, *Aurelian*, on his march into the

The *Goths* invade *Pannonia*. A.C. 270.

Thrace,

Thrace; and drove them out of that province. He even passed the *Danube*, and having engaged *Cannabaud*, a Gothic prince, slew him and five thousand of his men. Among the prisoners were ten women, who had fought in the habit of men, and a great many more were found among the dead. Two years after, the *Goths* settled in *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, which province was abandoned by *Aurelian*. The following year, separate and numerous bodies of them entered *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Cilicia*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian*, who died some months before. *Tacitus*, the emperor, persuaded some of them by fair means to retire; but others rejecting the sums offered them, he and his brother *Florianus* fell upon them, and drove them out of the empire with great slaughter.

They break in-
to *Thrace*. In the year 278, the second of the reign of *Probus*, they broke into *Thrace*, and advanced as far as *Illyricum*; but upon the news of the emperor's approach they withdrew, and left their booty behind them. The emperor, however, pursuing them to *Thrace*, was there met by deputies from all the Gothic nations, either suing for peace, or submitting to his power.

They are
defeated
by *Dioclesian*. *Dioclesian*, in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 289, is said to have gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, or *Goths*. According to *Eumenes*, he cut off the whole nation of the *Sarmatians*, and reunited *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* to the empire. After this the *Goths* continued quiet on the side of the empire for about thirty-two years, though it would appear, that during this time they were engaged in wars with other barbarous nations. All we know of those wars is, that they not only overcame the *Burgundians*, but likewise the *Vandals*, with their king *Visumar*, these last being quite driven out, and obtaining *Pannonia* from *Constantine*. The *Goths* at length breaking into the empire, during this emperor's reign, were overcome by him in several battles fought in *Pannonia* and *Upper Mæsia*, and were also defeated by him on the north side of the *Danube* with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Goths*, the following year, ravaged *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, and took a great number of prisoners, but were again defeated by *Constantine*, who not only granted them a peace upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, but entered into an alliance with them, and received a reinforcement of forty thousand men from them. About eight years after, however, they made new inroads into the empire, but were overcome and driven out, as *Socrates* relates, by *Constantine*; yet, according to the account of *Zosimus*, he fled from them, and lost great part of his army. The same year a war breaking out between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, *Constantine* marched to the assistance of the latter, and entirely defeated the *Goths*, about an hundred thousand of them being cut off in the battle, and by hunger and cold after the action, which obliged *Araric* their

Constantine obliges them to sue for peace.

their king to sue for peace, and to deliver hostages to the emperor, among whom was his own son. *Sozomen* and *So-* Many of *rates* * write, that the victory was so evidently miraculous, the *Goths* that the *Goths* acknowledging the power of the God adored embrace by *Constantine*, great numbers of them embraced the Chris- Christian-ian religion, which had been first preached among them nity. about the year 266 (A).

The *Goths* not only continued quiet, but served the *Romans* with great fidelity, during the remaining part of *Constantine's* reign, and in the reigns of *Constans*, *Julian*, *Jovian*, and *Valentinian I.* but in 364, the first of *Valens*, they made They an irruption into *Thrace*, from whence, however, they retired make an upon receiving a large sum from *Valens*. Not long after, irruption they sent three thousand men to assist the usurper *Procopius*; into but though he was defeated and put to death before they *Thrace*. joined him, they continued in the territories of the empire, and ravaged *Thrace* and *Mæsia*; but at length they were obliged to yield themselves prisoners. This body of troops was sent to *Procopius* by *Athanasius*, whom *Ammianus* calls sometimes one of the most powerful men among the *Goths*, and sometimes the judge of the *Thervingian* *Goths*, or *Visigoths*. He was a man of great courage, penetration, eloquence, and address, and no sooner received the news of the captivity of his men, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Valens*, requiring they might be set at liberty, since they had been sent by a friend and ally of the *Romans* to the assistance of one whom he had believed to be lawful emperor, as being his kinsman. *Valens*, however, refused his request, and made great preparations throughout the empire for a war with the *Goths*; but being awed by the danger of the expedition, before he set out, he received the sacrament of baptism, in order to render heaven propitious to his undertaking. The *Goths* finding the emperor bent upon war, began to draw together their forces to attack him the first; but *Valens* being informed of their intention, ordered his troops The coun- to take the field, though in the depth of winter, and soon try of the after came in person to head them. Early in the spring he *Goths* in- passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, and ravaged the ene- vaded by my's country far and near, without meeting with the least *Valens*

* Socrat. & Soz. l. 1. Zos. l. 2. Jornand. rer. Goth. Euseb. vit. Constant.

(A) That year they had carried with them from *Cappadocia* among them, converted numbers of them to the Christian religion. and other provinces of *Asia*, Philostorg. l. 2. Basil. Epist. 338. which they had ravaged, many Cyrill. Hierosol. Car. 16. Soz. poly ecclesiastics, who refused to l. 2. be ransomed, but continuing

who forces them to sue for peace.

opposition; returning in the beginning of autumn to *Marcianopolis*, where he spent the winter. As the *Danube*, during the following summer, continued swelled beyond measure, he was prevented from passing the river, and was obliged to come back to *Marcianopolis*. The following year the emperor passing the *Danube* at *Noviodunum*, ravaged the territories of the *Goths* far and near. As the *Goths* concealed themselves in the woods and morasses, and frequently surprized the *Romans*, the emperor offered the servants of the army, and those who attended the baggage, a certain sum for each head of the enemy they should bring; in consequence of which declaration, the *Goths* were hunted in their very aliums, and struck with such terror, that they sued for peace. This is the account of *Zosimus*, but *Ammianus* writes, that *Valens* defeated *Athalaric* at the head of a numerous army, and receiving repeated embassies from the *Goths* during the winter, granted them a peace, at the entreaty of the senate of *Constantinople*. It was stipulated by this peace, that the *Goths* should not for the future pass the *Danube* on any account whatever, excepting that of trade, which was now confined to two cities on the *Danube*. They were also not to claim or expect the pensions which had been paid them annually by other emperors; but *Valens* consented to pay *Athalaric's* pension to him.

The *Ostrogoths* driven out of their territories by the *Hunns*.

The king of the *Ostrogoths* at this time was *Hermanaric*, who was descended from the noble family of the *Amali*, and had signalized himself in several wars, insomuch that he was compared to *Alexander the Great*. *Jornandes* gives us a long list of the nations he had subdued, and, among the rest, mentions the *Heruli*, dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*; the *Vændi*, on the *German* ocean; and the *Æstii*, on the borders of the present *Prussia* and *Poland*: nay, *Ablavius* assures us, that he was obeyed by all the nations of *Scythia* and *Germany*. However, despairing of opposing the *Hunns*, who passed the *Palus Mæotis* in 376, he laid violent hands on himself, as we have already mentioned. The *Goths* under his two successors, not being able to withstand the *Hunns*, were forced to abandon great part of their territories to them. *Athalaric*, whose territories were parted from those of the *Ostrogoths* by the *Niefter*, assembled his troops on that river to oppose the invaders; but, being surprized by them, he was forced to quit his country, and take refuge in the present *Moldavia*. The *Goths* being universally struck with a panic, either submitted to the *Hunns*, or fled for refuge to the *Roman* dominions. Two hundred thousand of them were admitted by *Valens* into *Thrace*, upon their promising to live peaceably there; but being cruelly treated by the officers who were to supply them with provisions, they had scarce entered *Thrace*, when they began to mutiny and plunder the country, which gave rise to a long and bloody war between them and the *Romans*. They at length submitted to *Theodosius I.* in the

The *Vist-goths* are admitted by *Valens* into *Thrace*.

year 382, and were allowed to settle in *Thrace* and *Mœsia*, and exempted from the payment of all tributes and taxes. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service ; but being well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty of the *Roman* officers, they insisted upon continuing a separate body; which *Theodosius* imprudently granted. According to *Orosius*, the *Goths* were induced to lay down their arms, and submit to *Theodosius*, from his generous behaviour to *Athanasius*, who being driven out by a faction from *Moldavia*, whither he had retired from the *Hunns*, went to *Constantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with the greatest marks of friendship, but died about a fortnight after on the 25th of *January*, 381. Soon after the submission of the *Goths*, a soldier of that nation having committed some disorder at *Constantinople*, the populace fell upon them, and having murdered him, threw his body into the sea. That the *Goths* might not be provoked at this, the emperor resented it to such a degree, as to deprive the people of the bread which, by his orders, was daily distributed among them ; but in a few hours, however, he was appeased, and revoked the order.

The *Goths*, who at this time settled in *Thrace*, were, for the most part, *Thervingians*, or *Visigoths*. The *Greuthungians*, or *Ostrogoths*, continued in their antient seats under their own kings, but still subject to the *Hunns*. Great numbers of them, in the year 386, broke into the empire, under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king ; but the same year they were totally routed and dispersed by the emperor *Theodosius*, who, according to *Claudian*, engaged *Odotheus* himself, and killed him in battle. *Majoranus*, one of the emperor's generals, after the victory, crossed the *Danube*, and laid waste the enemy's country without opposition. *Theodosius*, afterwards ordered all the prisoners to be set at liberty, and even, as *Zosimus* says, made them rich presents, in order to entice them into his service.

The *Goths*, about nine years after, at the instigation of *Rufinus*, again invaded the empire. *Rufinus* then governed in the east, with an absolute sway, under *Arcadius* ; but *Stilicho*, who had the same power in the west under *Honorius*, threatening to dispossess *Rufinus* of his authority, he, to avert the storm, involved the whole empire in confusion. The *Hunns*, at his instigation, invaded the *Asiatic* provinces ; and the celebrated *Alaric* broke into *Greece* at the head of his countrymen the *Visigoths*. *Alaric* was descended from the family of the *Balthi*, the most illustrious of the *Gothic* nation, after that of the *Amali* ; and he and his countrymen, when they were driven on this side the *Danube* by the *Hunns*, after a six years war, having submitted to the *Romans*, served under *Theodosius* in his expedition against the usurper *Eugenius*.

The *Gothic* king, thinking that *Theodosius* had not sufficiently rewarded his services, now hearkened to the persuasions

of *Rufinus*, and, passing the *Danube* on the ice, ravaged *Pannonia*, *Macedon*, and *Thessaly*. A creature of *Rufinus* suffering him to take possession of *Thermopylæ*, he entered *Greece*, where he committed the most horrid devastations. *Stilicho* marching from *Italy* with the utmost dispatch, arrived at *Thessaly* with a design of attacking the barbarians, when he received a peremptory order from *Arcadius*, to send him, forthwith, the oriental troops, and return with the rest into the west. This order, which *Stilicho* submitted to, had been procured by *Rufinus*, who concluded that, if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head.

The *Goths* meeting with no opposition, destroyed all with fire and sword, and sent into their own country an incredible number of captives, with the whole wealth of the ravaged provinces. Among the rest many *Athenians* were sent into captivity; and, by the ravages of the *Goths*, the sacrifices of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, which had continued at *Athens* till that time, were entirely suppressed.

They are
repulsed
by *Stilicho*

Stilicho, greatly vexed to find that *Arcadius* neglected the defence of his provinces, embarked his army on the *Adriatic Sea*, and, landing in the *Peloponnese*, cut off great numbers of the *Goths* in several encounters, and obliged the rest to take refuge on a mountain of *Arcadia*. After he had shut them up on all sides, and even turned the course of a river that supplied them with water, he suffered them through misconduct, according to *Zosimus*, to escape and ravage *Epire*. *Orosius* thinks, that he wanted to deliver *Greece* without destroying the barbarians, whom he might some time or other have occasion to employ. After the departure of the *Goths* he returned to *Italy*, suffering his soldiers to carry off whatever had escaped the avarice and fury of the barbarians.

The poet *Claudian* tells us, that *Stilicho* was prevented from putting *Alaric*, and all his men, to the sword, by *Arcadius's* taking them under his protection. The eunuch *Eutropius*, who had succeeded *Rufinus*, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty and avarice, and other detestable qualities, was likewise jealous of *Stilicho's* great authority and reputation, and had persuaded the emperor to conclude a peace with them, and to order *Stilicho* to return into the west. Probably, in virtue of this treaty, *Alaric* was appointed commander of the forces in *East Illyricum*, which comprised *Greece*, and the other provinces he had laid waste. The services of *Stilicho*, on the contrary, were so far from being acceptable to *Arcadius*, that he caused him to be declared a public enemy by the senate of *Constantinople*; and the lands he had in the east, to be seized and confiscated.

About three years after, new disturbances were raised in the east by *Gainas* and *Tribigild*, two *Goths*, who were disgusted with the insolence of *Eutropius*. After they had, for some time, ravaged *Asia* and *Thrace*, they were at length defeated.

The

The western provinces, about the same time, were alarmed with a sudden irruption of the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*; who, not contented with the rank of general of the *Roman* forces in *Illyricum*, had assumed the title of king of the *Visigoths*, which had been conferred upon him by his countrymen; who, being discontented because they had not received the usual presents from the *Romans*, resolved to make war on the empire. *Alaric*, accordingly, in the year 400, invaded *Italy*, ravaging the country in a dreadful manner, and carrying off with him an incredible number of captives. Two years after, he again invaded *Italy*, and, by his cruel ravages, struck the emperor *Honorius* with such consternation, that he abandoned *Milan*, his capital city, and retired to *Ravenna*, which thenceforth became the usual place of his residence.

Alaric, in the mean time, was attacked by *Stilicho* at *Pollentia*, on the *Tanaro*; but as to the issue of the battle authors are not agreed. The *Romans* at last making him, with his children and daughters in law, prisoners, he immediately sued for peace; which was readily granted him, and also the freedom of the captives, upon condition of his marching forthwith out of *Italy*. Having violated the treaty, by plundering the country in his retreat, he was attacked by a body of barbarians sent against him by *Stilicho*; and, being abandoned by many of his men, he withdrew privately, and returned, through by-ways, into *Thrace*. Three years after, *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* with an army of two hundred thousand men, composed of *Goths* and other barbarians dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*; but they were defeated and dispersed by *Stilicho*, who took *Radagaisus* himself prisoner.

Not long after, *Stilicho* himself raised a disturbance in the empire, by persuading *Honorius* to claim the whole province of *Illyricum*; to declare war against his brother *Arcadius* on that account; and, even to appoint *Alaric* general of all the *Roman* troops in *West Illyricum*. *Alaric* receiving a large sum from *Stilicho*, who aimed to seize the imperial dignity for himself, marched with his *Goths* into *Epire*, then belonging to the eastern empire; but *Stilicho* sending him no orders to commence hostilities, he bent his march towards *Italy*, and, upon his arrival at *Noricum*, dispatched a messenger to *Honorius*, demanding a sum of money for his past services. *Stilicho* pleading in the senate warmly in his favour, it was agreed that four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him; but the emperor delaying the payment of this sum, *Alaric* entered *Italy* and laid siege to *Rome*; which was soon reduced to such straits, that the unhappy inhabitants, afflicted both with the plague and famine, were obliged to redeem themselves with an immense sum; upon the payment of which, *Alaric* retired with his army into *Etruria*.

The emperor, who was at *Ravenna*, not consenting to ratify the treaty between *Alaric* and the *Romans*, the Gothic

He takes
and plun-
ders *Rome*,
A.C. 410.

Ataulphus
invades
Gaul.

He is
murdered
in *Spain*.

Vallia
concludes
a peace
with the
Romans.

king returned to *Rome*; and, being let into the city, obliged the *Romans* to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge *Attalus*, then prefect of *Rome*, for emperor. *Honorius*, however, declaring that he was willing to comply with the terms proposed by the *Goths*, *Attalus* was deposed, and *Alaric* proceeded towards *Ravenna*: but the emperor again retracting what he had promised, *Alaric* returned in great fury to *Rome*, and plundered that metropolis. From *Rome* he marched into *Campania*, and, having ravaged that province, and those of *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, he approached the *Streights of Sicily* with a design to pass over into that island, and from thence to *Africa*; but, in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium*, he was seized with a fit of sickness which carried him off in a few days*.

Ataulphus, whose sister *Alaric* had married, being declared king of the *Goths* in room of his brother-in-law, continued, for some time, to ravage *Italy*; and then marching into *Gaul*, reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Tholouse*. Having soon after married *Placidia*, the sister of *Honorius*, who had been taken prisoner at *Rome*, he seemed desirous of coming to an accommodation with *Honorius*, and of turning his arms against the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and other barbarous nations that had broken into *Gaul*; but *Constantius*, who bore a great sway at the emperor's court, prevented an accommodation, and the war was renewed: but *Ataulphus* was, in the end, obliged to retire into *Spain*, where he was murdered. Before his death, he charged his brother to send back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and to live in friendship with them. *Sigeric*, whose brother, *Sarus*, *Ataulphus* had caused to be put to death, being proclaimed king by the *Goths*, he, to revenge the death of his brother, caused the six children *Ataulphus* had by a former wife to be inhumanly murdered. Being assassinated by his own people, the seventh day after his election, probably on account of this barbarity, *Vallia* was chosen king, after he had caused all those to be assassinated who stood in competition with him for the crown.

He proposed an expedition into *Africa*; but the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked, he not only concluded a peace with the *Romans*, but entered into an alliance with them on the following terms: namely, that, on condition the *Romans* assigned the *Goths* lands within the empire, and sent them, forthwith, six hundred thousand measures of corn, he would send back *Placidia*; would make war upon the barbarians who had settled in *Spain*, and restore the places he should recover to the *Romans*.

* Claud in Rufin. & Consul. Honor. Jornand. rer. Goth. Socrat. l. 7. Oros. l. 7. Zos. Soz. ut supra. Philostorg. l. 12. Phot. p. 183.

Vallia had no sooner received the corn, than he sent back His suc-
Placidia to her brother, and began to make the necessary pre- cessful
 parations for attacking the barbarians. He fell first on the wars in
Vandals, called *Silingians*, who had settled in *Bætica*, or *An- Spain.*
dalusia; and, having cut off great numbers of them, obliged
 the rest to take refuge among the *Alans* in *Celtiberia*, now the
 kingdom of *Aragon*. He next made such a dreadful havock
 of the *Alans*, that they fled for protection to *Gonderic*, king
 of the *Vandals*, who had settled in *Galicia*. *Honorius*, as a He is al-
 recompence for these services, bestowed on the *Goth Aquita- lowed to*
nia Secunda, comprising the present archbishopric of *Bordeaux* settle in
 and some neighbouring cities; to which was added, soon af- *Aquitain.*
 ter, *Aquitania Tertia*; that is, the provinces of *Auch* and *Gas-*
cony. *Vallia*, yielding all his conquests in *Spain* to the *Ro-*
mans, fixed his residence at *Toulouse*; which continued to
 be, for eighty-eight years, the metropolis of the kingdom of
 the *Visigoths*.

According to the chronicle of *Idatius*, *Vallia* reigned only *Theodoric*
 three years; and, dying in the year 418, was succeeded by makes
Theodoric; who, breaking the alliance lately concluded with war on the
 the *Romans*, made himself master of several places in *Gaul*; *Romans*,
 but, upon the approach of *Aetius*, he retreated to *Tholouse*. but agrees
 Peace being soon after concluded with the *Romans*, the *Goths* to a peace,
 continued quiet for ten years; when, the *Romans* being en-
 gaged in a war with the *Burgundians*, *Theodoric* reduced se-
 veral cities, and laid siege to *Narbonne*.

An accommodation, in the mean time, being effected be-
 tween the *Burgundians* and *Romans*, *Litorius*, with a body of
Hunns in the *Roman* service, defeated the *Goths* and entered
 the city of *Narbonne*, each of his horsemen carrying with him
 two bushels of corn, which proved a most seasonable relief to
 the inhabitants. The *Romans* were very successful in prose-
 cuting the war against the *Goths*; and two years after the
 siege of *Narbonne*, *Aetius* gained a signal victory over them,
 The following year, the auxiliary *Hunns* also defeated them He de-
 in several encounters, and even laid siege to *Toulouse*. *Theodoric* feats the
 sent out several bishops to endeavour to effect an accommo- *Hunns be-*
 dation; but *Litorius* refusing to hearken to any proposals, the fore *Tou-*
Goths risked an engagement; in which the *Hunns* were de- *louse.*
 feated, and *Litorius* was dangerously wounded and taken pri-
 soner.

Litorius, after being exposed to the insults and outrages of
 the populace and children of *Toulouse*, was thrown into the
 public prison, and, after some time, put to death.

As *Aetius* was now in no condition to oppose the *Goths*,
 they had formed a resolution of extending their conquests.
Auditus, however, who was prefect of *Gaul*, and held in high
 esteem by *Theodoric*, persuaded the king to conclude a peace
 with the *Romans*, on the same terms he had offered them be-
 fore the battle.

Theodoric A few years after, that is, in 453, *Theodoric* joined *Aetius* is slain in with a body of his men, to oppose the ravages of *Attila*, king the battle of the *Hunns*; but, being killed in the famous battle of *Chalons*. of *Chalons*. *lons*, was succeeded by his son *Thorismund*; who, though eager to attack the *Hunns* a second time, was craftily advised by *Aetius* to return home. *Thorismund* following the advise of *Aetius*, returned to *Toulouse*, but soon discovering the craft of *Aetius*, he broke the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, and laid siege to *Arles*; but was prevailed upon by *Ferreolus*, prefect of *Gaul*, to retire.

The Goths under *Thorismund* conquer the *Alans* and *Alemans*. The same year, *Attila* entering *Gaul* a-new, *Thorismund* joined the *Alans*, whom the *Hunns* had invaded; and, gaining a complete victory over *Attila*, obliged him to retire with shame and disgrace. *Thorismund*, according to *Gregory of Tours*, overcame and subdued the *Alemans* and *Alans*, extending his dominions to the *Rhone*, says *Sidonius*, who styles him the haughty and untractable king of *Gothia*. His whole conduct betrayed great pride and arrogance, and he seemed to delight in nothing but wars and slaughter; while his brothers, *Theodoric*, *Frederic*, *Turic*, or *Euric*, *Rotemer*, and *Himmarit*, seemed inclined to peace: His brothers, at length, finding they could by no means divert him from engaging in new wars, caused him to be assassinated.

Theodoric succeeds *Thorismund*. *Theodoric*, upon the death of his elder brother, was declared king. According to *Sidonius*, he was a prince of a martial disposition, of uncommon parts, and great accomplishments; but, in point of religion, a meer hypocrite. He also says, that he was a man of some learning, and was well versed in the *Latin* poets. In the beginning of his reign he entered into an alliance with the *Romans*; and his brother *Frederic* marching into *Spain* to their assistance, drove the *Bagaudæ* from several places in *Hispania Tarraconnensis*, which he put into the hands of the *Romans*.

The following year, *Avitus*, the prefect of *Gaul*, coming to *Toulouse* to strengthen the peace between *Theodoric* and the *Romans*, and *Maximus* dying in the mean time, *Theodoric* persuaded *Avitus* to assume the imperial dignity. He was accordingly proclaimed, first at *Toulouse*, and, about a month afterwards, at *Arles*, by the *Roman* soldiery, and all persons of distinction in *Gaul*.

The *Suevians*, the year after, invading the province of *Carthagera*, with a design to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*, *Avitus* sent an ambassador to *Requarius*, the *Suevian* king, to remonstrate against his breaking of the peace. *Theodoric* also interposed his good offices, conjuring *Requarius*, who had married his sister, not to disturb the public tranquillity. The *Suevian* king, however, paying no regard to his treaties with the *Romans*, ravaged the province of *Tarraco* in a dreadful manner, and sent an insulting answer to *Theodoric*, who had interposed his good offices a second time.

Theodoric,

Theodoric, highly offended with his haughty answer, entered *Spain* with a numerous army of *Goths* and *Burgundians*, the war on the latter being commanded by their king *Hilperic*, or *Chilperic*. *Suevians* A battle being fought about twelve miles from *Astorga*, on in *Spain*. the *Urbicus*, or *Orbegua*, the *Suevians* were wholly routed; and their king, who was dangerously wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to the most distant corner of *Galicia*.

Requarius soon after attempted to make his escape by sea; but, being driven back by a storm, he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who ordered him to be put to death. The *Suevians* were most of them either taken prisoners or put to the sword, though *Theodoric* had strictly enjoined his men to spare all who laid down their arms and submitted. The king of the *Goths* appropriated to himself the countries he had taken from the *Suevians*; but *Aquiulphus*, whom he had left governor of them, endeavouring to make himself independant, *Theodoric* sent an army against him, by whom he was defeated; and, being taken prisoner, was beheaded. The *Suevians*, who had retired to *Gallicia*, and refused to submit to *Theodoric*, chose one of their own nation, named *Maiora*, as successor to *Requarius*.

The year following, *Theodoric*, having almost entirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Gallicia*, passed from thence into *Lusitania*, where he destroyed several cities and villages; and, at length, took *Merida*, the capital of that province; but soon, upon some disagreeable news from *Gaul*, he returned in great haste to *Toulouse*, leaving a body of troops in *Spain*, composed of different nations. These forces, in their march to *Gallicia*, being admitted as friends into the city of *Astorga*, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, plundered the place, and then set fire to it. They also ravaged the neighbouring country, having, it is said, express orders from *Theodoric* to act in that manner. Being repulsed by some cities, they, at length, returned to *Gaul*. In their room, *Theodoric* sent another army into *Spain*, commanded by one *Cyrila*, who ravaged the province of *Bætica*, now *Andalusia*. The following year *Theodoric* recalled *Cyrila*, and sent another general; who seems, however, not to have been able to make head against the *Suevians*.

Theodoric, at the same time, upon what provocation is not known, broke with the *Romans*, and seized several of their cities in *Gaul*; but, being defeated by the emperor *Majorianus*, with the he was obliged to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, upon his promising to assist the *Romans* against the *Suevians* and *Vandals*.

Majorianus dying soon after, *Theodoric* again broke the peace, and seized some places in *Gaul*, and, among the rest, *Narbonne*, which was betrayed to him by one *Agrippina*. He was obliged, however, to raise the siege of *Arles*, by *Ægidius*, the *Roman* general, who, the following year, gained a signal

His conquests in *Lusitania*.

He breaks the peace with the *Romans*, but is forced to beg a peace.

The *Goths* enlarge their conquests in *Spain*.
 nal victory over the *Goths* near *Orleans*; when *Frederic*, the king's brother, was left among the slain. The *Goths*, in the mean time, according to *Idatius*, made themselves masters of *Spain*, except *Gallicia*, which was still held by the *Suevians*; and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Carthagera*, which were subject to the *Romans*, and were governed by a duke. The provinces subject to the *Goths* were governed by the generals *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, the former a *Goth*, and the latter a native of *Languedoc*, which was subject to the *Goths*.

Theodoric is murdered by his brother *Euric*.
 About two years after, *Theodoric*, who was more bent on extending his conquests in *Gaul* than in *Spain*, came to an agreement with *Remismund*, king of the *Suevians*, and son of *Malgra*; but, before he could put his ambitious designs in execution, he was murdered by his brother *Euric*, in the thirteenth year of his reign.

who conquers almost all *Spain*.
Euric, called also *Eoric*, *Evaric*, and *Euthoric*, soon after he had ascended the throne, committed great ravages in *Lusitania*; and, having reduced the cities of *Pampelona* and *Saragossa*, made himself master of *Upper-Spain*. *Remismund*, the year after, took *Coimbra*, and ravaged great part of *Lusitania*; upon which the natives implored, not the protection of the *Romans*, but of *Euric*, who interposed his good offices, but without effect; for *Remismund*, upon the departure of *Euric's* ambassadors, plundered the city of *Coimbra*, and carried many of the inhabitants into captivity. *Tarraco*, with its territory, being now the only part of *Spain* in the possession of the *Romans*, *Euric*, in the year 468, reduced that city and levelled it with the ground. A final period was now put to the empire of the *Romans* in *Spain*, which had continued, at least, seven hundred years.

makes war on the *Romans*.
Euric, not satisfied with the dominions he had made in *Spain*, resolved to extend his conquests likewise in *Gaul*; which the emperor *Anthemius* no sooner understood, than he wrote to *Riotham*, king of the *Britons*, who had settled on the *Loire*, pressing him to join the *Romans* against the common enemy. *Riotham*, in compliance with the emperor's request, marched against *Euric* with twelve thousand men; but, being met by him at *Bourgdouls*, in the province of *Berri*, he was there defeated with great loss, and obliged to take refuge among the *Burgundians*. The war between the *Goths* and the *Romans* continued all this and the following year; during which the *Goths* made themselves masters of the provinces of *Berri* and *Gevaudan*; the inhabitants, who were greatly oppressed by the *Roman* officers, choosing, as *Salvianus* expresses it, rather to live free under the appearance of slavery, than be treated like slaves under the appearance of liberty.

Two years after, a peace was concluded; but *Anthemius*, about the same time, being murdered, and *Olybrius* proclaimed emperor, *Euric* renewed the war, in hopes of driving the *Romans* quite out of *Gaul*. Accordingly, the year after,

he broke into *Auvergne* with a powerful army; but met with and gets a vigorous resistance from the inhabitants, who gained several advantages over him, and even obliged him to raise the siege of *Clermont*. *Nepos*, who, in the mean time, had succeeded to the empire, sent an ambassador to *Euric* to treat of peace; which was agreed to, *Auvergne* being thereby delivered up to *Euric*, who professing the *Arian* doctrine, would by no means consent to the ordaining of Catholic bishops for the vacant churches within his dominions.

Five years after, *Odoacer*, who, after putting to death *Augustulus*, the last emperor of the west, had assumed the title of king of *Italy*, yielded the few remaining places in *Gaul* subject to the *Romans*, to the *Goths*, whose dominions, by that addition, extended from the *Loire* to the *Alps*. However, *Arles*, *Marseilles*, and some other cities, still held out, for some time, against them.

The ambition of *Euric* was far from being contented with his extensive dominions; so that he was still bent on reducing the remaining part both of *Spain* and *Gaul*: but his designs were prevented by death; which happened to him at *Arles* in the nineteenth year of his reign. He was a prince of great penetration, formidable in war, and attended with success in most of his undertakings; whence he was dreaded by many nations, and his friendship courted by distant as well as neighbouring potentates*.

Euric was the first who gave written laws to the *Goths*, who were governed, till his reign, by customs only. The person *Euric* chiefly employed in compiling his laws was *Leo*, his prime-minister, and one of the most learned men and best civilians of his time. *Euric* married one *Ragnachild*, the daughter of a king, by whom he had a son named *Alaric*, who succeeded him; and a daughter, married to a barbarian prince, supposed a *Frank*, and named *Sigismer*. The *Franks* soon after put a period to the kingdom of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, who were then obliged to remove to *Spain*; which country they held till it was over-run by the *Arabs*.

The *Ostrogoths*, as we have mentioned, upon the departure of the *Visigoths*, continued in their antient seats, subject to the *Hunns*, but governed by their own princes. Upon the death of *Hermanaric*, they chose *Vithimir*, by some called *Wimithar*, in his room. The new king began hostilities against the *Hunns*, and gained some advantages over them; but was, in the end, overcome and killed in battle. His son *Vitheric* then withdrew, with many of his subjects, into the plains between the *Borysthenes* and the *Danube*; that is,

* Vales. rer. Franc. Sidon. Epist. Jornand. Greg. Tour. Idat. Isidor. Marc. Chron. Bucher. Baron. Annal. an. 468. Ennod. in vit. Epiph.

Their
kings sub-
mit to
Attila.

The *Ostro-*
goths al-
lowed to
settle in
Pannonia.

They
shake off
the yoke
of the
Huns and

ravage *Il-*
lyricum.

A war
betwixt
the *Goths*
and *Squiri*

into the present *Podolia*. His successor *Hunimund*, the son of *Hermanaric*, is said to have made war upon the *Suevians*, and to have gained a signal victory over them. He was succeeded by his son *Thorismund*, who defeated the *Gepidae* with great slaughter; but was soon after killed by a fall from his horse. The *Goths* were so affected with the loss of this prince, that, for forty years, they lived without a king; but, at length, chose *Wandalar*, son to the brother of *Hermanaric*; of whose transactions historians are quite silent. He was succeeded by his three sons, *Valemir*, *Theodimir*, and *Vidimir*, who reigned jointly, and attended *Attila* in most of his expeditions.

Many of the conquered nations revolting from the sons of *Attila*, *Marcian*, the emperor, then granted to the *Ostrogoths* all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, to *Vindobona*, now *Vienna*, in *Austria*. The *Goths* acknowledged the authority of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors; but, at the same time, were governed by their own princes; to whom the emperor agreed to pay an annual pension, upon their promising to guard the frontiers of the empire and serve in the *Roman* armies when called.

The three brothers, who had divided *Pannonia* among them, were scarce settled in their new territories when *Valemir* was attacked by the sons of *Attila*; who, however, were defeated by him with great slaughter. About eight years after, the *Goths* being engaged in a war with the *Sataga*, *Dintzio*, one of *Attila*'s sons, took that opportunity of ravaging *Pannonia*; but the *Huns* were then defeated by the *Goths* with so great a slaughter, that they ever after stood in awe of them, and never offered to molest them.

In the year 455, the emperor *Leo* refusing, under several pretences, to pay to the *Ostrogoths* their usual pension, they entered *Illyricum*, and there committed dreadful ravages; but were soon driven out with considerable loss. Not long after, the treaties were renewed, upon the emperor's promising to pay to the *Goths* what was due to them to that time, and, for the future, three hundred pounds weight of gold a year. On the other hand, *Valemir* sent to *Constantinople*, by way of hostage, the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, but then only eight years old. The young prince remained ten years at the court of *Leo*, who maintained him in a manner suitable to his rank, and gave him the best masters in every branch of polite literature.

In the year 466, the tenth of *Leo*'s reign, a rupture happened betwixt the *Goths* in *Pannonia* and the *Squiri*, a barbarous people, subject to the *Romans*, in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Asia*. The emperor, who was applied to by both nations, favoured the *Squiri*, who were nevertheless defeated with great slaughter: the *Goths*, on their side, losing their king *Valemir*. The *Squiri* who had escaped from the battle, being joined by the *Sarmatians*, the *Rugians*, and the *Gepidae*, renewed the war; and entering the territories of the *Goths*, laid

did them waste far and near; but were at length defeated by *Theodomir* and *Videmir*; who, passing the *Danube* on the ice, laid waste the enemy's country. In this war, *Theodomir* also defeated the *Suevians* and *Alemans*, who had assisted the above-mentioned nations; and, in his return, he received, with great joy, his son *Theodoric*, whom the emperor *Leo* had sent back loaded with presents. *Theodoric* soon after hearing that *Babai*, king of the *Sarmatians*, had defeated a body of *Romans*, and made himself master of *Singidunum*, in *Upper Mœsia*, assembled a body of troops without his father's knowledge, and, having defeated and slain *Babai*, he recovered *Singidunum*, but did not, however, restore it to the *Romans*.

In the year 473, the *Goths*, says *Jornandes*, attacked the empire without any provocation; *Videmir*, to whom *Italy* fell by lot, invading that kingdom; and *Theodomir* making an incursion into *Illyricum*, *Videmir* dying upon his entering *Italy*, his son, of the same name, succeeded to the command, and was prevailed upon, by rich presents, to retire out of *Italy*; and afterwards joined the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, his followers becoming one people with them. *Theodomir* having made himself master of *Naissus*, divided his army into several bodies, who reduced *Ulpiana*, *Heraclea*, and *Larissa*; and the army afterwards uniting laid siege to *Theffalonica*; from whence, however, *Theodomir* was prevailed upon, by rich presents, to retire.

A peace was soon after concluded with the *Romans*; during which *Theodomir* died, and was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, called *Amalus*, whom the emperor *Zeno* immediately invited to his court, conferring on him the rank of patrician, and, according to *Jornandes*, even adopting him for his son. *Theodoric* was scarce returned to *Pannonia* when, being informed that *Zeno* was deposed, and one *Basiliscus* promoted to the imperial dignity, chiefly by the *Goths* in the *Roman* service, he marched to the assistance of *Zeno*, who promised to join him with thirty-two thousand men. The emperor, however, neglecting to fulfil his promise, and the *Roman* guides leading the *Goths* through deserts, where they suffered greatly, they no sooner came in sight of the enemy, than they obliged their king to come to an agreement with the chief of the *Goths*, who favoured the usurper, and was also named *Theodoric*. The emperor having endeavoured, in vain, to prevail with the king to break the treaty concluded with *Theodoric*, was obliged to consent to a peace with the traitor on dishonourable terms.

King *Theodoric* not receiving from the *Romans* either money or provisions to support his troops, laid waste the most fertile places of *Thrace*, destroying with fire and sword what he could not carry off, the *Romans* making but weak efforts to oppose him. The *Goths*, after ravaging *Thrace*, laid waste

Videmir,
king of
the *Goths*,
invades
Italy.

Theodoric
marches
to the as-
sistance of
the empe-
ror *Zeno*,

but ra-
vages the
territories
of the *Ra-*
mans.
the

the open country of *Macedon*, and made themselves masters of *Stopi*, on the river *Axius*. From thence they marched into the neighbourhood of *Theſſalonica*, which threw the inhabitants into ſuch conſternation, that, thinking themſelves abandoned by the emperor, they pulled down, and broke in pieces, all his ſtatues, and were ready to fall upon their governor, but contented themſelves with taking from him the keys of their city, and delivering them to the biſhop. *Theodoric* made not the leaſt attempt on *Theſſalonica*, but led his army to *Heraclea*, where he entered into a negotiation for a peace with the emperor. The *Goths*, during the conferences, ſeizing on *Duras*, and refuſing to evacuate it before the ſpring, the treaty was, on that account, broke off, tho' *Theodoric* offered to deliver up his mother and ſiſters as hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe.

A peace concluded betwixt him and the emperor.

A.C. 479.

The main body of the *Goths* proceeding to *Duras* with the baggage, by ſlow marches, under the conduct of *Thudimund*, the brother of *Theodoric*, *Sabinianus*, general of *Illyricum*, overtook them as they were deſcending from the mountains of *Candavia*, between *Lychnicus* and *Duras*, and cut great numbers of them in pieces, took five thouſand priſoners, two thouſand waggons, and an immense booty. This ſucceſs encouraged the *Romans* not to be ſolicitous about an accommodation; but all that we know of the war, is, that, the following year, *Theodoric* ravaged *Greece*; and, that *Sabinianus* put a ſtop to his ravages more by addreſs than by dint of arms.

He aſſiſts the emperor againſt the uſurper *Leontius*.

Two years after, *Sabinianus* being dead, *Theodoric* ravaged *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*; and even took and plundered *Lariſſa*, the metropolis of the latter province; inſomuch that the emperor was at length obliged to yield to him part of *Lower Meſſia* and *Lower Dacia*; to give him the command of the troops of the houſhold, and to name him conſul for the enſuing year; which was the greateſt honour he could confer upon him. Upon this accommodation, *Theodoric* went, with a ſmall retinue, to *Conſtantinople*; where he was received with great marks of eſteem by the emperor, and the following year diſcharged the office of conſul. During his conſulſhip, *Leontius*, commander of the troops in *Syria*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and defeated ſome of the imperial armies ſent againſt him; but was, at laſt, totally routed, near *Seiucia*, by the emperor's troops, who were joined by a body of the *Goths* under *Theodoric*.

Another rupture betwixt him and the emperor.

Part of the *Goths* being left to aſſiſt in entirely ſuppreſſing the rebels, *Theodoric* returned with the reſt to *Conſtantinople*; but finding that *Zeno* began to miſtruſt him, according to the account of *Agrius*, or, according to *Marcellinus*, wanting ſome pretence to break with the emperor, he retired into *Thrace*, being ſome time before appointed general of the troops in that country. Soon after he had left *Conſtantinople*,

He, he defeated the *Bulgarians*, who had made an irruption into *Thrace*. The year following he spent in raising forces; and next year he himself ravaged *Thrace*, and, advancing towards the capital, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Melantias*, a city about fifteen miles west of *Constantinople*, with the design, as was believed, of laying siege to the imperial city.

While the inhabitants were under the greatest consternation, *Theodoric* decamped of a sudden and marched back to visit by *Zeno* in *Mæsia*; a private treaty, as is supposed, having *Zeno* to been concluded between him and *Zeno*, who had advised him to turn his arms against *Odoacer*, who had assumed the title of king of *Italy*. The *Gothic* writers, and even *Procopius*, affirm that *Zeno* yielded *Italy* to *Theodoric* and his posterity; but, according to *Ammianus*, *Italy*, upon the death of *Theodoric*, was to be reunited to the empire.

Theodoric employed himself for some time in making preparations for his *Italian* expedition; and the following year having assembled, says *Ennodius*, an infinite number of people, carrying with them on waggons their wives, children, and all their effects, he bent his march towards *Italy*. Several *Romans* of great distinction joined him, to serve as volunteers in this war, and, among the rest, *Artemidorus*, who was nearly related to the emperor, and in great favour with him, but joyfully abandoned the grandeur he lived in at *Constantinople*, to share the fortune of *Theodoric*. On the other hand, many *Goths* declined following *Theodoric* to *Italy*, and settling on the sea-coast of *Thrace*, formed there a separate nation, which lived in amity with the *Romans*, and is highly commended by *Procopius*. *Theodoric* having no ships, marched round the *Adriatic* sea, even in the depth of winter, a violent plague and famine in the mean time raging in his army, and carrying off great numbers of his people. In his march he routed the *Gepidæ* and *Sarmatians*, who had endeavoured to oppose him.

Having entered *Italy*, he halted at the river *Sentius*, now *Faventus*, in the neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, in order to refresh his troops, as he was informed that *Odoacer* was in full march to meet him with a very numerous army, consisting of various nations commanded by their respective chiefs. The army of *Odoacer* was easily defeated by the *Goths*, who pursuing their advantage, took possession of their camp. *Theodoric* forced *Odoacer* to a second engagement in the plains of *Verona*, where both parties fought for some time with great obstinacy; but *Odoacer* was at length defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in *Ravenna*. The *Goths* immediately made themselves masters of several important places, and, among the rest, of *Milan* and *Pavia*. *Tufa*, commander in chief of *Odoacer's* forces, coming over to *Theodoric* with a great body of troops, he sent him with some of his own officers, against *Odoacer*, who was accordingly besieged by him

A.C. 483.

in *Faenza*. This treacherous commander now declared for his old master, and betrayed into his hands some of the troops of *Theodoric*, who caused all those who had come over with him, and were still in his power, to be put to death, lest they should follow his example. About the same time, the king of the *Rugians*, with a considerable body of his countrymen, abandoned *Theodoric*, and fled over to *Odoacer*, who being thus reinforced, left *Faenza*, and advanced to *Milan*, which city he is supposed to have taken, since he is said to have recovered all *Liguria*.

The *Goths*
besiege
Ravenna,

Odoacer, after ravaging the territories of those who had submitted to *Theodoric*, besieged him in *Pavia*, where the *Goths*, who had brought along with them their families and all their effects, were greatly straitened for want of room. But heaven says *Ennodius*, openly declared in favour of *Theodoric*, the enemy daily quarrelling among themselves, and every thing contributing to their ruin. A body of *Visigoths* from *Gaul*, soon after, arriving to the assistance of *Theodoric*, he advanced to the *Adduæ*, and a third time defeated *Odoacer*, who was obliged again to take refuge in *Ravenna*, but left numerous garrisons in all the strong places. *Ravenna* was soon after besieged by the *Goths*, who continued three years before the city, during which time great numbers were killed on both sides in the frequent sallies and attacks. *Theodoric* at length turning the siege into a blockade, marched with part of his troops against the strong holds in which *Odoacer* had left garrisons, and was every where received with great joy, except at *Cesena*, where he met with some opposition. In 492, that is, in the fourth year after the *Goths* had invaded *Italy*, no place remained to *Odoacer*, except *Ravenna*, which was then reduced to great straits, a bushel of wheat being sold for six pieces of gold.

which is
obliged to
capitulate

Odoacer
put to
death by
Theodoric,

who is
proclaim-
ed king of
Italy.

A.C. 493.

Both parties at length being willing to put an end to the war, a capitulation was agreed to on the twenty-seventh of *February*, and *Theodoric* entered *Ravenna* a few days after, and soon broke the oath he had given to *Odoacer*; for having invited him to a banquet, he dispatched him with his own hand. All his servants and relations were massacred at the same time, except his brother *Aonulphus*, and a few others, who made their escape, and retired beyond the *Danube*. The pretence for this massacre was a suspicion of a plot formed by *Odoacer* against *Theodoric*; though, according to *Jornandes*, this suspicion was quite groundless. Though *Theodoric*, some months before, had sent to obtain of the emperor *Zeno* the ensigns of royalty, yet, upon the submission of *Odoacer*, he did not wait for the emperor's permission, but caused himself to be proclaimed by his *Goths* king of *Italy*. Soon after, however to excuse the liberty he had taken, he sent two ambassadors to *Constantinople*, where they were received in a very obliging manner by the emperor *Anastasius*, who ap-
proved

proved of what *Theodoric* had done, and sent him the ensigns of royalty.

Theodoric being now master of all *Italy*, began to make the necessary preparations for reducing the island of *Sicily*. The inhabitants of that island, however, submitting without bloodshed, by the persuasions of *Cassiodore*, *Theodoric* then sheathed his sword, and endeavoured to establish himself in his new kingdom by alliances with the neighbouring princes. He married *Andefleda*, the daughter of *Clodoveus*, king of the *Franks*, and bestowed his own two daughters, whom he had by a concubine, one on *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, and the other on *Sigismund*, the son of the king of the *Burgundians*. He next made it his chief study to govern his kingdom with salutary laws, following therein the advice of *Cassiodore*, a man of great learning and integrity. He commanded the *Roman* laws to be inviolably observed, not only by the *Romans*, but even by his *Goths*, whom he had placed in different parts, in the castles and strong holds; but in disputes between *Goth* and *Goth*, they were to be judged by their proper judges, according to their own customs. He also retained the same form of government, the same distribution of provinces, and the same magistrates and dignities; choosing also the city of *Ravenna* for his residence, which had been for some time the imperial seat. Besides the *Consularis*, the *Corrector*, or the *Præses*, who governed a whole province, and resided in the chief city, *Theodoric* appointed in each town and village inferior magistrates of known integrity, who were to administer justice, and by that means save those who had law-suits the trouble and expence of recurring to the governor of the whole province. Thus *Italy*, from the dominion of the *Romans*, came under that of the *Goths*, almost without perceiving the change*.

He retains
the Ro-
man laws.

* Ennod. Pan. Theod. Idem vit. Epiph. Procop. bell. Goth. Cassiod. Onuphr. Ammian. Chron. Jornand. rer. Goth. Val. rer. franc. Evagr. Gret. in proleg. Hist. Goth.

C H A P. VI.

The ancient State of the Vandals, till their settling in Spain and Africa.

The origin of the Vandals.

PROCOPIUS, who was personally acquainted with several Vandals, brought prisoners to *Constantinople*, tells us, that the *Goths* and *Vandals* were one and the same people, distinguished in names, but agreeing in original and manners. They were called *Vandals* from the *Gothic* word *Vandelen*, which signifies *to wander*; because they often changed their seats, wandering from one country to another. They are supposed to have come originally out of *Scandinavia* with the other *Goths*, under the conduct of king *Eric*, and to have settled in the countries now known by the names of *Mecklenburgh* and *Brandenburg*. Several ages after, another colony of the *Goths* leaving *Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berig*, settled in *Pomerania*, and soon after obliged the *Vandals* inhabiting the abovementioned countries, to submit to him, and to share their territories with the new comers. Part of the *Vandals*, in the reign of *Augustus*, settled on the banks of the *Rhine*, but were driven from thence by *Tiberius* and *Drusus*.

Their different settlements.

As their country was overstocked with people, great numbers of them soon left it anew, and invading the country between the *Besborus Cimmerius* and the *Tanais*, drove out the *Scythi*, who inhabited it, and settling there, took the name of *Scythi* themselves. Some of the descendants of these, in the reign of *Mauritius*, which began in 586, settled in *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, which from them were called *Scythia*. Others settled themselves in the eastern parts of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*. From those who remained in *Germany*, the present *Poles* and *Bohemians* are said to derive their origin.

The *Vandals*, without doubt, had their own kings long before they were known to the *Romans*; but *Godegisilus*, under whose conduct they entered *Gaul* in 406, is the first of their princes whom we find mentioned in history. *Salvianus*, speaking of the *Vandals*, says, that they were inferior both in power and courage, to the other barbarous nations; but, nevertheless, made themselves masters of the best and most fertile provinces of the empire, providence so disposing, to convince the world, that their conquests were not owing to their valour, but to the Lord of Hosts, who made use of so weak and contemptible an enemy to punish the sins of the *Romans*. They embraced the Christian religion at the same time

time that the *Goths* were converted, but held, like the other *Gothic* nations, the tenets of *Arius*.

Nothing is known of their wars with any nation except the *Romans*, to whom they first began to be troublesome about the year 166, when entering into an alliance with the *Marcomans*, the *Narischians*, the *Hermundurians*, *Quadians*, *Suevians*, *Sarmatians*, *Victovalians*, *Roxolarians*, *Bastarnians*, *Cosrobachians*, *Alans*, *Fazygians*, &c. they broke into the empire, defeated the *Roman* armies, and ravaged several provinces. On this occasion the *Marcomans* and *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Pannonia*, after having defeated a *Roman* army under the command of *Furius Victorinus*. About four years after, they were driven out of *Pannonia* by *M. Aurelius*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces as they were passing the *Danube*. They afterwards entered into an alliance with the *Romans*; for in the peace concluded in 180, between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alemans*, it was stipulated, that they should not make war upon the *Vandals*. In the year 215 a war was kindled between them and the *Marcomans*, by which both nations were greatly weakened.

In 271, the second of *Aurelian's* reign, they crossed the *Danube*, and, under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes, laid waste the neighbouring provinces. Upon the news of the approach of *Aurelian*, they retired with great precipitation; but being overtaken by the *Romans* before they could reach the *Danube*, great numbers of them were cut to pieces, and the rest were obliged to sue for peace, which they obtained upon delivering up the sons of their two kings as hostages. *Aurelian* incorporated two thousand of their best men amongst his own troops, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube*.

Upon the news of *Aurelian's* death, which happened in the year 275, they entered into an alliance with the *Lygians*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*, and entering *Gaul*, made themselves masters of almost the whole country, which they held for two years, when *Probus*, who had succeeded *Tacitus*, marching against them, overcame them in several battles. Most of the *Lygians* were cut off; but the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* escaped over the *Rhine*, before *Probus* could overtake them. Being provoked, however, by the insults and raillery of the *Roman* soldiers, they attempted to cross the river to give them battle, when many of them were cut in pieces, many of them taken prisoners, and great numbers of them perished. They obtained a peace by promising to send back all the prisoners and booty they had taken; but not exactly performing their promise, the emperor crossed the *Rhine*, put many of them to the sword, and took a great number of them prisoners, who were sent into *Britain*, and are supposed to have settled in the neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, where,

where, according to *Bucherius*, they gave name to the village of *Vandelburg*.

Two years after, *Probus*, on his return from *Persia*, allowed the *Vandals*, with several other barbarous nations, to settle in *Thrace*, which province was then almost unpeopled. The *Vandals* did not long continue faithful subjects to the emperor; but while his troops were employed in *Egypt* and *Gaul* against the two usurpers *Saturninus* and *Proculus*, ravaged several provinces of the empire. *Probus* having overcome the two usurpers, marched all his forces against the barbarians, whom he almost wholly cut off.

In the year 291, the eighth of *Dioclesian's* reign, the *Vandals* and *Gepidae* were engaged in a war with the *Goths*, who were assisted by the *Taifale*. All that the historians mention of this war, is, that the barbarians were so weakened by it, that, for a considerable time, they suffered the *Romans* to live in peace.

The *Vandals* seem to have continued quiet till the year 406, when, with the *Alans* and *Suevians*, they broke into *Gaul*, at the instigation of *Stilicho*, who hoped, by their means, to raise his son to the empire. These *Vandals* came from *Dacia*, and the neighbourhood of *Palus Mæotis*, under their king *Godegesilus*; and, in crossing the *Rhine*, twenty thousand of them were cut to pieces by the *Franks*; but they, at length, made good their passage by the assistance of the *Alans* and *Suevians*. After ravaging *Germania Prima*, they took *Mentz* by storm, and levelled it with the ground. They next passed into *Gallia Belgica*, and from thence into *Aquitain*, the most fertile and opulent province of all *Gaul*, and ravaged all the provinces adjoining to the *Pyrenean* mountains, being joined also by the *Burgundians* and other barbarous nations, stirred up partly by *Stilicho*, and partly by the desire of booty.

Constantine, in the mean time, being proclaimed emperor by the *British* legions, assembled a numerous army at *Bologne*, with which he overcame the barbarians in several battles, and, in the end, reduced them to such straits that they were forced to sue for peace; which they obtained without being obliged to quit *Gaul*. *Geronicus*, governor of *Spain*, soon after revolting, and setting up one *Maximus* for emperor, the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, probably at the instigation of the usurper, renewed hostilities, and made themselves masters of several cities in *Gaul*; which so exasperated the natives, who despaired of assistance from the emperor, that they formed themselves into an army, and defeated the barbarians in several encounters.

Upon this opposition, the barbarians crossed the *Pyrenæes*; and, towards the end of the year 409, entering *Spain*, made themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds; and, in January about twelve months after, obliged the emperor's son *Constantine* to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles*.

Geronicus

Geronicus entering into a kind of an alliance with them against their common enemy *Constantine*, they over-ran the whole country, committing every where, without countrol, unheard of cruelties, which they themselves afterwards repented of. The barbarians allowed such of the natives as desired to abandon the country, to retire unmolested, and even, for a small sum, conducted them to such places of safety as they thought proper to choose.

Spain, at this time, suffered the most dreadful calamities. The inhabitants were cruelly used, and stripped of their wealth, by the soldiers and officers employed by *Constantine* to levy the taxes; and those whom the barbarians spared, perished miserably, in great numbers, by a most dreadful famine and plague, by which many were reduced to the necessity of feeding upon human flesh. Many parents also devoured their own children; and the wild beasts, accustomed to live upon the dead bodies of those who were killed by the barbarians or died of the plague, being deprived at length of that food, and divide the provinces in that country among themselves, fell upon the living, and made a dreadful havock of the country people in the fields and villages. The *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, at length beginning to prefer agriculture to war, divided the provinces of *Spain* by lot among themselves.

In this division, *Gallicia* fell to the *Vandals* under their king *Gonderic*, and to the *Suevians* under *Ermeric*; *Lusitania* and the province of *Cartagena*, to the *Alans*; *Bætica*, to the *Vandals*, called *Silingians*, who are supposed to have given to their territory the name of *Vandalusia*, changed afterwards into that of *Andalusia*. Such of the natives as still remained submitted to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the Gospels, swore that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they religiously observed. The inhabitants of *Gallicia*, however, maintained their liberty; and *Ermeric*, king of the *Suevians*, finding it impracticable to reduce them, suffered them to live in peace, he himself being seized with a distemper of which he languished the seven last years of the fourteen he reigned.

In the year 416, *Vallia*, king of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, undertook to drive the barbarians out of *Spain*; and *Idatius* mentions that he gained great advantages over the *Alans* and *Vandals* in *Lusitania* and *Bætica*; which is all that we know of this war. The success of *Vallia* encouraged *Honorius*, in 422, to attempt the recovery of the provinces held by the barbarians in *Spain*. He accordingly sent an army thither, under the conduct of *Castinus*, who defeated them in several encounters, and reduced them to such straits that they began to think of abandoning the country which they had seized; but the *Roman* general, in the mean time, unseasonably risking an engagement, in which twenty thousand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged to take refuge, with the remains of his army, in the city

They are attacked by *Vallia*, king of the *Goths*.
The *Vandals* defeat the *Romans* with great slaughter.

city of *Tarraco*. After this victory, the *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Seville*; and, after ravaging several provinces, and almost destroying the city of *Carthagena*, passed over into the *Balearic* islands, and brought back from thence an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives.

Gonderic, their king, and the *Suevians*, *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, obliged *Ermeric*, king of the *Suevians*, to fly for refuge to the mountains of *Biscay*. While the *Vandals* were employed in blocking up the *Suevians*, *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and the vicar *Maurecelus*, fell unexpectedly upon the former, and, cutting many of them to pieces, obliged the rest to retire into *Andalusia*. *Gonderic*, on his return to *Seville*, putting the *Arians* in possession of the city, he was, says *Idatius*, immediately possessed and tormented by an evil spirit; and, in 423, perished in a miserable manner. The *Vandals* gave out that he had been taken prisoner by the *Suevians*, and by them put to death, hoping, by that means, to conceal his shameful end.

Genferic succeeds *Gonderic*. Though *Gonderic* left several sons behind him, he was, nevertheless, succeeded by his brother *Genferic*, or *Genferic*, who was a natural son of *Godegesilus*, killed by the *Franks* in 406. Upon his accession to the throne, he embraced the doctrine of *Arius*. He was remarkably brave and courageous, and well skilled in the art of war. Soon after his promotion, *Bonifacius*, the *Roman* commander in *Africa*, who, by the calumnies of *Aetius*, had become suspected of disloyalty by the empress *Placidia*, and was by her declared a public enemy, had recourse to *Genferic* for protection. A treaty being concluded betwixt them, *Genferic* began to make preparations for an expedition to *Africa*; but, before he embarked, hearing that *Hermigarius*, a celebrated commander of the *Suevians*, was laying waste the neighbouring provinces, he marched against him, and totally routed his troops.

He invades *Africa*. A.C. 425. Not long after, in the month of *May*, 428, the *Vandals*, with their wives, children, and effects, embarked for *Africa*; where *Genferic* was no sooner arrived than he caused the wife of the deceased king to be drowned in the river *Amsachus*; and soon after he put all her children to death, to prevent any disturbances they might have raised. The *Romans* took possession a-new of the provinces which the *Vandals* had abandoned in *Spain*, and held them till they were driven out by the *Suevians*, who, as we have related, were afterwards driven out by the *Goths*. *Genferic* gave out that his army was eighty thousand strong; but it is supposed that he included in this account the old men, the children, and even the slaves. In the space of two years, the *Vandals* made themselves masters of all the cities of *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Ciriba*, and *Hippo*, and committed dreadful ravages in that province. *Bonifacius*, having, in the mean time, received a most kind and obliging letter from *Placidia*, entreating him to return to his duty as the

he had been misled by the malice of his enemies, he readily undertook to free *Africa* from the barbarians, and offered them large sums if they would return to *Spain*.

The *Vandals* first returned him a scoffing answer, and then falling unexpectedly upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himself to take refuge in *Hippo*; which city they invested for fourteen months, when a famine beginning to rage in their camp, they were obliged to drop the enterprize. *Bonifacius* soon after receiving a reinforcement from *Rome*, and another from *Constantinople*, gave the barbarians battle, but was entirely defeated by them, the *Vandals* making an incredible number of captives, and obliging the rest to take shelter among the rocks and mountains. Upon this defeat, *Bonifacius* repairing to *Italy*, the *Vandals*, after he was gone, ravaged *Africa* in the most dreadful manner, and, taking possession of the city of *Hippo*, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, they first plundered it, and then set it on fire.

Genferic, about the same time, made several attempts upon *Sicily*, but was constantly repulsed by *Cassiodore*, great-grand-father of the celebrated senator of that name. A peace was, at length, concluded, in the beginning of the year 435, between *Valentinian* and *Genferic*; by which part of *Numidia*, the province *Proconsularis*, and likewise *Byzacene*, were ceded to the *Vandals*; for which territories *Genferic*, according to *Prosper*, was to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of the East. He delivered up his son as a hostage to the *Romans*; but they, trusting too much to his honour, sent back the prince. Four years after, while the *Romans* were engaged in a war with the *Gauls*, *Genferic*, on the twenty-third of *October*, surprised the city of *Carthage*. When this news was brought to *Rome*, *Valentinian*, not doubting but the *Vandals* would make some attempt upon *Italy* itself, ordered the walls, towers, and gates, of all the cities on the coast to be repaired; but, being soon informed that *Genferic* had sailed from *Carthage* with a powerful fleet, he published several edicts for arming and inspiring the people, and stationed several bodies of troops on the coast.

The *Vandals*, making a descent upon *Sicily*, ravaged the open country, and laid siege to *Palermo*; but, not being able to reduce the place, they returned to *Africa* with an immense booty and an incredible number of captives. *Theodosius*, alarmed at the progress of the *Vandals*, resolved to assist *Valentinian*, his son-in-law, against so powerful an enemy. He accordingly fitted out a fleet of eleven hundred large ships, and, putting on board it the flower of his army, ordered his generals to land them in *Africa*, and to act in conjunction with the western forces. *Genferic*, by wasting the summer in negotiations, prevented the *Roman* generals from landing till the season for action was over. The *Huns*, the

following year, breaking into *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, *Theodosius* was obliged to recall his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genferic*, and to yield to him all the countries in *Africa* he had seized.

He takes and plunders *Rome*. A.C. 455. *Genferic*, about thirteen years after, was invited to invade *Italy* by *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian* III. whom the usurper *Maximus*, after murdering her husband, had obliged to marry him. On this invitation *Genferic* embarked his forces, and, steering directly for *Rome*, took and plundered that city. Among other persons of great distinction, *Genferic* brought with him into *Africa* the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius*, the son of *Aetius*. Some years after he sent back *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*; but kept *Eudocia*, and married her to *Huneric*, his eldest son, who had by her *Hilderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*.

He is defeated at sea by Ricimer. *Genferic*, upon his return to *Africa*, reducing the countries that were still held there by the *Romans*, *Avitus*, the emperor, threatened to make war upon him if he did not observe the articles of the convention. The king of the *Vandals*, paying no regard to the emperor's remonstrances, sailed from *Carthage* with a fleet of sixty ships; but was entirely defeated off *Corfica* by *Ricimer*, the commander of the imperial fleet. *Genferic*, however, soon after put to sea with a more numerous fleet; and, making a descent on the coast of *Italy*, carried off un molested an immense booty and a great number of captives. Though *Marcian*, the emperor of the East, sent two ambassies to him, reminding him of the treaties he had concluded, and entreating him to forbear hostilities against the territories of the empire, he nevertheless refused to comply with the emperor's request.

Majorianus resolves to drive the Vandals out of Africa.

In the year 457, *Avitus* being deposed, and *Majorianus* chosen in his room, the *Vandals* soon after made a descent on the coast of *Campania*; but the *Romans* falling upon them while they were plundering the country, put great numbers of them to the sword; among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genferic*; and obliged the rest to quit their booty and fly to their ships. *Majorianus*, not satisfied with this small advantage assembled a fleet of 300 vessels, hired a great number of troops of the barbarians in friendship with the empire, and made other necessary preparations for invading *Africa*; and having, in four years, got ready for the expedition, he ordered his ships to sail to the bay of *Alicant*, in *Spain*. The *Vandals* were greatly alarmed with the news of his formidable preparations, and *Genferic* sued for a peace, which he promised to observe with the utmost fidelity; but his request being rejected, he ravaged *Mauritania*, and even poisoned the waters, being informed that *Majorianus* designed to land there. Soon after, a squadron of his best ships fell unexpectedly upon

upon the *Roman* vessels at anchor, sunk a great number of them, disabled others, and carried off some in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which was attributed to the treachery of some on board the *Roman* fleet, disconcerted all the emperor's measures, and put a stop to the expedition. *Majorianus* giving orders for repairing his fleet, returned to *Arles* to pass the winter there; but receiving another embassy from *Genferic*, he agreed to a peace; the articles of which have not been transmitted to us. He grants a peace to

Whatever they were, *Genferic* did not long observe them; *Genferic*, for, *Majorianus* dying the following year, he sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and even made himself master of *Sardinia*. The year after *Genferic* threatening to invade *Italy*, the *Italians*, dissatisfied with the inactivity of the emperor *Severus*, earnestly solicited the assistance, or protection, of *Leo*, emperor of the East, who, as he was at peace with *Genferic*, declined sending them any supplies, but dispatched ambassadors to *Africa* with proposals for a peace with the western empire. *Genferic*, at the request of *Leo*, sent to him the empress *Eudoxia* and her youngest daughter, as we have mentioned above; but, under pretence that the effects of the late emperor *Valentinian* ought to be delivered up to him as a portion for the princess *Eudocia*, whom his eldest son had married, he continued his hostilities against the emperor of the West; and, for some years, made descents on the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, pillaging the country, but always retiring when the *Roman* forces appeared. *Olybrius* having soon after married *Placidia*, *Genferic* thereupon declared that he would never agree to a peace with the western empire, unless the brother-in-law to his son was raised to the imperial dignity. hostilities.

Leo again unsuccessfully interceded for the *Italians*, and, *Genferic* at their request, sent *Anthemius* to *Italy*, who was raised to the imperial dignity, to the prejudice of *Olybrius*. *Genferic* war seized this pretence for breaking with *Leo*, and ravaged the *Peloponnese* and *Greek* islands; from whence he carried off a great number of captives. *Leo* sent an ambassador to him threatening him with his resentment; but he, in contempt of these threats, sent his fleet to ravage a-new the coasts of *Greece*, and the other maritime provinces of the eastern empire. At this time the *Vandals* were unsuccessful; for, after several fruitless attempts on *Alexandria*, and some other places, they returned home without either captives or booty. declares against the emperor of the East.

The following year *Leo* assembled almost the whole force of his empire for an expedition against the *Vandals*, being seconded also by *Anthemius* and by *Marcellinus*, who had established a new sovereignty in *Dalmatia*, and commanded not only his own troops but those sent by *Anthemius*. *Constantine Manasses* relates that the fame of these warlike preparations struck the whole world with terror and amazement; and *Genferic*. Almost the whole force of both empires united against

and nothing seemed capable, he says, of defeating so numerous an army and so powerful a fleet, except gold, which no power can resist: But, as the time appointed for punishing the *Vandals* was not yet come, Heaven suffered *Leo* to commit the whole management of this war to his wife's brother *Basiliscus*, who, though he had distinguished himself by his military talents, yet was noted for his avarice and ambition. The latter had even prompted him to aspire to the sovereignty, which he hoped to attain by means of *Aspar*, who governed under *Leo* with an absolute sway. *Aspar* having lately quarrelled with *Leo*, was afraid that, if he conquered the *Vandals*, he would next punish his arrogance; he therefore is supposed to have secretly promised to raise *Basiliscus* to the throne, provided he spared *Genferic*.

The expedition proves unsuccessful.

The island of *Sicily* being appointed the place of general rendezvous, *Marcellinus* was to attack *Sardinia*; *Heraclius*, of *Edessa*, a brave and experienced officer, was to make a descent on *Libya*; and *Basiliscus*, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, was to steer his course directly to *Carthage*. *Marcellinus* accordingly reduced *Sardinia*; and *Heraclius*, landing unexpectedly in the province of *Tripolitana*, reduced *Tripolis* and the other cities in that country. *Genferic* having received the disagreeable news of the loss of *Sardinia* and *Libya*, was so confounded when *Basiliscus* came to *Cape Mercury*, within fourteen leagues of *Carthage*, that, though a man of great intrepidity, he looked upon himself as quite lost; and is said to have had some thoughts of evacuating *Africa* and retiring elsewhere. *Basiliscus*, however, by his inactivity and delays, allowed *Genferic* to recover from his consternation, and even granted him a truce for five days to settle the conditions on which he was to submit to *Leo*; having, according to some authors, received a large sum of money from him for that indulgence. *Genferic* only begged this truce in hopes of having some favourable opportunity of attacking the *Roman* fleet; and the wind proving favourable before the truce was expired, he sailed out of the harbour and set fire to some empty ships, which were carried into the midst of the *Roman* fleet and threw all into confusion. While the *Romans* were busied either in keeping off the fire-ships or extinguishing the flames on board their own, the *Vandals* overwhelmed them with showers of darts, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to put to sea. *Heraclius*, who was in full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad success of *Basiliscus*, thought it advisable to turn back. *Marcellinus* also returned to *Sicily*, where he was assassinated by an officer who commanded under him, not without the privacy, as was supposed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no small umbrage. *Basiliscus*, after touching at *Sicily* with the few ships that had escaped, proceeded to *Constantinople*; where, upon his arrival, he took refuge

fuge in the church of St. *Sophia*. Though his treachery was publicly known, yet, at the intercession of his sister the empress, his life was spared, and he was allowed to retire to *Thrace*; but *Aspar* was soon after put to death by *Leo's* orders. Such was the issue of this most formidable expedition, which is said to have drained both empires of their wealth, and to have cost them the lives of fifty thousand men.

This dreadful storm being thus dissipated, *Genferic*, with- *Sardinia*, out loss of time, put to sea, and recovered the island of *Sar- Sicily*, and *dinia*; from whence he sailed to *Sicily*; which island he likewise reduced, and, in the three following years, made himself master of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*, the islands reduced by *Romans* being no ways in a condition to put a stop to his progress, and trembling at the very name of *Genferic*. From *Genferic*, these islands he sent fleets yearly to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, the *Peloponnese*, and the *Greek* islands; equally despising both emperors, and bidding defiance to their power.

At length, in the year 476, he concluded a peace with The em- *Gislaer*, king of *Italy*, yielding *Sicily* to him upon condition peror *Zeno* that he should pay him a yearly tribute for the island. The yields year before he had concluded a peace with the emperor *Zeno*, *Africa* to the successor of *Leo*, who, renouncing all claim to the pro- the *Van-* vinces of *Africa*, yielded them for ever to *Genferic* and his dals, descendants.

Soon after the conclusion of these treaties *Genferic* died. The peace was religiously observed by both parties till the reign of *Justinian*, who, espousing the cause of *Hilderic* against his brother *Gilimer*, the usurper, drove the *Vandals* out of *Africa*, and re-united those provinces to the empire*.

* Procop. Bell. Vand. Constant. Manass. Theoph. Jornand. Cedren. Candid. Isaur. Chron. Alex. Cassiodor. Idat. Chron. Evagr. Vict. Vitens.

C H A P. VII.

The Antient State of the Sueves till their settling in Spain.

The nations included under the name of *Sueves*.

IN *Cæsar's* time, the *Sueves* were the greatest and most warlike nation of all *Germany*. Under the common name of *Sueves*, *Tacitus* comprehends the *Longobardi*, the *Semnones*, the *Rheudingi*, the *Aviones*, and the *Angli*; but the *Rheudingi* and *Aviones* are not mentioned by *Ptolemy*. According to some authors, the *Vandals* and the *Sueves* were the same people, the latter appellation being also given them on account of their wandering, and derived from the word *Schawfende*, which signifies *Wanderers*. *Strabo*, who wrote in the time of the emperor *Nero*, says, that the *Sueves* were a great and powerful people, inhabiting from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, and even beyond the *Elbe*.

Some years after, in the time of *Tacitus*, the historian, they were seated between the *Elbe* and the *Vistula*, now the *Weiger*, and gave their name to the *Oder* and the *Baltic Sea*.

Whether the *Sueves* were originally *Sarmatians*, *Scandinavians*, or *Germans*, is greatly contested. Some say they originally came out of *Scandinavia*, and, after they had settled on the banks of the *Elbe*, were subdued by the *Saxons* and blended under their name. The *Sueves*, however, retained, at the same time, their own name; and hence the *Angli* are sometimes called *Saxones Angli*, and sometimes *Suevi Angli*.

The *Sueves* had kings of their own, and seem to have agreed in customs and manners with other *German* nations. The first account of their transactions that is extant, is the invasion of their country by *Drusus*, the son of *Livia*, who, passing the *Rhine* about eight years before the birth of our Saviour, reduced all the nations between that river and the *Elbe*; and, among the rest, the *Sueves*, in three campaigns. They soon after revolted, but were again obliged by *Tiberius* to sue for peace; and submitted to such conditions as *Augustus* thought fit to impose upon them. After this submission, forty thousand *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* were brought into *Gaul*, by *Tiberius* and, according to *Bucherius*, seats were allotted them about *Courtray*.

They In the reign of *Tiberius*, the *Sueves*, quarrelling among drive out themselves, drove out their king *Marobodes*, a prince greatly their king dreaded by the *Romans*, and chose *Catualdes* in his room; *Marobodes* who, at the instigation of *Tiberius*, had headed the male-
A. C. 19. contents. *Marobodes* was allowed by *Tiberius* to settle at *Ravenna*, where he passed the last eighteen years of his life. *Catualdes*

Valdes himself was soon driven from the throne, and obliged to take refuge in the city of *Frejus*.

As great numbers of *Sueves* attended both princes, *Tiberius*, apprehending they might disturb the peace of the empire, allotted them lands beyond the *Danube*, and appointed one *Vannius*, a *Quadian*, to reign over them. *Vannius*, after he had governed them thirty years, became obnoxious to them, and, on account of haughty and imperious conduct, was deposed and banished. The emperor *Claudius* gave him and his followers lands in that province. *Vangio* and *Sido*, nephews to *Vannius*, divided his late dominions between them, and continued ever faithful to the *Romans*. *Sido* and *Italicus*, the successor of *Vangio*, joined *Vespasian* with all their forces against *Vitellius*.

In the year 83, a colony of *Sueves* was settled in *Frisia*; for *Tacitus*, in the life of *Agricola*, relates that some *Germans*, quartered in *Britain*, deserting from the *Romans*, were driven on the coast of *Germany*, and there taken and sold for slaves by the *Sueves* and *Frisians*, who believed them pyrates.

About two years after, the *Sueves*, and their allies the *Liby-* The
ans, having solicited the assistance of the emperor *Domitian* *Sueves*,
against their neighbours, and received only one hundred horse, with other
men from him, they were so provoked that they joined the barbari-
Jazyges, a *Sarmatic* nation, and made an incursion into *Pan-* ans, break
nonia, where they defeated the *Roman* forces. We find no into *Pan-*
further mention of the *Sueves* till the year 168; when, join- nonia,
ing the *Marcomans*, and other *German* nations, they laid waste
several provinces, defeated great armies, and threatened the
empire with utter destruction.

In 268, the first of the reign of *Claudius*, the *Sueves*, and invade
other *German* nations, broke into *Italy*; but were utterly de- Italy,
feated, and most of them cut in pieces by the emperor at
the lake *Benacus*, near *Verona*. In 357, the twenty-first of
the reign of *Constantius*, the *Sueves* broke into *Rhætia*; the
Quadians into *Valeria*; and the *Sarmatians* into *Lower-Pan-*
nonia and *Upper-Mæsia*: but it is probable these were only
slight incursions, as there is no account of any engagement
between them and the *Roman* troops.

The *Sueves* entered *Gaul* in the year 406, with the *Alans* and enter *Gaul*
Vandals; and from thence passed into *Spain* three years after. with the
They continued ravaging that country for two years; when *Alans* and
the *Romans*, being quite driven out, they made peace with *Vandals*,
the natives, and divided the *Spanish* provinces by lot among A.C.406.
themselves. *Gallicia* fell to the *Sueves*, who, however, were
never able entirely to conquer the inhabitants, but were
obliged to suffer them to live independently in a corner of the
country.

About three years after the division of *Spain* among the and settle
Sueves, *Vandals*, and *Alans*, the *Vijigeths* settled in *Catalonia*; in *Spain*.
and *Vallia*, their king, having concluded a peace with the
Romans,

Romans, fell upon the first invaders, gained several advantages over them, and cut off such numbers of *Alans* that the few who escaped the general slaughter were obliged to submit to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*. Though the *Sueves* in this war sustained great losses, yet they maintained themselves in that part of *Gallicia* that had fallen to their share.

The *Goths*, in 418, evacuating *Spain*, the *Sueves*, and *Vandals* then began to quarrel among themselves; and the former were shut up by the latter in the mountains of *Biscay*. The *Vandals*, however, being unexpectedly attacked by the *Romans*, were obliged to retire into *Bætica*; when the *Sueves* made themselves masters of that part of *Gallicia* which had been held by them. In the year 430, *Aetius* attacked and routed a body of *Sueves*, who had attempted to pass from their own country between the *Elbe* and the *Vistula* through *Gaul* into *Spain*.

The
Sueves
make war
upon the
Gallicians

The following years, the *Sueves* in *Spain* renewing their hostilities against the *Gallicians*, the latter solicited the assistance of *Aetius*; but he being then engaged in a war with the *Franks*, could only send an ambassador to *Emeric*, the *Suevian* king, to beg an accommodation; which, however, he could not obtain. About six years after, *Emeric* being seized with a lingering distemper, granted a peace to the *Gallicians*, and resigned the crown to his son *Rechila*, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, reckoning from the time the *Sueves* first entered *Spain*. He lived four years in a retired manner after his resignation.

Rechiarus
reduces
several
places.

Rechila signalized the beginning of his reign with a victory gained in *Bætica* over one *Andevotus*, whose rich treasures he pillaged. In the second year of his reign he made himself master of *Merida*, the capital of *Lusitania*, and, in the two following years, reduced the city of *Seville* and the two provinces of *Bætica* and *Carthagera*. The *Romans* seeing themselves again dispossessed of *Bætica*, which they had seized upon the departure of the *Vandals* for *Africa*, sent *Asterius* to defend their remaining possessions against the *Sueves*. *Asterius* cut off the *Bagaudæ*, and recovered the province of *Tarraco*, but we do not find that he attempted any thing against the *Sueves*. Not long after, *Vitus* made an irruption into *Bætica* and *Carthagera*; but *Rechila* defeating a body of his auxiliary *Goths*, he withdrew with precipitation.

Rechiarus
succeeds
Rechila.

Rechila dying two years after, that is in 447, his son *Rechiarus* was declared his successor, though not without considerable opposition. In the second year of his reign he married the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*; and soon after he ravaged the territories of the *Gascons* in *Spain*. On his return from visiting his father-in-law at *Toulouse*, he surprised and pillaged the city of *Lerida*, and afterwards ravaged the territory of *Saragossa* and *Carthagera*; which, according to *Isidore*, then belonged to the *Romans*.

Rechiarus

Recharius, in the fifth year of his reign, received an embassy from *Valentinian III.* with proposals for an accommodation between him and the natives of *Spain*, who still continued subject to the *Romans*; which terms the king of the *Sueves* agreed to. This peace was religiously observed by *Recharius* for three years, till the death of *Valentinian*, when he over-ran the province of *Carthagera*. Though the emperor *Avitus*, and *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, remonstrated by their ambassadors against the breach of the peace, *Recharius* still continued his hostilities, and ravaged the province of *Tarraco*.

Theodoric sending a second embassy, and receiving a haughty answer from *Recharius*, assembled a numerous army, consisting of his own people and a body of auxiliary *Burgundians*, and marched into *Spain*. *Recharius* hazarding an engagement on the banks of the *Urbicus*, now *Orbegua*, was entirely defeated; and, being himself dangerously wounded, with difficulty made his escape into *Gallicia*: but, being soon after taken prisoner, he was put to death by *Theodoric*. Though the *Sueves* now submitted to *Theodoric*, who ordered their lives to be spared, great numbers of them were nevertheless put to the sword by the *Goths*. *Theodoric* appointed one of his officers, named *Aquilphus*, governor of the *Sueves*, who had submitted to him; but he causing himself to be proclaimed king of the *Sueves*, in hopes of rendering himself independant, *Theodoric* sent a powerful army against him, by whom he was defeated. According to *Jordanes*, he was taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded; but *Idatius* only says that he died the following year at *Porto*.

The *Sueves*, who refused to submit to *Theodoric*, chose *Maldra*, the son of *Massilel*, for their king; and before the *Goths* began to act against them, they were recalled by *Theodoric*. The *Sueves* being now under no apprehension of a foreign enemy, began to quarrel among themselves; some of them continuing faithful to *Maldra*, and others setting up against them one named *Franton*. Both parties agreed to a peace with the *Romans*; but not long after the partisans of *Maldra* unexpectedly broke into *Lusitania*, and ravaged that province, making themselves also masters of the city of *Lisbon*, into which they had been admitted as friends. *Franton* dying a few months after, the whole nation of the *Sueves* acknowledged *Maldra* for their king, who ordered them to lay waste that part of *Gallicia* which lay on the *Deuro*.

Theodoric, about this time, sent an army into *Spain* against the *Sueves*; which, however, never attacked them. The *Sueves*, in the mean time, received an embassy from him and from *Genferic*, king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, who probably wanted to conclude an alliance with them against the emperor *Majorianus*. This league, however, was not formed, for the following year, *Theodoric* sent another general with an army into *Spain*. *Maldra*, never heless, ravaged *Lusitania*, while his son *Raimund*, or *Richmund*, laid waste *Gallicia*.

Theodoric
defeats
Recharius
us,

who is
taken and
put to
death.

Maldra
chosen
king by
the *Sueves*
A.C.460.

Idatius

Idatius, and some others, mention a battle fought this year between the *Sueves* and *Gallicians*, in which the latter suffered considerably. *Maldra* having murdered his brother, survived him only a few months, being killed the following year, in the end of *February*.

Upon the death of *Maldra*, *Remismund* and *Frumarius*, who are both supposed to have been his sons, divided his troops and his dominions between them. In the first year of their reign, the *Sueves* of *Lugo*, in *Gallicia*, treacherously murdered the *Romans* on *Easter-day*; in resentment of which, the *Goths*, under the command of *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, ravaged the territory of *Lugo*; but false reports being spread among them, they were seized with a panic and retired. The same year, a party of the *Sueves* surprised *Aquæ Flavie*, and carried *Idatius*, bishop of the place, into captivity, as he himself relates.

Remis-
mund de-
clared sole
king of the
Sueves.

The two princes soon after growing jealous of each other's power, granted a peace to the natives, that they might be at leisure to watch each other's motions. This peace was observed for the space of four years, when *Frumarius* dying, the *Sueves* were again all united under *Remismund*; who concluded a peace with *Theodoric*, and married a young woman of extraordinary beauty, sent to him by the king of the *Goths*. Notwithstanding this peace, *Remismund*, this very year, surprised the city of *Coimbra*, and carried off many captives from thence. Three years after, that is, in 467, he surprised this city anew; but the following year, by the mediation of *Theodoric*, he granted a peace to the natives, and set his captives at liberty. During this peace, the *Sueves* were persuaded to embrace the opinions of *Arius* by one *Ajax*, a native of *Galatia*, which, according to *Isidore*, prevailed among them for about one hundred years.

Theodoric, not long after the conclusion of the peace, being murdered by his brother *Euric*, *Remismund* immediately renewed hostilities, and again surprised and plundered *Coimbra*. The *Gallicians* solicited the mediation of *Euric* who prevailed on *Remismund* to grant them a peace; but he himself, in the mean time, committed dreadful ravages in *Lusitania*, and made himself master of all *Upper Spain*, the *Romans* being in no condition to protect their subjects either from the *Sueves* or the *Goths*.

Remis-
mund
abandons
great part
of *Spain*.

The following year the *Sueves* and *Goths* ravaged each other's territories; but *Euric* being wholly bent upon driving the *Romans* out of *Spain*, concluded an accommodation with *Remismund*; after which he made himself master of all that was held by the *Romans* in *Spain*; but died before he could put his designs against the *Sueves* in execution. *Remismund* finding himself unable to cope with the *Visigoths*, retired into *Gallicia*, where he ended his days. His successors contented themselves with the kingdom of *Gallicia*; and, by observing a strict neutrality in the disputes between the *Visigoths* and

and the *Romans*, maintained themselves in the quiet possession of *Gallicia* till the year 585; when they were subdued by *Leuwigild*, or *Leovigild*, king of the *Visigoths* *.

* Idat. & Isidor, Chron. Jornand. Cuspin. Greg. Tour. Hist. Franc. Oros. l. iii. Ammian. l. xvi. Tacit. vit. Agric. & Annal. l. 1. & 2. Strabo, l. 7. Bucher, l. 1. Dio. l. 67. Shering. de Ang. Gent. Orig. Cæsar Comment. l. 1.



C H A P. VIII.

The Antient State of the Franks till their settling in Gaul.

OF the various opinions, or, rather, conjectures concerning the origin of the *Franks*, that of *Buchorius*, we think, appears the most probable; namely, that the *Franks* were originally a motley multitude of several antient nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*, who uniting against the *Romans* in defence of their common liberty, stiled themselves *Franks*; that word signifying, in their language, as it still does in ours, *Free*. The origin and name of the *Franks*

Under the name of *Franks* are comprised, in history, several nations whose names were known long before theirs; such as the *Ætuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Frisii*, *Chausi*, *Amisuarii*, and *Catti*. The *Franks* are sometimes called *Sicambrians*, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation; part of which was transplanted into *Gaul*, and almost all the rest cut off by *Augustus*. Their various tribes.

From the constant incursions of the *Franks* into *Gaul*, it appears that they dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine* in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*.

Their original country, according to the best modern geographers and historians, was bounded, on the north, by the *Ocean* and the *Rhine*; on the south, by the *Lhone*, or the *Mein*; and, on the west, by the *Wefer*. According to which description, they possessed the present countries of *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and some adjacent states.

Of all their tribes, the *Ansuarii* and *Salii* were by far the most considerable. According to *Pontanus*, the *Ansuarii* were the same people with the *Ansinarii* of *Tacitus*; and being driven

driven out of their own habitations by the *Chauci*, seized on the country from which the *Frisians* had been driven by the command of *Nero*. As for the *Salian Franks*, who broke into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, but were driven out by *Julian*, *Beatus Rhenanus* derives their name from the *Sala*, which falls into the *Mæin*; *Paulus Æmilius* from a river of the same name that empties itself into the *Elbe*; and *Pontanus* from the river *Sala*, now the *Iffel*, on the banks of which they dwelt; which last opinion seems the most probable.

The manners of the *Franks*.

Vopiscus paints the *Franks* in general as a most treacherous and faithless nation, accustomed to sport with the most solemn oaths and ties, and not deeming it at all dishonourable to break their word. Such also is the account of *Procopius*; but *Salvianus*, mixing together their good and bad qualities, says, that they were greatly addicted to lying; but civil and kind to strangers. *Agathias* extols them on account of the fidelity, justice, and concord, with which they lived among themselves: and *St. Bernard*, in one of his epistles, tells us, that they observed their oaths with the greatest strictness and religion, thinking themselves even bound by a public oath, although it was sinful to have taken it; which change the *French* writers ascribe to the Christian religion. They seem to have been always troublesome neighbours; whence *Eginhardus*, chancellor to *Charlemagne*, used to say, *I should chuse a Frank for a friend, but not for a neighbour.*

Their first kings.

The *Franks* are first mentioned in history about the year 241; but their first king whose name occurred to *Tyro Prosper*, was *Priam*, who is said to have reigned over them in the year 382. After him reigned his two sons *Marcomir* and *Surno*; and at the same time *Genebald*. Next to them came *Theodmir*, or *Theudemir*, the son of the consul *Ricimer*, who was succeeded by *Pharamond*, the son of *Marcomir*, and grandson of *Priam*. However, as *Fredigarius* supposes *Theodmir* to have been the father and immediate predecessor of *Clodio*, and ascribes to the former what, by other writers, is ascribed to the latter, the learned *Usher* from thence concludes, that *Theodmir* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person.

In the reign of *Pharamond*, or not long before, the *Franks* passing the *Rhine*, which had been the boundary between them and the *Romans* for the space of near two hundred years, settled in *Thongria*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. These kings were chosen out of the most illustrious families among them, and distinguished from their subjects by the length of their hair: but whether *Pharamond* had any authority over the other princes, history does not inform us.

Actius having overcome them in battle, and slain their king *Theodmir*, or *Pharamond*, obliged them to repass the *Rhine*. *Clodio*, the successor of *Pharamond*, however, settled a-new in *Gaul*; for *Gregory of Tours* relates that he resided in the castle of *Disparg*, supposed by most geographers to have stood

in *Brabant*, on the borders of *Thongria*. *Clodio* was succeeded by *Merovæus*, after whom reigned *Childeric*, whose successor was *Clodovæus*, or *Clovis*, the first Christian king of the *Franks*, who fixed the royal seat at *Paris*.

Though *Priam* was reckoned their first king by *Tyro Prosper*; yet the antients mention others prior to him. These are *Atec*, *Genobald*, *Ascaric*, *Gaisus*, or *Regaisus*, *Malaric*, and *Mallebaudus*. *Atec* and *Genobald* seem to have reigned at the same time; but over different nations or tribes of the *Franks*; for they are both named by *Mamertinus* in his panegyric on *Dioclesian*. *Atec*, with his *Franks*, had plundered the coasts of *Gaul*; but was obliged by *Dioclesian* to sue for peace. *Genobald*, says the panegyrist, was also forced to submit; which was the only means of his being restored to the quiet possession of his dominions. *Ascaric* and *Gaisus* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Constantius*, the son of *Constantine the Great*; and were, in the first year of his reign, that is, in the year 306, taken prisoners and exposed to the wild beasts in the public sports.

Malaric, who lived in the reigns of *Constantius*, *Julian*, and *Jovian*, is called by *Marcellinus* only the governor of his countrymen in the emperor's palace; but is, by *Procopius*, reckoned among their kings. *Jovian* appointed him general of the *Roman* troops in *Gaul*, but he declined that employment. *Mallebaudus*, styled, by *Marcellinus*, king of the *Franks*, commanded under *Gratian* in 377, and the following year gained a signal victory over the *Alemans*, of whom thirty thousand were killed upon the spot; and, among the rest, *Triarius*, their king.

Ricomer, *Ricimer*, or *Richimer*, who was also *comes domesticorum* to *Gratian*, general of the *Roman* horse, and consul in 384, is, by some, reckoned among the kings of the *Franks*. His son *Theodomir* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Honorius*, and was killed by the *Romans* with his mother *Asila*, according to an antient chronicle, quoted by *Gregory of Tours*; at which time all other writers suppose *Pharamond* to have reigned, who might, perhaps, be a cotemporary prince with the other.

The *Franks*, as we have said, made an irruption into *Gaul* They about the year 241; and, though few in number, committed break into dreadful ravages. *Aurelian*, then only tribune of the sixth *Gaul*, but legion, quartered in *Mentz*, marched against the invaders, and killed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, pulled by whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their *Aurclian*. booty and retire.

About fifteen years after, in the fourth of *Valerian's* reign, they again made an irruption into *Gaul* with several other *German* nations; but were entirely defeated by *Galienus*. Soon after they returned in far greater numbers, so that *Galienus* was obliged to come to an accommodation with one of their chief tribes, the head of which undertook to guard the frontiers

tiers of the empire ; which he did accordingly, often engaging the *Franks* and other barbarians.

Four years after, the *Franks*, hearing that the emperor *Valerian* was taken prisoner by the *Persians*, broke into *Gaul*, and, having ravaged the most wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into *Italy*, advancing even to the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*. Whether they retired of their own accord, or were driven back by *Gallienus*, *Zosimus* neglects to inform us.

They ra-
vage *Spain*
A.C. 265.

Five years after, they invaded *Spain*, after having ravaged *Gaul*, according to *Victor* ; but *Valesius* endeavours to prove, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Constantine*, that they conveyed themselves thither by sea. *Orosius* writes that they held, or rather pillaged, *Spain*, for the space of twelve years ; and, that they took by storm, and almost utterly destroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which was then the metropolis of several provinces. Some of the *Franks* crossed over into *Africa*, but what was the issue of that undertaking we are not told. The *Franks*, the first year of their invasion of *Spain*, had attempted also to break into *Gaul*, but were repulsed by *Posthumius*, who had taken upon him the title of emperor, and was afterwards assisted by the *Franks* to the utmost of their power in the authority he had usurped. In the year 273, the fourth of the emperor *Aurelian*'s reign, the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, but were driven back with great slaughter by that prince.

They
with other
barbarians
seize on
70 cities of
Gaul.

Aurelian dying two years after, the *Franks*, together with the *Lygian*, the *Burgundians*, and the *Vandals*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul* ; and, having in two years reduced above seventy of the chief cities of that country, looked upon themselves as masters of all *Gaul*. *Tacitus*, who had succeeded *Aurelian*, dying, *Probus*, who was chosen in his room, immediately marched against the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, and dispatched some of his best generals against the *Franks*, who gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to return home. *Probus* having also defeated the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, pursued them cross the *Rhine* ; and, after ravaging their territories, built some forts in their country ; which so alarmed the barbarians that nine of their kings came and sued for peace. This the emperor granted them, upon their promising to supply the *Romans* yearly with a certain quantity of corn, and other provisions, and to send sixteen thousand men to serve in the *Roman* army.

A body of
Franks ra-
vage the
coasts of
Asia,
Greece,
Sicily, &c.

Some of the *Franks*, who had either submitted to *Probus*, or had been taken prisoners in this war, were sent by the emperor to the coasts of the *Euxine-Sea*. These *Franks* soon growing weary of living after the *Roman* manner, in a country so far distant from their own, put to sea in some ships that they had seized ; and, after pillaging the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, passed over into *Africa*, where they made several descents ; but, being repulsed by the *Roman* troops, invaded *Sicily*.

Sicily, plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and, having put most of the inhabitants to the sword, reimbarked with an immense booty. They sailed from *Sicily* into the Ocean, and, after plundering the coasts of *Spain* and *Gaul*, landed at the mouth of the *Rhine*, with an immense booty, about the year 280. The same year the *Franks* promised to espouse the cause of *Proculus*, who had revolted and assumed the title of emperor; but, instead of fulfilling their engagements, they betrayed the usurper into the emperor's hands. About seven years after, in conjunction with the *Saxon* pirates, they plundered the coasts of *Gaul*, but *Carausius*, the *Roman* general, fitting out a fleet at *Boulogne*, obliged them to retire; but kept the booty he took from them for his own use, and afterwards revolted.

The following year, *Maximinian* ravaged the territories of Two of the *Franks*, and struck them with such terror, that two of the kings their kings, *Atec* and *Genobald*, submitting to him, desired to of the be confirmed by him in their respective kingdoms. *Maximi- Franks nian*, the year after, allowed lands in the neighbourhood of submit to *Treves* and *Cambray*, to great numbers of *Franks* and *Letes*; *Maximi- nian*, which last were originally a *Gaulish* nation. The *Franks*, a few years after, made themselves masters of *Batavia*, and that part of *Flanders* watered by the *Scheld*; but, being defeated by *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, he transplanted them, with their wives and children, into *Gaul*; where they were forced to cultivate the land which they themselves had wasted, and to live without the use of arms, which they had been obliged to deliver up to their conquerors,

From this time the *Franks* continued quiet till the year Two of 306, the first of *Constantine's* reign, when they broke into their *Gaul*; but the emperor coming from *Britain*, unexpectedly kings fell upon them, defeated them, and took two of their kings, taken pri- *Ascaric* and *Gaisus*, prisoners, whom he afterwards exposed to soners by wild beasts. Having entered the country of the *Brueterians*, *Constan- tine*, who were one of the several nations known by the name of *Franks*, he made a dreadful havock of that people, and took many prisoners, who were treated in the same manner as the captive kings. The *Franks*, about two years after, assembled, in considerable bodies, on the other side of the *Rhine*; but *Constantine* marching against them they dispersed. Within two years they again appeared in arms, and divided their numerous troops into several bodies, in hopes of prevailing, at least, in some quarter. *Constantine* having entered their camp who de- in the disguise of a deputy from the emperor, and by assuring feats them them that the emperor was not then with the *Roman* army, he in several prevailed with them to alter their resolution, and hazard a encount- general engagement. He met them at the head of his troops ers. and entirely defeated them. A.C. 310.

Three years after, while *Constantine* was at *Rome*, they again threatened to pass the *Rhine*, but were awed, for some time,

time, by his approach. *Constantine*, by pretending to march to another part of the *Rhine* against the *Alemans*, tempted the *Franks* to pass that river; and then falling unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them to pieces. The *Roman* afterwards ravaged the country of the *Franks*, and, having taken great numbers of them prisoners, exposed them all to the wild beasts. The *Franks*, notwithstanding their late defeat, no sooner heard that *Constantine* had left *Gaul*, than they passed the *Rhine*; but they were driven back by *Crispus*, the son of *Constantine*.

They
conclude
a peace
with *Con-*
stans.

About twenty-one years after, that is in 341, the *Frank* again invaded *Gaul*, and were not quieted till the year after when *Constans* either conquered or appeased them, as *Idatius* expresses it. Whatever way *Constans* effected it, it is certain that they concluded a peace with him, and submitted to the princes he was pleased to appoint over them. In the year 355, we find *Malaric*, king of the *Franks*, held a chief employment in the court of the emperor *Constantius*: but the following year, those of his nation no longer able to live in peace, crossed the *Rhine* with the *Alemans* and *Saxons*, took and pillaged above forty cities on the banks of that river, laid waste the neighbouring provinces, and carried off an incredible number of captives. They almost totally destroyed the city of *Cologne*, but being repulsed by the garrison of *Autun*, they dispersed themselves through the open country, which they ravaged for several months.

Julian
gains a
victory
over the
Franks.

Meanwhile, *Julian*, the cousin of the emperor *Constantius*, being declared governor of *Gaul*, attacked the barbarians, and, gaining a small advantage over them, opened himself a passage to *Cologne*, which they abandoned at his approach. *Julian* granted only a short truce to one of the kings of the *Franks*, who sued to him for a peace; and the following year entirely defeated the *Franks* and other barbarians who had broke into *Gaul*.

While *Julian*, and his troops, were in winter-quarters, the *Salii*, a nation of the *Franks*, broke into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, and settled there, having been driven out of their own country by the *Saxons* and *Quadians*. Though they offered to guard the frontiers of the empire, to supply the *Romans* with troops when required, and to pay the usual taxes and tributes, *Julian*, nevertheless, obliged them to return; but, at the same time, forced the *Saxons* and *Quadians* to restore their country to them.

The
Franks
and *Sax-*
ons invade
Gaul by
sea and
land.

During the whole reign of *Julian*, the *Franks* continued quiet; but they no sooner heard of his death, than, entering into an alliance with the *Saxons*, they began to infest *Gaul* by sea and land. Count *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, being sent against the invaders by *Valentinian*, obliged them to retire with great loss. *Mallobaudes* was at this time king of the *Franks*, and their territories being ravaged by the *Alemans*, he drew the enemy into an ambuscade, by which means

means he cut great numbers of them in pieces, and, among the rest, their king *Macrianus*. Three years after, *Mallobaudes* was raised to the consulate, and had the emperor *Gratian* himself for his colleague. He was created *Comes Domesticorum* the year following, that is, in 378, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the battle of *Argentaria*, in which above thirty thousand of the *Lentinienses*, who had broken into the empire, were cut in pieces, with their king *Triarius*. *Gratian* was defeated and put to death about seven years after, by the usurper *Maximus*, in the third year of whose reign the *Franks* ravaged *Gaul* with more fury than ever, part of them returning to their own country with great booty, and part remaining to continue the ravages. *Mannius* and *Quintinus*, the two generals of *Maximus*, defeated those *Franks* who remained in *Gaul*, and forced them beyond the *Rhine*. The latter, contrary to the advice of the former, followed them into their own country, where he at first met with some success, but was afterwards defeated with great slaughter, and only escaped with a few followers to *Gaul*. *Genobald*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*, were at this time kings of the *Franks*, who being elated with this victory, broke anew into *Gaul* the year following, which obliged *Theodosius* to send *Valentinian* against them. *Valentinian*, we find, had a conference with *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, who delivered up hostages.

The kings of the *Franks* deliver hostages to *Valentinian*.
A.C. 388.

Three years after, *Arbogastes*, having put *Valentinian* II. to death, persuaded *Eugenius*, whom he had raised to the empire in his room, to make war upon the *Franks*, his countrymen. *Arbogastes*, who bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, took upon himself the whole management of the war, and passing the *Rhine* near *Cologne*, in the depth of winter, laid waste the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamavians*. *Marcomir* only shewed himself upon the hills, with some parties of the *Ansinarii* and *Chatti*. *Arbogastes*, we are told, after having put many of his countrymen to the sword, concluded a peace with them, *Eugenius* also renewing the antient treaties with the kings of the *Franks* and *Alemans*; when many of the former listed themselves among his troops.

About two years after, the emperor *Theodosius*, leaving the empire of the east to his eldest son *Arcadius*, and that of the west to *Honorius*, *Stilicho*, who was prime minister to the latter, renewed the antient alliances with the *Franks* and other German nations, which they had broken by assisting the usurper *Eugenius*. *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, however, attempting to raise new disturbances, one of them was taken and confined to *Tuscany*, and the other was put to death by his own people, who refused to join him against the *Romans*. In the year 406, when the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, and *Alans* broke into *Gaul*, the *Franks* fell upon them, and cut near twenty thousand of them in pieces. These barbarians having opened themselves a passage, in spite of all opposition, many of the *Franks*

They attack the *Vandals*, when entering *Gaul*.

Franks followed them; but far greater numbers of the same nation entered *Gaul* four years after, under the command of *Edelric*, to assist the usurper *Constantine*. Three years after, they made an irruption into *Gaul*, and plundered and burnt the city of *Treves*, which they again set fire to, and destroyed about seven years after.

Pharamond, the son of *Marcomir*, the brother of *Sunno*, must have reigned over the *Franks* about this time. *Tyro Prosper* places his reign before the 26th of *Honorius*, in which year, he says, there happened an eclipse of the sun. Many authors mention an eclipse of the sun on *Friday* the 19th of *July*, in the year 418. Father *le Cointe* will have *Pharamond* to have begun his reign the same year; though others, and, among them, father *Labbé*, in his chronology, maintains, that he did not begin to reign till 420. It is even uncertain whether it was in his reign, or some time before, that the *Franks*, passing the *Rhine*, first settled in *Gaul*. He is supposed to have died in the year 428, when *Clodio*, his son and successor, is said, by *Tyro Prosper*, to reign in *France*; that is, in the country of the *Franks*.

Clodio succeeds *Pharamond*. A.C. 428. This year the famous *Aetius* made war upon the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and drove them from the country in which they had settled: and the learned *Usher* is of opinion that *Pharamond* was killed in this war. *Gregory of Tours*, a very accurate writer, makes not the least mention of *Pharamond*; but begins his history of the *Franks* with the reign of *Clodio*, whom he calls a most illustrious prince, and one to whom his people, whose interest he had at heart, were highly indebted. He indeed may be justly reckoned the founder of the present *French* monarchy, as he established his dominion so firmly in *Gaul*, that the *Romans* were never after able to drive them out.

He is overcome by *Aetius*. *Idatius* tells us, that, in the year 431, *Aetius* was employed in an expedition to *Gaul*, which was doubtless undertaken against the *Franks*, as he adds, that, the year after, he overcame the *Franks* in a battle. *Aetius*, after his victory over the *Franks*, concluded a peace with them the same year; but upon what terms we know not. Three years after, the *Franks* made an attempt upon *Tours*, which was defended against them by *Majerianus*.

Not long after, they made an irruption into the *Artois*; but, while they were celebrating the nuptials of one of their chiefs, they were unexpectedly attacked by *Aetius*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces. This encounter is supposed, by *Valesius*, to have happened at *Lens*, in *Artois*, in the year 437, *Clodio*, some time before, having made himself master of *Tournay* and *Cambray*, the only cities in that tract; by the reduction of which, the *Franks* became masters of all the country from thence to the *Rhine*. *Aetius* is supposed to have afterwards concluded a peace with the *Franks*, and to have

have left them in possession of at least some part of the coun- The
try, which they had conquered, since he granted the like fa- *Franks*
vour to other nations whom he dreaded less. *Priscus*, who left in
flourished in those days, tells us, that he saw at *Rome* the se- possession
cond son of the king of the *Franks*, who had been sent thither of part of
on an embassy, though a youth yet quite beardless; and adds, *Gaul*.
that *Aetius* adopted him for his son, by presenting him with
his armour, and treated him with the greatest marks of esteem,
friendship, and affection. This young prince was probably
Merovæus, the successor of *Clodio*; for he lived in great friend-
ship with *Aetius*, and joined him against *Attila*. *Salvianus*,
who wrote about three years after the peace concluded be-
twixt *Aetius* and the *Franks*, says, that *Treves* had been the
fourth time pillaged by them, and utterly destroyed, which
last pillaging probably happened before the peace was con-
cluded. He adds, that the *Franks* made themselves masters
of another city near *Treves*, and not inferior to it in grandeur.
This city can be no other but *Cologne*, which it appears from
the same writer was held by the *Franks* after the peace con-
cluded with *Aetius*. This city, even in the time of *Clovis*,
had a king of its own, but a *Frank* by nation. *Clodio*, after
reigning twenty years, is supposed to have died in 448, when
Tyro Prosper tells us, *Merovæus* reigned in *France*, that is, in
the countries subject to the *Franks* on either side the *Rhine*.

Merovæus is generally supposed the son and successor of *Merovæ-*
Clodio, and it is reckoned that he established himself in the us suc-
sovereignty by the assistance of the *Romans*, to the prejudice ceeds Clo-
of his elder brother, who called in *Attila*, king of the *Huns*, *die*.
to his assistance. *Attila* being utterly defeated in the battle of
Chalons, the crown was thereby secured to *Merovæus*. This
account seems supported by the relation of *Priscus*. Some
however think that *Merovæus* was not related to *Clodio*, and
that he grasped the crown from the two contending brothers,
and gave his name to the succeeding race of kings, who if
they had been the descendants of *Clodio*, would probably have
distinguished themselves by his name. However this be, *Me-*
rovæus seems to have been a prince of great renown, and the
Franks, under his conduct, upon the news of the death of
Vallentinian III. ravaged *Germania Prima* and *Belgica Secunda*,
that is, the provinces of *Mentz* and *Rheims*. According to
Valesius, he died in 458. *Bucherius* places his death two years
sooner. *Borico* writes, that he was loved, honoured, and
revered by his people as a common father, and that from him
the *Franks* in general were called *Merovingians* *.

* Greg. Tour. l. 1, 2. Bucher. Vales. Sidon. carm. Priscian:
Du Chene. Coint. Gest. Franc. l. 1. Idat. Usser. rer Brit. Jor-
nand. Oros. l. 7. Philostorg. &c.

He is suc- *Merovæus* was succeeded by his son *Childeric*, who, when
 ceeded by he was but a youth, was taken prisoner by *Attila*, with his
 his son mother and other persons of distinction; but delivered from
Childeric. captivity by the fidelity, courage and address of a *Frank*
 named *Wiomald*. As *Actius*, who had kept the barbarians in
 awe, was now dead, *Childeric* no sooner ascended the throne
 than he began to think of enlarging his dominions. He is
 said to have extended his conquests as far as the *Loire*, and
 to have reduced the city of *Paris*, after a siege of five, or, ac-
 cording to some, of ten years. In the year 470, he made
 himself master of *Angers*, after having killed count *Paul*, the
Roman governor of the place: he likewise made himself
 master of *Orleans*, after having defeated *Odoacer*, king of *Italy*,
 who came with a body of *Saxons* to the relief of the place.
Childeric, according to *Gregory of Tours*, entered into an al-
 liance with *Odoacer*, and marching against the *Alemans*, who
 had entered *Italy*, gave them a total overthrow. Soon after
 his return to *Gaul*, he died at *Ternacum*, now *Tourray*, where
 his remains were discovered in 1653, with many gold coins of
 the *Roman* emperors, and other things of great curiosity and
 value, among which was the king's signet, with the inscrip-
 tion *Childerici Regis*. *Childeric*, in the beginning of his reign,
 abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, and, to supply
 his extravagant expences, grievously oppressed his subjects
 with exorbitant taxes and impositions. Having thereby oc-
 casioned a general discontent, some of those, whose wives and
 daughters he had debauched, revolted and drove him from the
 throne. According to *Gregory of Tours*, he foresaw the storm,
 and retired into the territory of *Tongres*, where he continued
 till his subjects were prevailed upon by his faithful friend
Wiomald, to return to their duty, and recal their king. Du-
 ring his absence, the *Franks* submitted to *Ægidius*, by nation
 a *Gaul*, and commander of the *Roman* troops in that country;
 driving him out upon the return of *Childeric*, whom they re-
 ceived with the greatest demonstrations of joy. *Childeric* was
 soon followed by *Basina*, the wife of king *Basinus*, by whom
 he had been entertained during his exile. Though she had
 thus basely abandoned her husband, *Childeric* married her,
Merovæus and had by her *Clodovæus*, who succeeded him in the king-
 An. ch. dom.

§ 32.

Clodovæus, called also *Illudovicus*, *Ludovicus*, *Ludicin*, and
Clvis, was no sooner raised to the throne, than he began to
 think of enlarging his dominions, which, according to the
 best writers, extended only from the *Wabal* to the city of
Tourray. The *Franks* were at this time also in possession of
Cambray, and the country between the *Scheld* and the ocean,
 the former place being governed by *Ragnacharius*, and the
 latter by *Chararic*, which princes were quite independant of
Clvis, as well as of each other.

Clvis, aspiring to nothing less than the monarchy of all
Gaul, thought it advisable to begin with the *Romans*, who,
 by

by the downfall of the western empire, were reduced to the lowest ebb of power. *Syagrius*, the son of the late *Ægidius*, held the city of *Soissons*, having probably made himself absolute master of it during the anarchy that then prevailed in *Gaul*. *Clovis*, being joined by *Ragnacharius*, king of *Cambray*, marched to *Soissons*, and in a pitched battle defeated *Syagrius*, who fled to *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*, at *Toulouse*. *Alaric* however, being threatened by *Clovis*, if he did not deliver him up, put him into the hands of the ambassadors of the *Franks*. After *Soissons* surrendered to *Clovis*, he was privately beheaded, and the royal seat of *Clovis* was transferred to that city. *Clovis* afterwards waged several wars, and in the tenth year of his reign, as *Gregory of Tours* relates, subdued the *Thuringians*, meaning without doubt the *Tongrians*, who bordered on the territory of *Tournay*; for *Thuringia* lay on the other side of the *Rhine*, at a great distance from his dominions. *Tongria*, when reduced by *Clovis*, was held, according to the most probable opinion, by another tribe of *Franks*, who had settled there some time before.

He defeats *Syagrius*, and reduces *Soissons*.

The same year *Clovis* married *Clothildis*, or *Crothechildis*, the daughter of *Childeric*, king of the *Burgundians*, who had been murdered some years before by his brother *Gundebald*. A few years after, the *Franks*, called *Ripuarians*, who inhabited *Germania Secunda*, were attacked by the *Alemans*. *Sigebert*, king of the *Ripuarians*, drew together what forces he could, but finding his own troops not sufficient to oppose the invaders, he had recourse to *Clovis*, who readily joined him. The two kings engaged the *Alemans*, at a village called *Tolbiacum*, thought to be the present *Zulpick*, about twelve miles from *Cologne*. *Sigebert* receiving a wound in his leg, of which he ever after continued lame, the *Franks* began to give ground, which *Clovis* no sooner perceived, than lifting up his eyes to heaven, says *Gregory of Tours*, he implored the assistance of *Jesus Christ*, who *Clothildis* had often told him, was the son of God, and never failed to assist those in distress, who put their confidence in him, promising at the same time to believe in him, and be baptised, if by granting him a victory, he convinced him of his divine power. Scarce had he made this promise, he says, when the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the advantage they had gained, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The king of the *Alemans* being killed in this battle, and with him most of their chief men, they were so disheartened, that they submitted to *Clovis*, and acknowledged him for their king. This, however, must be understood, only of such of the *Alemans* as had been formerly allowed to continue in the places of *Gaul*, which they had seized, for *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, took numbers of them under his protection. *Clovis*, at the request of *Theodoric*, who had married his sister *Audofleda*, gave over pursuing the *Alemans*; part of whom settled in the provinces of *Rhaetia*, and *Noricum*, and part was by *Theodoric* transplanted into *Italy*.

He marries *Clothildis*.

The *Alemans* are defeated by him.

Italy. Such of the *Alemans* as settled in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, continued subject to the kings of *Italy*, till the *Ostrogths* yielded to the children of *Clovis*, whatever they held out of that country. The *Alemans* in *Gaul*, masters of part of the present *Switzerland*, submitted to *Clovis*, who also made himself master of *Alsace* on this occasion, and likewise of the city of *Basle*.

He embraces
Christianity.

Clovis no sooner returned from pursuing the fugitives, than he acquainted the queen with the vow, or promise, he had made, acknowledging at the same time, that the victory he had acquired, was owing to it. *Remigius* bishop of *Rheims*, being immediately sent for to court, by the queen, *Clovis* received him with the greatest marks of respect and esteem. The prelate informing him, that he must, in the first place, renounce the worship of the gods, he had till then adored, he begged leave to acquaint the *Franks* first with his design, and try whether the arguments that had convinced him, might not be of equal weight with them. He accordingly assembled the *Franks* with this view; but he had scarce begun to speak, when they all cried out with one voice, *We renounce the worship of the false gods, and are ready to acknowledge the god whom the bishop of Rheims preaches.* The holy prelate, on hearing this declaration, was transported with joy, and every thing being got ready for the baptizing of the king, the ceremony was performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity. With *Clovis* were baptized three thousand of his subjects able to bear arms, and one of his sisters, named *Albofleda*, who died a few days after she had embraced christianity*.

Latter writers make mention of a phial filled with oil, that was brought into the baptistery in a miraculous manner, by a dove, and is still preserved for holding the oil with which the *French* kings are anointed at their coronation. *Gregory* of *Tours*, a cotemporary and credulous writer, says not a word of this, in his account of the baptism of *Clovis*, which plainly shews, that, in his time, the fable was not yet invented.

The *Armorici*
submit to
Clovis.

The year after the conversion of *Clovis*, the *Armorici*, that is, the people dwelling on the coast of the ocean, between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, who had shaken off the *Roman* yoke, and formed themselves into a republic, submitted of their own accord to the *Franks*, and became one nation with them. Upon this submission, the *Roman* troops that were still in *Gaul*, finding themselves surrounded by the enemies

* The epitomizer of the history of the *Franks*, tells us, that *Remigius* having preached to *Clovis*, and those who had been baptized with him, a sermon on

the passion of our Saviour, the king, in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, *If I had been there with my Franks, that should not have happened.*

of the empire, and not caring to serve under the *Burgundians* and *Visigoths*, says *Procopius*, who were *Arians*, they surrendered the places they held to the *Franks* and *Armorici*, and entered into their service. Thus ended the dominion of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, which was now held by three different nations, the *Franks*, the *Visigoths* and the *Burgundians*. To the above-mentioned union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Procopius* who flourished soon after, ascribes the great power which the *Franks* had attained in his time.

The end
of the Ro-
man domi-
nion in
Gaul.

An. ch.
498.

The year after the union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, being resolved to make war on the *Burgundians*, in order to recover that part of *Gaul* which was held by them, entered into an offensive alliance with *Clovis*, at that time the most powerful prince in *Gaul*. They agreed to join their arms against the *Burgundians*, and to make an equal division of their conquests; and if either of them should neglect to fulfil his engagements, he should pay to the other a certain sum, and not receive any share of the conquered king's dominions, till he had paid it. The *Burgundians* were at this time masters of the countries lying on the *Rhone* and the *Soane*, and of the province of *Marseilles*, and were governed by *Gundebald*, and his brother *Godegiselus*, who being at variance with each other, *Godegiselus* privately concluded an alliance with *Clovis*, by which he agreed, that if he should get the whole power into his hands, he would pay an annual tribute to the king of the *Franks*. *Clovis*, in consequence of this agreement, entered in an hostile manner, the dominions of *Gundebald*; who having no suspicion of his brother, solicited his assistance; and accordingly received a reinforcement from him. In the engagement with the *Franks*, however, *Gundebald* was unexpectedly attacked by his brother's forces, and being easily routed, fled to *Avenio*, or *Avignon*, where he shut himself up. Upon his flight, *Godegiselus* seized on his dominions, and caused himself to be acknowledged at *Vienne*, the capital of his brother's kingdom, while *Clovis* was closely besieging *Avignon*. *Aredius*, one of *Gundebald*'s ministers, pretending to have abandoned his master's interest, joined *Clovis*, and persuaded him to content himself with a yearly tribute from *Gundebald*, assuring him that the city was impregnable. *Gundebald* agreed to pay the tribute, but *Clovis* was no sooner retired, than he marched to *Vienne*, and having privately entered the city by an aqueduct; struck his brother and the garrison with such terror, that they only thought of saving themselves in the churches. *Godegiselus* was, by his brother's order, killed in his asylum, with a bishop that had taken refuge with him: and the senators, and chief men, who had declared for *Godegiselus*, were put to death. *Gundebald* by the death of his brother, becoming master of the whole country, now known by the name of *Burgundy*, published a new code, containing several laws in

Clovis de-
feats
*Gunde-
bald* king
of the
*Burgundi-
ans*.
An. ch.
500.

Who re-
covers the
possession
of his do-
minions.

favour

favour of his *Roman* subjects, that they might be no longer oppressed by the *Burgundians*. *Procopius* gives us an account of the part which *Theodoric* acted on this occasion. He privately ordered his warlike preparations to be carried on slowly, with a design to wait the issue of the first engagement between his ally and the king of the *Burgundians*, ordering his generals not to advance, if the latter should gain the advantage. The *Franks* proving victorious, *Theodoric's* troops soon after joined them, and alledging the badness of the roads as an excuse for their coming so late, offered to the king of the *Franks* the sum which they had forfeited by their delay. *Clovis* accepting of the money, made a partition of his conquests with the *Ostrogoths*. *Theodoric*, by this means, for a small sum, acquired the city of *Marseilles* and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhone*. He kept the city of *Marseilles*, and some adjacent places, which *Gundebald*, perhaps, yielded to him, in virtue of a treaty of marriage concluded this year between *Sigismund*, the son of *Gundebald*, and *Ostrogotha*, one of *Theodoric's* daughters. *Clovis*, instead of prosecuting the war, concluded a peace with *Gundebald*, and restored to him that part of his dominions that had fallen to his share.

Clovis
concludes
a peace
with *Gun-*
debald.

This peace was hardly concluded, when some differences arising between *Clovis* and *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*, both princes began to prepare for war. *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, who looked with jealousy upon the prosperity of *Clovis*, interposed as a mediator, sending both to them, and to the kings of the *Burgundians*, of the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, letters on that subject, which are still to be seen in *Cassiodore*. *Clovis* not thinking it adviseable to break with the *Visigoths* at this juncture, forbore all hostilities for three years, and in the mean time, probably, consented to that interview with *Alaric*, which *Gregory of Tours* mentions. The two princes, according to that historian, met in an island formed by the *Loire*, over against *Amboise*, a place in the territory of *Tours*, where they conferred, and dined together, and, at parting, promised to live in friendship with each other. Latter authors, to justify the war which *Clovis* made against the *Visigoths* in 507, say, that *Alaric* at this conference had laid snares for *Clovis*; but this is not mentioned by *Gregory of Tours*, who gives the following account of this war. Most of the people in *Gaul* were then desirous of living under the dominion of the *Franks*, and, among the rest, *Quintinianus*, bishop of *Rhodes*; which the *Visigoths* being apprised of, they resolved to dispatch him. The bishop however, escaped by night, and retired into *Auvergne*. *Clovis* no sooner heard of the treatment the bishop had met with, than turning to his people, he said, It grieves me that those *Arians* should hold any thing in *Gaul*; let us march against them, and, with the assistance of heaven, make ourselves masters of the

He de-
clares war
against the
Visigoths.

the

the fine country they possess. His speech being received by all with loud acclamations, he without loss of time marched for *Poitiers*; but on his arrival at *Vienne*, he found the river swelled to an immoderate height, and observed the *Visigoths* encamped on the opposite bank. *Clovis* having continued all night in prayer, next morning, a hind, of an extraordinary size, was seen by the whole army to enter the river and ford it. The whole army followed this guide, and having crossed the river without the loss of a man, encamped in sight of *Poitiers*. *Clovis* soon after attacked the *Visigoths*, in the plain of *Vouglé*, about ten miles from *Poitiers*, and defeated them with great slaughter, killing *Alaric* with his own hand. According to *Procopius*, *Theodoric* was on his march to assist *Alaric*; but the *Visigoths* thinking themselves a match for the *Franks*, forced their king to an engagement which proved so fatal to them. Several writers who lived in those times, or soon after, relate that *Clovis* had for his ally in this war, *Gundebald*, king of the *Burgundians*; and from *Gregory of Tours* it appears, that a body of *Riparian Franks* joined him before the battle, under the conduct of *Chlodoric*, the eldest son of *Sigebert*, king of that tribe. As *Clovis* cloaked his ambition with a pretended zeal for the catholic faith, no wonder that *Gregory of Tours*, a credulous writer, should gravely relate the miracles that were said to have been wrought by heaven in his favour, but were utterly unknown to *Procopius*.

The *Visigoths* defeated by the *Franks* An. ch. 507.

Clovis, immediately after the victory, dispatched part of his forces, under the command of his son *Theodoric*, to reduce the *Albigensis*, *Rouergne*, and *Auvergne*. *Theodoric* made himself master of all the places in that tract, between the confines of the *Visigoths*, and those of the *Burgundians*, while *Clovis*, with the rest of the army, laid close siege to *Car cassone*; but hearing of the approach of *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, he thought proper to retreat. He made himself master, however, of that part of *Gaul* lying between the *Rhone* and the *Ocean*, and took up his winter quarters in *Bordeaux*, whither he caused great part of the treasures of *Alaric* to be conveyed from *Toulouse*. In the beginning of the following spring, he reduced *Engoulême*, the walls of that city, according to our credulous historian, falling at his approach. From *Engoulême*, the *Franks*, and the *Burgundians* their allies, advanced to the city of *Arles*, as the possession of that place would prevent any communication betwixt the province which the *Ostrogoths* possessed in *Gaul*, and that part of the province of *Narbonne*, which was still held by the *Visigoths*. The siege of this place must have lasted a considerable time, for it appears from several antient records and letters, that the inhabitants suffered greatly by famine, and that the city was reduced to the utmost extremity. The *Franks* were in the end obliged, by the troops which *Theodoric* sent to the relief of the place, to retire. From the life of *Casarius*, at that time bishop of *Arles*, which

Who make themselves masters of great part of their territories

They are which was written soon after the siege, it appears that the repulsed *Franks* and *Burgundians* were closely pursued in their retreat from *Arles* by the *Ostrogoths*, who cut many of them in pieces, and with loss took an incredible number of captives. In this war, *Theodoric* made himself master of *Avignon*, and some other places belonging to the *Burgundians*. But no mention is made of his reducing any town or country subject to the *Franks*.

The following year, according to *Jornandes*, the *Franks* were defeated by one of *Theodoric's* generals, with the loss of thirty thousand men; but the truth of this account seems doubtful, as *Procopius* makes no mention of such a defeat, but tells us, that a peace was concluded this year between the *Franks* and *Theodoric*, who yielded to them the countries they had seized, after he had attempted in vain to drive them out of them. *Amalaric*, grandson of *Theodoric*, was at this time king of the *Visigoths*, but as he was under age, *Theodoric*, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. By this peace the power of the *Visigoths* was greatly impaired; but the *Ostrogoths* continued masters of the province they held before, and appropriated to themselves the city of *Arles*, for the charges they had been at in this war.

Clovis, after the conclusion of the peace, repaired to *Tours*, and there received the ambassadors who had been sent to him by the emperor *Anastasius*, with the ensigns and ornaments of the consulship. *Clovis* having made his appearance with the ensigns of his new dignity in the great church of *St. Martin* at *Tours*, afterwards repaired to *Paris*, which city he chose for the usual place of his residence. This metropolis was deemed of such importance, that the grand-children of *Clovis*, in dividing his dominions among them, agreed that it should not be comprized in any lot, but remain common to all, and that none of them should enter it without the express consent of the rest, on pain of forfeiting his whole share. *Clovis* having greatly enlarged his dominions, now formed a design of causing himself to be acknowledged king by the other tribes of the *Franks*, who were governed by their own princes, and, by adding their dominions and forces to his own, to establish his kingdom so firmly in *Gaul*, that it should be difficult for any other prince to overturn it. He was so blinded by his ambition, that he scrupled not the basest means to accomplish his end. *Gregory of Tours* relates, that while he resided at *Paris*, he assured *Chloderic* the son of *Sigebert* and *bert*, that he would maintain him on the throne, after the death of his father, whom he represented as lame and superannuated. *Chloderic*, stimulated by the emissaries of *Clovis*, suffered himself to commit a parricide, by hiring two assassins who murdered his father. *Clovis*, at the desire of *Chloderic*, sent some persons to view the treasures of the deceased king, and one of these, while *Chloderic* was stooping, and searching a chest, gave him a blow on the head with his battle-ax, and

and dashed out his brains. On the news of the death of *Chloderic*, *Clovis* flew to the place where the murder had been committed, and assembling the subjects of *Sigibert*, persuaded them to declare him their king. Some of the *Ripuarrians* however, sensible of the perfidy and dissimulation of *Clovis*, refused at first to acknowledge him for their king: for in the life of *St. Menin*, a cotemporary of *Clovis*, and in a by-be-chronicle of the twelfth century, there is a long account comes of the siege and reduction of *Verdun*, by *Clovis*, which, according to the best chronologers, happened at this time. the *Ripuarrians*. Not only *Verdun*, but several other cities were obliged to submit in the end, to *Clovis* *.

Gregory of Tours, after relating in what manner *Clovis* united the dominions of *Sigibert* to his own, gives us an account of the tragical end of *Chararic*, king of those *Franks* who inhabited from the *Scheld* to the *Ocean*. *Chararic* and his son, He seizes falling into the snare which *Clovis* had laid for them; he no on the do- sooner had them in his power, than he ordered their hair to minions of be cut, and caused the father to be ordained priest, and the *Chararic* son deacon. As *Chararic* was one day bewailing his hard fate, the son, to alleviate the grief of his disconsolate father, said, In stripping us of our dignity, and bereaving us of the ensigns of majesty, they have only stripped a green tree of its leaves, which will soon bud anew. May our enemy perish as soon as our hair will grow! *Clovis* being informed of this discourse, concluded, that they intended to let their hair grow, which was a mark of royalty, and to attempt the recovery of their kingdom, by hiring assassins to murder him. He therefore resolved to be before-hand with them, and caused them both to be put to death, after which, he seized on their country, and obliged their subjects, both *Romans* and *Franks*, to acknowledge him for their king.

Clovis next resolved to fall upon *Ragnacharius*, king of And in- *Cambray*, who was the only prince among the *Franks* of vades the whom he entertained the least jealousy. *Ragnacharius*, ac- domini- cording to *Gregory of Tours*, was a most wicked prince, ons of *Rag* and by his debauched life, and the exorbitant power he al- *nacharius* lowed to a wicked favourite, named *Faro*, had raised an uni- versal discontent among his subjects. *Clovis*, by sending to the leading men among the discontented party, bracelets of

* The *Ripuarrians* seem to code of laws, under the king's have been; next to the *Salians*, of the second race. Their terri- the most powerful of all the tory, according to the most *Franks* settled in *Gaul*; for, af- probable opinion, extended west ter they had acknowledged *Clo-* of the *Rhine*, as far as the river *vis* for their king, they conti- *Fuld*, and eastward to *Chalons* nued a distinct tribe, and even on the *Marne*, having *Cologne* lived according to their own for its metropolis.

gilt brass, which he pretended were of pure gold; gained them over to his interest, and then unexpectedly entered the dominions of *Ragnacharius* with a powerful army. *Ragnacharius* took the field to oppose him, but being betrayed by his own subjects, was seized with his brother *Richarius*, by some traitors. Both were delivered up, with their hands tied behind their backs, to *Clovis*, who thus addressed *Ragnacharius*; *It was base and scandalous of you, to suffer one of our illustrious race, to be thus bound like a public malefactor. You ought to have avoided at the expence of a thousand lives, such an ignominious treatment.* He had scarce uttered these words, when with a blow of his battle-ax, he cleft his head, and laid him dead at his feet, treating *Richarius* also in the same manner. Mean while, those who had betrayed *Ragnacharius*, discovering that their bracelets were not of gold, complained thereof to *Clovis*, who answered them, *You well know what you have done, and therefore ought not to complain, but deem it a great favour that I suffer you to live.* *Regnomer*, another brother of *Ragnacharius*, and king of the *Franks*, settled at *Mans*, was also murdered by the command of *Clovis*, who made himself master of the dominions and treasures of the three brothers.

He is ac- *Clovis*, by the murder of these, and several other princes, knowled- of whom, as they were his kinsmen, he entertained some ed king of jealousy, extended his dominion all over *Gaul*. One day af- all the terwards, in the presence of his nobles, he bemoaned his con- tribes of dition, saying, that he was in a manner a stranger among the *Franks* his own people, having no kinsman to stand by him, in case he wanted his assistance. This he said, not because he was concerned for their death, but to try whether any one would own himself for his relation, that he might dispatch him, as he had done the others. *Clovis*, soon after the reduction of the several tribes of the *Franks*, settled in *Gaul*, His death. died at *Paris*; in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. After his death, *Clothildis* retired into An. ch. *Touraine*, and there passed the remaining part of her life, at 511. *St. Martin's* tomb. *Clovis* left four sons, namely, *Theodoric* by a concubine, and *Chlodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*, by *Clothildis*. *Theodoric* at his father's death, had already a son named *Theodebert*, a youth of great expectation. The four brothers divided their father's dominions equally among them; *Theodoric* reigned at *Metz*, *Clodomir* at *Orleans*, *Clotharius* at *Soissons*, and *Childebert* at *Paris*. The princes were quite independant of each other, yet their four kingdoms were rather members of one and the same monarchy, than four different monarchies*.

* Greg. Tour. Duchene. Cassiod. Procop. Jornand. Vales. rer. Franc. Lolemoau hist. de Bret. Aimon. l. 1.

C H A P. IX.

The antient state of the Burgundians.

ACCORDING to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Orosius*, The origin of the the *Burgundians*, who, upon the decline of the empire, founded a kingdom in a part of *Gaul*, were descended of the *Burgundians*. *Orosius* relates, that *Drusus* and his brother *Tiberius*, left several camps, and part of their army in the inner parts of *Germany*, which they had subdued, and the castles and strong holds, built by them, were by the *Germans* called *Burghs*, and the descendants of the soldiers *Burgundians*. *Pliny* the elder, supposes them to be a *German* nation descended from the *Vindili*, thought to be the same with the *Vandals*. *Valesius* distinguishes the *Burgundians* of *Germany*, from those of the same name, who dwelt more to the east on the banks of the *Danube*. The *Burgundians* were reckoned inferior in courage and bravery, to the other *Germans*; dwelling, for the most part, in castles and fortified places, whereas the other tribes lived in separate habitations, and scorned any other fence but their arms. They were, for the most part mechanics, and before they settled, used in great numbers to flock into that country to earn a livelihood by their respective professions. They were divided into several tribes, each governed by their own chief, or king, whose authority was so far from being hereditary, that it was not even during life. The kings of this nation whom we find mentioned in history, are *Gundicar*, *Gundiac*, *Chilperic*, *Gundebald*, *Sigismund*, and *Godemar*, who all reigned after the *Burgundians* had entered *Gaul*, though without doubt the nation had kings or chiefs before that time. The *Burgundians* used legal duels to discover by the event the truth of contested facts.

In the year 275, the *Burgundians* in conjunction with the *Lugians*, the *Franks*, and the *Vandals*, crossed the *Rhine*, break over-ran all *Gaul* and made themselves masters of upwards of into *Gaul*, seventy cities in that country; but soon after, the emperor but are *Probus*, defeated the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks driven out of the *Rhine*, and upon their promising to restore the booty, by *Probus*. and set at liberty the prisoners, granted them a peace. As An. ch. they did not, however, faithfully comply with this condition, 275. *Probus* fell upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took many prisoners, whom he afterwards sent into *Britain*. About eleven years after, they broke into *Gaul* a-new, with the *Heruli*, the *Alemans*, and the *Chaibons* or *Cavions*, a people on no other occasion mentioned in history. The *Alemans* and *Burgundians*, it is said, were destroyed by their own numbers, which occasioned a famine, that

that was followed by a plague, and those that survived these calamities, were most of them cut in pieces by the *Romans*. Within four years after this incursion, a war broke out between the *Burgundians* and *Alemans*, in which the former seem to have gained considerable advantages over the latter, having reduced part of their territories.

They assemble in great numbers to assist the emperor against the *Alemans*.

In the year 376, the *Burgundians* appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, to the number of eighty-thousand fighting men, being invited thither by the emperor *Valentinian I.* who had proposed to join with them against *Macrian*, king of the *Alemans*, with whom they were then at variance, but as the emperor who was busy in erecting forts on the *Rhine*, would not interrupt his work to commit hostilities, they returned home, highly incensed against him.

They make a settlement in *Gaul*.

In the year 407, they followed the *Vandals Sueves* and *Alans*, into *Gaul*; but they did not settle it seems in that country, till the year 413, when *Prosper* tells us, they obtained that part of *Gaul*, which borders on the *Rhine*, that is, according to *Bucherius* the present *Alsace*, and the remaining part of *Germania Prima*. The *Burgundians* continued quiet in the seats allotted them, till the year 435, when in conjunction with the *Heruli*, the *Hunns*, and the *Franks*, they entered *Belgic Gaul*, committing every where dreadful ravages, though they had, upon their first settling in *Gaul*, promised to assist the *Romans*, and serve in their armies as subjects of their empire. *Aetius* having overcome them in a pitched battle, reduced them to such straits, that *Gundicarius* their king, was obliged to sue for peace, which he obtained, but did not long enjoy, being cut off the following year with twenty thousand of his subjects, by the *Hunns*. The *Burgundians*, according to *Socrates*, were so harrassed by the *Hunns*, that the few that remained of them, had recourse to heaven, and embraced the Christian religion after which they attacked the invaders, and cut ten thousand of them in pieces: but *Orosius*, who wrote about twenty years before, assures us, that they had then embraced the Christian religion.

They are removed to *Savoy* by *Aetius*.

A few years after, the *Burgundians* were removed from the banks of the *Rhine*, to the present duchy of *Savoy* by *Aetius*, and during their abode there, *Gundiac*, the successor and supposed to be the son of *Gundicar*, marched with *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, into *Spain*, against the *Sueves*, and signalized himself in the battle fought on the banks of the *Orbegua*, in the year 456. *Gundiac*, upon his return from *Spain*, seized on part of *Gaul*, and according to *Valesius*, then made himself master of the city of *Lyons*. In 463, it would appear that he was master of *Die* and *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, as he then wrote to *Hilarius* bishop of *Rome*, about an affair of the city *Die*. About seven years after, we find that *Gundiac* and his son *Chilperic*, were *Magistri Militiæ*, commanded

manded the *Roman* troops and fought for the emperor against *Euric* king of the *Visigoths*. Before the year 490, the *Burgundians* were masters of all the *Lugdunensis Prima*, which large their was then subject to *Chilperic*, who was also master of the dominion country of the *Sequani*. At the same time, *Gundebald* and *Godigiseles*, the two elder brothers of *Chilperic*, reigned, the one at *Lyons* and the other at *Geneva*, so that the *Burgundians* were masters of all these places; *Godemar* the younger brother, was also possessed of a certain territory. As they assisted the emperors against the *Visigoths*, and are styled by the writers of those times, the friends and allies of the empire, we may therefore conclude that they thus enlarged their dominions with the consent of the emperors.

Gundebald, in the year 473, was at *Ravenna*, for he is said to have induced *Glycerius* to take upon himself the title of emperor. After his deposition, *Gundebald* espoused the cause of his successor *Nepos*, against the *Visigoths*. *Odoacer*, king of *Italy*, having, in the year 480, yielded *Provence* to the *Visigoths*, *Gundebald* claimed part of that country, which gave rise to a war between the two nations. The *Visigoths*, on this occasion, according to *Jornandes*, drove the *Burgundians* out of *Gaul*; but he is certainly mistaken, as it appears from the acts of the councils in 514 and 528, that the *Burgundians* were then masters of twenty-eight cities. *Gundebald* entering *Italy* in 490, with the pretence of assisting *Odoacer*, against *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, ravaged *Liguria* in the most dreadful manner, and carried off with them such numbers of captives, that in most places, there were not left sufficient hands to till the ground. About this time, *Gundebald* sent one *Laurentius*, a person of great distinction among the *Burgundians*, as ambassador to the emperor *Anastasius*, at *Constantinople*; but what was the purport of the embassy is not mentioned. *Gundebald* caused his brother *Chilperic* to be put to death, and likewise defeated and put to death his brother *Godigiseles*, who had treacherously entered into an engagement with *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, against him. Having recovered his capital city, and concluded a peace with *Clovis*, he reigned peaceably till his death, which happened in the year 516. Some years before his death, he was for renouncing privately the errors of *Arius*; but could not be prevailed upon, says *Gregory of Tours*, publickly to acknowledge the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

Sigismund the son of *Gundebald*, had no sooner taken possession of his father's dominions, than he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople*, acquainting him with his succession to the crown, and promising the most faithful submission to all his commands. *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, refused a passage to the *Burgundian* ambassadors, as there seems to have been some misunderstanding betwixt him and *Sigismund*. However, *Anastasius* wrote to *Sigismund* without

Who ac-
knowleg-
es himself
a subject
of the em-
pire.

out waiting till he received letters from him, confirming to him the dignities which he had conferred upon him in his father's life-time, and adding to them the patriciate. In a second letter which *Sigismund* wrote to *Anastasius*, and in a third, to the emperor *Justin*, he owns himself a subject of the empire, using all along, the language of a subject to his sovereign. *Sigismund* had to his first wife, the daughter of *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, and by her a son named *Sigeric*. Upon the death of that princess, he married one of her household who, looking upon *Sigeric* with the eyes of a step-mother did all that lay in her power to incense his father against him. The haughty and contemptuous behaviour of the young prince heightened her aversion, and he having publicly upbraided her one day, for appearing in the robes of his mother, she was so transported with rage, that nothing but the death of the prince would satisfy her resentment. Having a great ascendant over her husband, she without difficulty persuaded him that his son had formed a design of assassinating him; so that he, to be before-hand with him caused him to be strangled, while he was reposing after dinner. *Sigismund*, being soon struck with remorse for so heinous a crime, retired in a few days to the monastery of *St. Mauritius* in *Valois*, to do penance for the murder he had committed, and there founded what *Gregory of Tours* call *Laus Perennis*, that is, a service to be celebrated night and day without intermission, by several ecclesiastics relieving one another. Upon his return to *Lyons*, he gave one of the sisters of the deceased *Sigeric*, in marriage to king *Theodoric* or *Thieri*, the eldest son of *Clovis*.

Sigismund
attacked
by the
Franks.

As the *Ostrogoths*, and their king *Theodoric*, were highly incensed against *Sigismund*, *Clothildis* took that opportunity of stirring up her sons to revenge the death of her father *Chilperic*, and her mother, who had been inhumanly murdered by *Gundebald*. This advice was entirely agreeable to the ambitious views of the young princes, who assembled their forces, and utterly defeated the *Burgundians*. *Sigismund* for some time concealed in a monastery, in the habit of monk; but his own subjects abhorring him, on account of the murder of his son, discovered him to the *Franks*, by whom he was delivered to *Chlodomir*, who had already in his power, his wife and children, and sent the whole unfortunate family as prisoners to *Orleans*. Upon the news of the captivity of *Sigismund*, the far greater part of the country which he held, submitted to the *Franks*, who, the following year, that is 524, threw the captive king, with his wife and children, into a deep well, where they were all drowned. The *Burgundians* had about that time revolted, and chose *Godemar*, the brother of *Sigismund*, for their king. To induce the *Ostrogoths* to assist them, at least underhand, they yielded to them four cities, and though no mention is made

He is taken
prisoner and put
to death.
An. ch.
523.

of any succours sent them by that nation, yet we may conclude that *Theodoric*, who was alarmed at the growing power of the *Franks*, would privately succour them on this occasion. The *Franks* under the command of *Chlodomir*, again invaded *Burgundy*, and the two armies meeting at *Veseronce*, in the territory of *Vienne*, a desperate battle was fought, in which the *Burgundians* were defeated; but *Chlodomir* pursuing with too much ardour, was surrounded by his enemies, and cut in pieces. The *Burgundians* concluding from *Chlodomir*'s long hair which covered his shoulders, that he was one of the king's of the *Franks*, struck off his head, and carrying it upon the point of a spear, returned to the charge, but were routed a second time. The *Franks*, however, were so struck with the death of *Chlodomir*, that they concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, and restored to them all the territories they had seized during the war.

About eight years after this peace, *Childebert* and *Clotharius*, upon what pretence is not mentioned, again invaded the territories of the *Burgundians*. Their brother *Theodoric* refused to join them in the enterprize, which gave so great offence to the *Franks* his subjects, that they threatened to revolt, and were only appeased, by his telling them that he intended to lead them against the inhabitants of *Auvergne*. The *Franks* under *Childebert* and *Clotharius*, entering the territories of the *Burgundians*, laid siege to *Augustodunum*, now *Autun*, obliged *Godemar* to save himself by flight, and made themselves masters of his kingdom. From *Marius Avitensis*, it appears, that the war lasted two years, that *Theodoric* dying in the mean time, his son *Theodebert* joined the other two princes. We learn from *Cassiodore*, that in this war the *Burgundians* were assisted by the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*; that, in several encounters, the *Franks* were defeated by those two nations; but that upon the death of *Athalaric*, the *Ostrogoths*, having withdrawn their troops, the *Burgundians* were in the end obliged to submit to the conquerors. *Procopius* tells us, that *Godemar* being taken prisoner by the *Franks*, the *Burgundians* agreed to serve them in their wars, and to pay them a yearly tribute, with such taxes and customs as they had paid to their former kings, insisting, however, that they should live according to their own laws, which they actually did, till the reign of *Lewis le Debonair* *.

* Procop. bell. Goth. l. 1. Cassiod. var. l. 12. rep. 28. & l. 61. Gr. 1. Avent. Chron. ad. an. 534. Greg. Tour. l. 3. Agath. de reb. Justin. Eunod. vit. Epiph. Jornand. Vales. rer. franc. Bucher. Ammion. l. 28. Olos. l. 7. Socrat. hist. eccles. b. 7.

CHAP. X,

Of the Alemans.

The origin of the Alemans.

THE first mention we find of the *Alemans*, is about the year 214, the fourth of the emperor *Caracallas*'s reign. According to *Agathias*, they were originally a motly multitude, consisting of several nations, on which account they were called *Alemans*, that word meaning in their language, men of all nations. The *Alemans*, according to the most common opinion, consisted chiefly of *Sueves*, who in process of time were joined by several other *German* nations, and some *Gauls*. They inhabited between the *Danube*, the *Upper Rhine*, and the *Mein*, that is in the present duchy of *Wirtemberg*. They were a numerous and warlike nation, and by *Aurelius Victor*, are commended for fighting with great skill and dexterity on horseback. They had such an aversion to slavery, that even their women chose rather to put an end to their life, than live without liberty. Their government was monarchical, for we find several of their kings mentioned in history.

They are overcome by *Caracalla*.
An. ch. 214.

In the year 214, the *Alemans* having joined the *Catti*, *Caracalla* under pretence of succouring another nation with whom they were at variance, made war upon them, and is said to have defeated the *Alemans*, upon the banks of the *Mein*. He afterwards concluded a peace with them, distributed large sums among them, and lifted great numbers of them in his army, and even among his guards.

Their country ravaged by *Maximinus*.

About twenty years after the victory of *Caracalla*, the *Alemans*, and other *German* nations, passed the *Rhine*, made themselves masters of the forts built on the banks of that river, and committed dreadful ravages in *Gaul*. *Alexander Severus*, who was just then returned from *Persia*, hastened into *Gaul*, and ordered a bridge to be laid over the *Rhine*, with the design of entering *Germany*, whither the invaders, upon the news of his approach, had retired. He being in the mean time, assassinated, *Maximinus* his successor, entered *Germany* early in the spring, at the head of a mighty army, burnt the enemies habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners, having attacked them several times in the woods and marshes, where he killed many of them with his own hands.

The *Alemans*, eighteen years after, broke unexpectedly into *Gaul*, and laid waste that country, but were soon after defeated, while the *Futhongians*, that is, the *Alemans* who dwelt on the banks of the *Danube*, made an irruption into *Italy*, which they ravaged as far as *Milan*, where their army, consisting of three

three hundred thousand men, was defeated by *Gallienus*, with only ten thousand men, if we may believe *Zonaras*. We find no further mention made of this nation, till the year numbers 268, when the *Futhongians* broke into *Italy*, but were defeated with great slaughter near *Verona*, by the emperor *Claudius*. Notwithstanding this overthrow, they no sooner heard of the death of *Claudius*, than, joining the *Marcomans*, they resolved to invade *Italy* anew; but in *Vindelicia*, comprehending all the present *Bavaria*, and part of *Suabia*, they met with such a terrible defeat from *Aurelian*, the successor *Claudius*, that they sued for peace. The emperor imprudently refusing to grant them any terms, and cutting off their retreat into their own country, they, in despair, advanced to *Italy*, and finding the passes unguarded, proceeded to *Placentia*, before the *Romans* could come up with them. Upon the approach of the imperial army, they concealed themselves in the wood, and sallying out upon them in the night, gained a complete victory, which threw all *Italy* into the utmost consternation. Not long after, *Aurelian* having received strong reinforcements from *Illyricum*, totally routed the invaders near *Fano*. Those who escaped in this action, were slain in two others, one in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*. About four years after, the *Alemans* who dwelt near the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*, but were repulsed by *Probus*, afterwards emperor. They seem to have continued quiet for the space of eleven years; but *Dioclesian*, in the third of his reign, is said to have gained some advantages over them, from whence it may be concluded that they then attempted an invasion. Two years after, they broke into *Gaul* with the *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, *Cavians*, and several other barbarous nations; but were most of them cut off by *Maximinian*, or destroyed by famine. The following year, *Maximinian* ravaged the territories of the *Alemans* in *Germany*, while *Dioclesian* penetrated through *Rhætia*, and is said to have extended the confines of the empire to the source of the *Danube*. In the year 291, part of the country of the *Alemans*, being seized by the *Burgundians*, a war followed betwixt the two nations; but what was the issue of it is not mentioned.

About ten years after, the *Alemans* made an unexpected irruption into *Gaul*, with a numerous army; but were defeated near *Langres*, by *Constantius Chlorus*, with the loss of sixty thousand men, according to *Eutropius*, *St. Jerom*, *Orosius*, and *Zonaras*. Notwithstanding this great loss, they were only quiet about five years, when their incursions were checked by *Constantine the Great*, who, having taken some of their kings prisoners, exposed them to be devoured by wild beasts. The *Alemans*, nevertheless, within four years after, in conjunction with the *Brueterians*, *Cherusians*, and *Chamavians*, ravaged the provinces of *Gaul* adjoining to the *Rhine*.

Rhine, but were again defeated by *Constantine*, and forced to abandon their booty. There is no mention of the *Alemans* from this time till the eighteenth of the reign of *Constantius*, that is forty-five years after, when they attempted to break into *Italy*; but were repulsed by the troops of the emperor, who thereupon returned to *Milan*.

They are driven out of Gaul by *Julian*. The same year another body of *Alemans*, in conjunction with the *Franks* and *Saxons*, ravaged *Gaul*, and took and plundered above forty towns on the banks of the *Rhine*. Their ravages were checked by *Julian*, cousin to the emperor, who having driven the barbarians back to *Germany*, repaired the forts on the *Rhine*. While he was thus employed, the *Alemans* cut off many *Romans* under *Barbatio*, who were laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*. Being elated with this advantage, they assembled in great numbers, under the banners of *Chnodomarius* and six other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Strasburg*. *Chnodomarius* hearing that *Julian's* army was only thirteen thousand strong, he sent a messenger to him, commanding him to quit a country which the *Alemans* had acquired by their courage and valour, and which the emperor had yielded to them. *Julian* detained this messenger as a spy, and pursued the works he had begun, till he received intelligence that the enemy had advanced within twenty miles of his camp, when he immediately marched against them and gave them battle. After an obstinate dispute, they were at length routed, and *Chnodomarius* being taken prisoner, was conveyed to *Rome*, where he soon after died a natural death. *Julian*, after the battle, crossed the *Rhine* at *Mentz*, and ravaged the territories of the *Alemans* and their allies, till after the equinox. He then granted the *Alemans* a truce for ten months, at the expiration of which, he entered their country, and obliged two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, to sue for peace, which he granted them, upon their sending back all the *Roman* captives, and furnishing timber, iron, and other materials, to repair the cities which they had ruined.

They are defeated with great slaughter by *Jovinus*. Upon the news of *Julian's* death the *Alemans* renewed their ravages in *Rhætia* and *Gaul*, but retreated upon the approach of the emperor *Valentinian I.* who took up his winter quarters at *Paris*. The following winter the *Alemans* passed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated, in a pitched battle, the *Roman* who attempted to oppose them, took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, and killed two counts who had the command of a body of troops. *Dagalaiphus* was sent by the emperor to oppose them, but he not acting with any vigour was recalled, and *Jovinus* sent in his room, by whom the *Alemans* were defeated in three battles. One of their kings was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged by the soldiers who took him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their officer.

In the close of the following year, the *Alemans* surprised and plundered the city of *Mentz*, and while the emperor was employed in some other expedition, ravaged the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of *Rhando*, one of their princes. The *Romans*, to be revenged of the *Alemans*, bribed a traitor among them, who assassinated *Vithicabius*, an *Aleman* prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution, and son of *Vodomarius*. *Valentinian*, the year following, entered *Germany*, and advanced to a place called *Solicinium*, supposed to be the city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*, in the neighbourhood of which, he gained a signal victory over the barbarians. After this victory, the emperor returned to *Treves*, and there granted a peace to the *Alemans*. This peace however, was but of short continuance, for two years after, eighty thousand *Burgundians* came to the banks of the *Rhine*, with the design of assisting the emperor, against the *Alemans*, though he then declined entering upon action. *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, taking advantage of the consternation of the *Alemans*, made an irruption into their country and returned with a considerable number of prisoners, who were allowed settlements on the banks of the *Po*.

Valentinian, the following year, broke unexpectedly into the country of the *Alemans*, hoping to surprize *Macrian* their king, who, however, having had timely intelligence, saved himself by flight. The emperor ravaged the country round *Mentz*, belonging to the *Alemans*, called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave *Fraomarius*, one of their own nation, for king. The country however, being entirely ruined, *Fraomarius* was glad to quit his new dignity, for the command of his countrymen in *Britain*. The following year, *Valentinian* committed some ravages in the country of the *Alemans* in *Germany*; but the *Sarmatians* and *Quadrans*, having cut two legions to pieces in *Pannonia*, he invited *Macrian* to an interview near *Mentz*, and having granted him advantageous terms of peace, he ever after continued a faithful friend to the *Romans*. Some years after, a war being kindled between the *Alemans* and *Franks*, *Macrian* was killed in an ambuscade.

In the year 378, the *Alemans*, called *Lentienfes*, being informed that *Gratian* had ordered part of his troops to march to the assistance of the eastern emperor, against the *Goths*, passed the *Rhine*, and began to lay waste the neighbouring provinces. The *Roman* troops quartered in those parts, at first repulsed them; but they afterwards returning, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, *Gratian* was obliged to recal the troops that were on their march to assist the eastern emperor, in order to oppose the invaders. The *Alemans* were defeated near a place called *Argentaria*, supposed to

They are to be *Colmar*, and their king *Triarius*, with thirty thousand of defeated his troops, left dead on the spot. After this victory *Gratian* with great ravaged the territory of the *Alemans*, who at first took refuge slaughter in the hills; but were forced by famine to submit to the terms by *Gra-* prescribed by the conqueror, one of which was, that they *tian.* should deliver up their youth to serve in the *Roman* army.

About ten years after, the *Alemans*, as we are informed by *Orosius*, dreading the arms of *Maximus*, who had usurped the empire in *Gaul*, submitted to him of their own accord, furnishing his army with provisions, and paying him yearly tribute. In the reign of *Honorius*, which began in 395, a colony of the *Alemans* was allowed to settle in part of *Switzerland*. *Servius*, who wrote his comment upon *Virgil* about the year 411, tells us, that in his time, the country bordering on the lake *Geneva*, was inhabited by the *Alemans*. They settle in *Hel-* We find no further mention of them till the year 477, when *vetia.* *Audacrius*, king of the *Saxons*, and *Childeric*, king of the *Franks*, marched against those *Alemans* that had settled among the *Alps*, and put great numbers of them to the sword, stripping them also of the booty which they had a little before brought from *Italy*.

Upon the downfall of the western empire, the *Aleman* seized on *Alsace*, and being joined by their countrymen in *Germany*, and those who dwelt in *Switzerland*, in the year 496, ravaged the country of the *Riparian Franks*, whose king *Sigebert* was obliged to have recourse to *Clovis*, king of *the Salian Franks*. They are The *Alemans* were entirely defeated by conquered the two kings at *Tolbiac*, supposed to be the present *Zulpick* by *Clovis*. not far from *Cologne*. After this defeat, the *Alemans*, in *Al-* An. ch. *face*, and in *Switzerland*, acknowledged *Clovis* for their king 496. Others were allowed to settle in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, by *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, who also transplanted great numbers of them into *Italy*. From this time, the *Alemans* had no king of their own; and when the *Ostrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis*, whatever they held out of *Italy*, all the *Alemans*, except those whom *Theodoric* had transplanted into that country, submitted to the *Franks* *.

* Procop. Greg. Tours. Serv. in not. ad IV. Georg. Vales. Oros. Aminian. l. 27. Liban orat. 10 & 12. Bucher. Zonar. Goltz.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Gepidæ.

THE *Goths*, according to *Jornandes*, put to sea from The ori-
Scandinavia, with only three ships, and one of these gin of the
 sailing slower than the other two, was thence called *Gepanta*, *Gepidæ*.
 signifying, in the *Gothic* tongue, *slow*, and hence the name of
Gepantæ and *Gepidæ*, which was first given to that people by
 way of reproach. *Procopius* tells us that the *Goths*, the *Van-*
dals, the *Visigoths*, and the *Gepidæ*, were originally the same
 nation, and only differed in names, borrowed, perhaps says
 he, from their different leaders. The *Goths*, the *Gepidæ*,
 and the *Vandals*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, agree in language,
 manners, and religion, and differ only in name. They enter-
 ed *Scythia*, according to *Jornandes*, with the other *Goths*, and
 settled in the neighbourhood of the *Tanais* and *Palus Mæotis*,
 where they continued till the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*,
 when they crossed the *Danube*, and settled in the neighbour-
 hood of *Singidunum*, and *Sermium*. They formed a separate
 and distinct nation, both from the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*;
 but perhaps not from the *Lombards*.

Jornandes tells us, that under the conduct of their king They de-
Fastida, they overcame the *Burgundians*, about the year 245, feat the
 and almost utterly extirpated them. *Fastida*, elated with his *Burgundi-*
 success against the *Burgundians*, who, according to *Valesius*, *ans.*
 were a different nation from those who afterwards settled in
Gaul, he demanded lands from *Ostrogotha*, king of the *Goths*,
 and in case of refusal, threatened him with war. The de- But are
 mand of *Fastida* being refused, he entered the territories of routed by
 the *Goths*, but was soon defeated by *Ostrogotha*, who did not the *Goths*.
 however, pursue him, looking upon his followers, rather as An. ch.
 his kinsmen than an enemy. When the *Goths* in 269, made 248.
 an irruption into the empire, the *Gepidæ* joined them, but
 both were defeated by the emperor *Claudius*, with great
 slaughter. About ten years after, the emperor *Probus* granted
 to them and other barbarous nations, lands in *Thrace*, upon
 their promising to live as the other subjects of the empire;
 but while he was employed in the east, they revolted, and
 ravaged the neighbouring provinces. *Probus* having success- Great
 fully ended his other wars, marched against them in person, numbers
 and almost cut them all off. In 291, a war broke out between of them
 the *Gepidæ* and the *Goths*, the *Vandals* assisting the former, and cut off by
 the *Taifalæ*, the latter. By this war both parties were so *Probus*.
 weakened, that for some years, they were in no condition An. ch.
 of disturbing the peace of the empire. The *Gepidæ* are 279.
 mentioned by *St. Jerom*, among the other nations of barba-
 rians,

Attila
conquers
them.

rians, that in 407, broke into *Gaul*. Being afterwards subdued by *Attila*, they served under him in his famous expedition into *Gaul*, when the *Franks*, and they meeting in the dark, both parties engaged with such fury, that above fifteen hundred were left dead on the spot.

They
shake off
the yoke
of the
Hunns.

Upon *Attila's* death the *Gepidæ* under their king *Ardaric*, asserted their independancy, and having slain *Ellac*, king of the *Hunns*, with thirty thousand of his men, not only recovered their antient liberty, but the country whence they had been driven by *Attila*. The *Gepidæ* being again settled in *Dacia*, beyond the *Danube*, which from them was called *Gepidia*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans* who agreed to pay them an annual pension. Some years after, part of *Illyricum* was also granted to them, where they continued quiet till the year 537, when joining the *Heruli*, they began to plunder the neighbouring provinces: but being defeated in several encounters by the generals of *Justinian*, they were forced to abandon all they held in *Illyricum*, and content themselves with *North Dacia*.

They are
defeated
by the
Lombards.

About thirteen years after a contest arose between the *Gepidæ* and the *Lombards*, about their confines, when both parties solicited the assistance of *Justinian*, in virtue of their alliance with the empire; *Justinian*, after hearing the ambassadors of both nations, declared for the *Lombards*, and sent a body of troops to their assistance; which the *Gepidæ* no sooner heard of, than they concluded a peace. Upon the departure of the *Roman* troops, however, the *Gepidæ* took the field anew, under the conduct of their king *Thorisinus*, which obliged the *Lombards* also to arm. A panic seized both armies when they were on the point of engaging, which being looked upon as a prodigy by both kings, they concluded a two years truce. This was no sooner expired, than the *Gepidæ* calling in the *Heruli* to their assistance, invaded the territories of the *Lombards*, who soon after receiving a reinforcement from *Justinian*, totally defeated the invaders. This defeat was followed by a peace between the two nations, which was concluded by the mediation of *Justinian*. *Thorisinus* was at this time king of the *Gepidæ*, and *Auduinus* of the *Lombards*, both of them being usurpers.

The peace was scarce concluded, when *Ildegisal*, the lawful heir to the *Lombard* crown, took refuge among the *Gepidæ*; and *Ostrogothus*, the son of the late king of the *Gepidæ*, fled to the *Lombards*. The refugees being protected by each nation, another war seemed unavoidable, but the two kings, at length, to prevent hostilities, agreed to dispatch each other's rival. Not long after, the two kings dying, *Thorisinus* was succeeded by *Cunimundus*, and *Auduinus* by *Alboinus*. *Cunimundus* had scarce ascended the throne, when reviving some antient claims upon the *Lombards*, he entered their territories at the head of a numerous army. *Alboinus* also

taking

king the field, a bloody battle was fought, in which the *Gepidæ* were cut off, almost to a man.. The *Lombards* after Who put his victory, seized on all *Dacia*, obliging the *Gepidæ* either an end to submit to them, or retire elsewhere. Thenceforth the their king *Gepidæ* had no king of their own, but lived in subjection, dom. either to the *Lombards*, or to the princes of the neighbour- An. ch. ing nations, especially of the *Hunns* settled in *Pannonia*. 572. The ruin of the kingdom of the *Gepidæ* is placed by *Pagi* 1553, but by others, more rightly, in the year 572. *Alboi-* us afterwards married *Rosamund*, the daughter of *Cunimund-* us, which made the *Gepidæ* bear the yoke more pa- tiently*.

* Paul. Diac. Misc. l. 14. & de gest. Longob. l. 1. Jor- and. de reb. Goth. Grot. proleg. in hist. Goth. Procop. bel. Goth. Abbas. Biclari. Edit. Scalig.

(***)

C H A P. XII.

Of the Heruli.

THE *Heruli*, sometimes called *Eruli*, and *Aairuli*, were The dif- originally a *Gothic* nation. Being driven from *Scandi-* ferent *navia*, says *Jornandes*, by the *Dani*, they wandered eastward seats of as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and settled in that neighbourhood, the *He-* from whence they made frequent irruptions into the empire, *ruli*. till the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, when great numbers of them were cut off by the *Lombards*, and the rest driven from their antient habitations, which happened about the conclu- sion of the fifth century. Some of them, after having long roved about from one country to another, settled in that of the *Rugians*, the present *Pomerania*, which they found un- inhabited, the antient proprietors having gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. Some time after, the *Gepidæ* granted them settlements among them in *North Dacia*, but being oppres- sed there, the emperor *Anastasius* allowed them, in 511, to settle in *Thrace*, upon their promising obedience. Great numbers of them, when the *Lombards* had seized their coun- try, passed westward through several barbarous nations, till they came to the *Ocean*, and embarking there, says *Proco-* plus, set sail for *Thule*, meaning probably the peninsula of *Scandinavia*, which he calls ten times as big as *Britain*.

The *Heruli* had kings of their own, yet these were almost Their on a level, in point of authority. They had some laws pe-manners culiar

and customs.

cular to themselves, and differing from those of all other nations, for among them, when men were grown old or infirm, they were not to live, but to intreat their relations to dispatch them. When the husband died, the wife was to strangle herself on the husband's tomb, on pain of being deemed infamous. They were given to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and not ashamed of the most unnatural practices. They were a warlike people, and are chiefly commended by the antients for their swiftness and agility.

They ravage Asia and Greece

The *Heruli* began first to invade the empire, about the year 526, but were soon driven back by *Gallienus*, the son of the emperor *Valerian*. Eleven years after, the *Heruli* embarking on the *Palus Mæotis* in five hundred vessels, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chryopolis*, now *Seutari*, under the conduct of *Naulobat*. Being repulsed at *Chryopolis*, they reembarked, and began to retire to the mouth of the *Euxine Sea*; but the next day, the wind proving favourable, they returned anew before *Byzantium*, and crossing the *Bosphorus*, surprised and plundered the city of *Cyzicus*, with great part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos* and *Scyros*. Afterward landing in *Greece*, they plundered and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*. In their retreat, the *Athenians* under the conduct of *Dexippus* the historian, fell upon them in the streights, cut great numbers of them in pieces. They however, committed great devastations in *Bæotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus* and *Thrace*, but at last were totally defeated in *Illyricum*, by *Gallienus*, who pursued them as far as the *Nessus* in *Mæsia*, and took *Naulobat* himself, prisoner, on whom he conferred the honours of the consulate, in hopes of gaining the barbarians.

But are defeated by *Gallienus*.

They are subdued by the *Ostrogoths* and *Hunns*

In the year 287, the *Heruli*, in conjunction with the *Chaibons* and *Cavions*, entered *Gaul*, and laid waste the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*, but were defeated with great slaughter by *Maximinian*. About the year 370, they were subdued by the *Ostrogoths*, and afterwards were obliged to submit to *Attila*, and served in his army when he invaded *Gaul*. Upon the death of *Attila*, they recovered their ancient liberty, and served in the Roman armies under commanders, but named by the emperors. In the year 456, *Ichalius* tells us, that four hundred of them made a descent on the coast of *Gallicia*, and afterwards landing in *Biscay*, committed great ravages there. Towards the conclusion of the fifth century, the *Heruli* made war on several barbarous nations, says *Procopius*, and subdued them, but having obliged their king *Rodolphus*, to make war upon the *Lombards*, without the least provocation, they were overthrown by them with great slaughter, and obliged to live either in subjection to the conquerors, or abandon their country. In this distress, they followed the fortunes of the

They are overthrown by the *Lombards*.

the

the *Gepidæ*; some submitting, others going into *Pomerania* and *Scandinavia*, and others being allowed to settle in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*.

In the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, which began in 526, the *Heruli* having murdered their king, and no other remaining among them of the blood royal, they sent into *Thule* or *Scandinavia* for a prince of the same family. Their ambassadors tarrying longer on their journey than they expected, they had recourse to *Justinian*, who appointed *Suartuas*, one of their own nation, who had long resided at *Constantinople*, to reign over them. The ambassadors arriving from *Scandinavia*, with a prince of the blood royal, a few days after, *Suartuas* was obliged to resign, and return to *Constantinople*. *Justinian* was highly provoked at the conduct of the *Heruli*, and had no sooner ended a war he was engaged in with the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, but he turned his arms against and drove them and their allies, the *Gepidæ*, out of the empire. Being afterwards reconciled to them, many of them assisted him in his other wars. In his reign, great numbers of them embraced the Christian religion, but still preserved their former manners; being, of all nations, says *Procopius*, the most treacherous, avaritious, and the most addicted to drunkenness, and all manner of lewdness and debauchery. They were, soon after the death of *Justinian*, conquered by the *Lombards*, and lived partly subject to them, partly to the neighbouring nations †.

They send for a king from *Thule*.

Justinian drives them out of the empire.

† Procop. bell. Goth. & Vandal. Agath. Idat. Paul. Diac. Jornand. Zozim. Ammian. Zonar.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Marcomans.

THE *Marcomans* are reckoned by all ancient writers among the *German* nations, and dwelt originally near the springs of the *Danube*. Under their king *Maroboduus* they penetrated into *Bohemia*, and drove from thence the *Boians*, a *Gaulish* nation, who sometime before had taken possession of that country. The *Marcomans* agreed in customs, manners, religion, &c. with the other *German* nations, were a very numerous and warlike people, and ever ready to prefer death to slavery.

The origin of the *Marcomans*.

Tiberius, we are informed, gained great advantages over them and other *German* nations, which obliged them to send deputies.

Augustus
grants
them a
peace.

deputies to *Augustus*, to sue for peace. The emperor received the ambassadors of the *Marcomans* with particular marks of distinction, and granted them their request, but obliged the other *German* nations to retire beyond the *Elbe*; and the *Sicambrians*, and such of the *Sueves* as were not subject to *Maroboduus*, to abandon their native country, and people some places in *Gaul*. In the year 71, the fourth of *Tiberius*, a war broke out betwixt the *Marcomans* and the *Cherusicans*, in which it is said the latter gained considerable advantages over the former. Two years after, *Tiberius* having, by his emissaries, stirred up the subjects of *Maroboduus* against him, he was driven from the throne and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna*. His successor *Catualdus* reigned but a short time, and was forced to take refuge in *Gaul*.

They are
invaded
by *Domitian*.

The *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, in the year 86, were invaded by *Domitian*, who was so irritated against them because they had not assisted him against the *Dacians*, that when they sued for peace he caused their ambassadors to be put to death. The *Marcomans*, exasperated by this barbarity, attacked and defeated the *Roman* army, which obliged the emperor to purchase a peace by a large sum of money. In the memorable war which the *Marcomans*, in conjunction with the other *German* nations, made on the empire, about eighty years, they defended themselves against the whole strength of the *Romans* for fifteen years; and in the end obtained a peace upon very reasonable terms, one of which was that they should not for the future settle within six miles of the *Danube*.

They ob-
tain part
of *Pannonia*
from
the em-
peror.

In the year 214 a war was kindled between them and the *Vandals*, by means of the emperor *Caracalla*; but what was the issue of the war is not mentioned. About forty-two years after, the emperor *Gallienus* entered into an alliance with *Attalus*, king of the *Marcomans*, and soon after yielded to him part of *Upper Pannonia*, for his daughter *Pipa* or *Pippa*, whom he pretended to marry; but as he was then married to *Salonina*, *Pipa* is called by the writers of these times his concubine. The *Marcomans*, about the year 270, joined the *Alemans* and *Futhongians*, against *Aurelian*, but were cut off by that emperor, almost to a man. Both *Idatius* and *Victor* mention a victory gained over the *Marcomans* in the year 299. About an hundred years after, *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, having embraced the Christian religion, wrote to *St. Ambrose* for some instructions relating to the conduct of her life. The holy prelate complied readily with her request, and besides exhorted her to persuade her husband to live in peace with the *Romans*. This she not only did, but prevailed upon the king to subject himself and his kingdom to the empire. They seem to have continued faithful to the *Romans* till the time of *Attila*, when being subdued by that prince, they were obliged to serve in his
army

army against their old allies. Upon his death they shook off the yoke of the *Hunns*, and having recovered their ancient liberty, submitted either to *Marcian* or his successor *Leo*, and served the empire to the last, with unshaken fidelity. From them, and from several other nations settled among them, are, without doubt, descended the present inhabitants of *Bohemia**. A.C. 396.

* Goltz. Birag. Sueton. Tacit. Dio. Strabo. l. 7. Goldast. Alam. ant. tom. 11. Ambros. vit.



C H A P. XIV.

Of the Quadians.

THE *Quadians* were a German nation, and inhabited from the mountains of *Bohemia* to the river *Marus*, now the *March* which comprehends the present *Moravia*. *Ptolemy* mentions the following cities in their country; namely, *Eburodunum* or *Robodunum*, *Eburum*, *Medoslanium*, and *Celeman-tia*; now, according to *Cluverius*, *Brin*, *Olmütz*, *Znaim*, and *Kalminz*. The *Quadians* were a warlike people, had kings of their own, and agreed in customs, manners, and religion, with the other German nations. In the wars which the *Germans*, in the beginning of the empire, had with the *Romans*, the *Quadians*, no doubt, acted in conjunction with their countrymen. The emperor *Domitian* turned his arms unexpectedly against them; but before they could draw their troops together, the emperor was put to flight by the *Marc-comans*. The *Quadians* seem to have submitted to the emperor *Titus Antoninus*, for they received and acknowledged a king named by that prince. Having joined the *Marc-comans* in the memorable war against *M. Aurelius*, after it had continued fifteen years, they were so reduced that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, and with them all the *Roman* deserters, and 13,000 prisoners, whom they had taken during the war. A peace was then granted to them, on condition that they should not traffic for the future within the *Roman* dominions, nor settle within six miles of the *Danube*. These conditions not being acceptable to them, they renewed the war, and having driven out *Fartius*, whom the emperor had appointed to reign over them, they appointed one *Ariogeses*, in his room. *Aurelius* resented their conduct to such a degree, that though they promised to set at liberty thirty thousand captives, on condition that he would confirm the title of king to *Ariogeses*, he would not hearken to the proposal,

but set a price on the head of the new king. The *Quadians* finding the emperor inexorable, joined the *Marcomans* and several other nations, and attacked the *Romans*, but were utterly defeated, and *Ariogeses* was taken prisoner. The emperor generously spared his life, but confined him to the city of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*.

Commodus grants them a peace. The other nations, submitting upon this victory, obtained a peace; but the *Quadians* seem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*, who granted them a peace, on condition that they should not come within twelve miles of the *Danube*; that they should deliver up their arms, and supply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops when required; that they should assemble but once a month, in the presence of a *Roman* centurion, and should not make war upon the neighbouring nations, without the consent of the *Romans*.

Their other wars with the empire. About seventy-seven years after, the *Quadians* and *Sarmatians* ravaged part of *Illyricum*, but were repulsed by *Probus*, afterwards emperor. Soon after, they made a sudden irruption into *Pannonia*, but were obliged by *Regilianus*, who commanded there, to quit their booty, and return home. About the year 283, the *Quadians* and *Sarmatians* ravaged *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, and advanced towards *Italy*; but *Carus*, who had succeeded *Probus*, totally defeated them, killed sixteen thousand of them on the spot, and took twenty thousand prisoners. In the year 355, the *Quadians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*, from both which provinces they carried home an immense booty unmolested. Two years after they returned again, and laid waste *Valeria*, upon which the emperor *Constantius* advanced to the confines of the *Quadians*, and conferred with their chiefs, who excused, in the best manner they could, the past ravages, and promised for the future to live in peace with the empire. Notwithstanding these promises, the following year, in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, they laid waste part of *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*, but retired upon the approach of *Constantius*; who, to punish their perfidy, passed the *Danube*, and ravaged their territories; but, upon their offer of submission, granted them a peace, upon their setting their prisoners at liberty, and delivering up hostages.

In the year 374, their king *Gabinias* being treacherously murdered by *Marcellianus*, duke of *Valeria*, they passed the *Danube* in the utmost rage, took an incredible number of captives, and ravaged the country to a great distance. They pursued *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, into *Valeria*, and in their way cut the *Pannonian* and *Mælian* legions in pieces, which made them masters of all the open country. The *Sarmatians* separating from the *Quadians* were defeated in *Upper Mæsia* by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor. *Valentinian* I. marched in person against the *Quadians*, and, after making vast preparations for three months at *Carnutum* in

in *Illyricum*, now supposed to be *Hainburg* on the *Danube*, he entered the enemy's country, and destroyed it with fire and sword, which obliged them to sue for peace. When he was giving audience to their ambassadors, he was suddenly seized with convulsion fits, which quickly put an end to his life. The *Romans* declared *Valentinian*, his second son, emperor, though he was then but a child of four or five years old, and concluded a truce with the *Quadians*.

About four years after, the *Quadians* broke anew into *Illyricum*; but were driven out, with some loss, by the emperor *Gratian*. In the year 407, they entered *Gaul* with the other barbarians, where they committed dreadful ravages. From this time no further mention is made in history of the *Quadians*, whence *Latius* concludes them to have been either subdued or utterly extirpated by the *Goths*, who had settled in *Pannonia* and *Illyricum* *.

* Zos. Zonas. Ammian. Socrat. Birag. Dio.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Sarmatians.

THE *Sarmatians* were a very numerous and warlike nation, consisting of many tribes, governed by their respective kings, and masters of extensive territories. *Sarmatia* in *Europe* was parted from *Germany* by the *Vistula*, now the *Weissel*, and was separated from *Asia* and the *Asiatic Sarmatia* by the *Euxine Sea*, the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, the *Palus Meotis*, and the *Tanais*. This vast tract was inhabited by the *Burgiones*, *Cariones*, *Sudeni*, *Geloni*, *Hamaxobii*, *Agathyrsæ*, *Borufæ*, *Melanchlænæ*, *Alauni* or *Alani*, *Jazyges*, *Roxolani*, *Bastarnæ* *Carpi* or *Carpates*, *Sidones*, *Borani*, and *Venedi* or *Winidæ*. The five last-named nations are supposed to have come originally from *Germany*. The *Gelonians* were, according to *Herodotus*, of *Greek* extraction; but in his time they had conformed to the customs of the *Budini*, among whom they had settled. The other nations were all *Gothic*; but all of them were blended by the *Roman* writers under the common name of *Sarmatæ*; by the *Greeks*, under that of *Sauromatæ*; and sometimes by both under the denominations of *Scythæ* and *Getæ*. The *Sarmatians* in general, according to *Ammian*, were a savage people, and infamous for their lewdness. The *Melanchlænæ* are said, both by *Ammian* and *Herodotus*, to have fed on human flesh.

The territory of the Sarmatians;

their different tribes.

They threaten the Roman empire.

The Roxolani-
ans ravage
Mæsia.
A.C. 69.

Illyricum
invaded
by the
Sarmatians.

They join the Marcomans against M. Aurelius.
An. ch. 165.

The *Sarmatians*, about seventeen years after *Thrace* had been reduced into a *Roman* province by the emperor *Claudius*, assembled in great numbers on the confines, as if they intended to make themselves masters of that province; but the *Roman* general having gained over the kings of the *Bastarnians* and *Roxolani-ans*, the rest soon dispersed. Six years after, that is in 69, the *Roxolani-ans*, who inhabited on the West side of the *Palus Meotis*, defeated two *Roman* cohorts in *Mæsia*; and having pillaged part of the province, returned home unmolested. Animated with this success, they appeared anew the same year with nine thousand horse; but being attacked by a *Roman* legion and some auxiliaries, they were almost all cut off. *Vespasian*, the same year, being declared emperor by the legions in the East, the *Jazygians*, a *Sarmatic* nation, next to the *Roxolani-ans*, offered him their service. But a few months after, though some of their chiefs had joined him, they broke into *Mæsia*, and having defeated the *Romans*, ravaged that province far and near. They were, however, soon after repulsed, with considerable loss, by *Rubrius Gallus*. In the year 85, *Tacitus* tells us that the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia*, probably by the *Jazygians* and *Sueves*, who, according to *Dio*, were then in arms. In the year 93, the *Sarmatians* having cut to pieces a *Roman* legion, with their tribune, *Suctonius* relates, that the emperor *Domitian* marched against them in person, but with what success we are not told.

The *Sarmatians*, in the year 119, broke into *Illyricum* with great fury; but, upon the approach of the emperor *Adrian*, they retreated with great precipitation, and encamped on the opposite bank of the *Danube*. The *Batavian* horse, in the *Roman* service, however, swimming, armed as they were, cross the river, the *Sarmatians* were so terrified that they immediately submitted. *Adrian* soon after was chosen umpire to settle some disputes among the *Sarmatian* princes, and upon a complaint from the king of the *Roxolani-ans*, that his pension had been lessened, the emperor ordered the sum that had been formerly allowed him, to be paid without any deduction. About sixteen years after, the *Jazygians* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, and renewed their alliance with *Adrian*.

In the reign of *M. Aurelius*, all the *Sarmatian* nations joined the *Marcomans* against the *Romans*; but were, in the end, most of them cut in pieces. The *Jazygians*, in particular, were thrice defeated by the emperor. But notwithstanding the great losses they sustained in this war, they were so far from suing for peace, that they deposed and threw into prison their king, named *Baudaspes*, because he had sent ambassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire. However, being in the end abandoned by all the other confederates, their new king, named *Zantichus*, came in person, and throwing himself at the emperor's feet,

feet, sued for peace, which was granted, on condition that his subjects should not settle within ten miles of the *Danube*, that they should set at liberty all their prisoners, and send a body of eight thousand to the emperor's army. The prisoners whom they dismissed on this occasion were said to have amounted to an hundred thousand in number, though they had sold many of their captives to their neighbours. The eight thousand *Jazygian* horse were sent into *Britain*; and to the other *Sarmatian* nations lands were allotted in *Pannonia*, *Mæsia*, *Germany*, and even in *Italy*. In the year 215, the emperor *Caracalla* took the name of *Sarmaticus* for some advantages which he had gained over the *Sarmatians*.

About thirteen years after, the *Carpi*, a *Sarmatian* nation, The *Car-*
 who inhabited near the *Carpatian* mountains, being informed *pians de-*
 that the *Goths* received a yearly pension from the *Romans*, mand an
 demanded the like sum to be paid to them. *Menophilus*, go- annual
 vernor of *Mæsia*, treated their ambassadors with great con- pension
 tempt, and after putting them off for seven months, re- from the
 jected their demand, which treatment greatly enraged them, *Romans*,
 but being awed by him, they nevertheless continued quiet
 so long as he commanded in that province. It appears from
 several inscriptions found in *France* and *Spain*, that both the
 emperor *Maximinus* and his son took the name of *Sarmaticus*,
 for some advantages they had gained over the *Sarmatians*.
Menophilus being recalled about ten years after he had re-
 ceived the embassy from the *Carpi*, they soon after broke
 into *Mæsia*, and having ravaged that province, and utterly
 destroyed the city of *Istria*, returned home unmolested.
 About four years after, the emperor *Gordian*, in his march Their dif-
 into the East, overcame the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, and ob- ferent in-
 liged them to abandon *Thrace*, and retire beyond the *Dan-* cursions
nube. In the year 260, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* seized into the
 on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, but were driven out empire,
 by *Regillianus*. About eight years after, *Aurelian*, who was
 afterwards emperor, is said to have gained a signal victory
 over the *Sarmatians* and *Sueves*. The emperor *Probus*, about
 ten years after, marched against them in person; but, at his
 approach, they retired from *Thrace*, where they had com-
 mitted great ravages, and, upon their submission, obtained
 a peace. Upon the death of *Probus*, they ravaged *Illyricum*,
 but the emperor *Carus* marching against them, cut sixteen
 thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass
 the *Danube*, and sue for peace. About seventeen years after
 they again ravaged *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; but were defeated
 with great slaughter by *Dioclesian*. Some years after, the
Sarmatians dwelling near the *Meotis*, broke into the country
 of the *Lazians* in *Cholchis*, and having pillaged great part of
Pontus, advanced into *Paphlagonia*. The *Romans*, under
Constantius, then only a tribune, encamped on the *Halys*,
 and prevented them from passing that river; and *Chrestus*,
 king of the *Chersonese*, having, at the instigation of *Diocle-*
sian,

fian, broken into *Sarmatia*, the *Sarmatians* in *Asia* were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted them on their restoring the booty, and setting at liberty their prisoners. For this eminent piece of service, *Dioclesian* sent rich presents to the inhabitants of the *Chersonese*, declared them free, and exempted them from all tribute. *Zonaras* and *Ammian* make mention of a war which the emperor *Galerius* had with the *Sarmatians*, which is supposed to have happened about the year 305, when the whole nation of the *Corpi* submitted to the *Romans*.

Constantine defeats the Sarmatians.

Constantine the Great, in the year 322, gained several victories over the *Sarmatic* nations, killed one of their kings, named *Raufmodes*, laid waste their country, and brought back with him an incredible number of captives. In the year 332, *Constantine* sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the *Sarmatians*, who were then at war with the *Goths*. The *Goths* were defeated by the *Roman* auxiliaries, and in this war near an hundred thousand of them are said to have perished either by the sword or by famine. The *Sarmatians*, after a peace was concluded between them and the *Goths*, turned their arms against their late allies. *Constantine*, highly provoked at their conduct, attacked and defeated them, and afterwards ravaged their country; but upon their promising to serve the empire with fidelity, they were again pardoned. Two years after, a war broke out betwixt the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, which lasted for several campaigns; when, in the end, the *Sarmatians* were utterly defeated on the banks of the *Marifus*. Their king *Wisimar* being killed, with the flower of their nobility, and great numbers of their men, they were obliged to arm their slaves, who indeed defeated the *Goths*, but turning about afterwards drove their masters out of their native country, and seized on their lands and possessions. *Constantine* received three hundred thousand of the expelled *Sarmatians* within the empire, and some of them took refuge among other barbarians, called *Victobales*, thought by most writers to be the same with the *Quadi Ultramontani*. These *Sarmatians*, in conjunction with the *Quadians*, made an irruption, in 335, into *Pannonia* and *Upper Mæsia*, and, after pillaging these provinces, returned home unmolested. Two years after they returned anew, and great numbers of other barbarians threatening even *Italy* itself, the emperor *Constantius* went to the *Danube*, and prevailed with them to promise to forbear hostilities. The *Danube* being frozen the following winter, they forgot their promise, and ravaged *Mæsia* and *Pannonia*. But in the spring, they were repulsed by the emperor, who entered their territories, and soon obliged them to sue for peace, which was granted them upon their delivering hostages, and setting their prisoners at liberty. *Constantius* also declared them free, appointed one *Zizais*, a prince of their own nation, to reign over them, and re-established them in their antient

The Sarmatians are driven out of their country by their slaves.

They are restored

ancient country, after he had cut off the slaves who had by *Con-*
driven them out. Though the *Sarmatians* thus recovered *stantius*.
their native country, twenty-four years after they had been An. ch.
driven into exile, they were soon forgetful of the services 358.
they had received from the *Romans*, and, about six years af-
ter their restoration, ravaged *Pannonia*. Ten years after-
wards, they again made an irruption into *Pannonia* and *Up-*
per Mæsia, with the *Quadians*, but were defeated by *Theodo-*
sius, afterwards emperor, who likewise routed them four
years after in *Thrace*, with great slaughter. In the year 407,
many of them accompanied the other barbarians who made
an irruption into *Gaul*. Those who remained in *Sarmatia*,
were afterwards subdued by *Attila*, and served in his army.
Upon this, they shook off the yoke of the *Hunns*, and sub-
mitted to the emperor *Marcian*, who allowed them to settle
in the provinces bordering on the *Danube*; which being af-
terwards reduced by the *Goths*, the *Sarmatians*, in process of
time, became one nation with their conquerors. From those
who remained in *Sarmatia* the present *Poles* and *Tartars* are
thought to have sprung *.

* *Jornand. rer. Goth. Ammian. Socrat. Zos. Zonar. Dio.*
Tacit. hist. l. 4. Sueton Domit. August. Scriptor. Theodoret, l. 5.



C H A P. XVI.

Of the Dacians.

According to *Jornandes*, the *Dacians* were of Gothic ex- The ori-
traction, and settling with the other tribes in the gin of the
neighbourhood of the *Palus Meotis*, reduced *Scythia*, *Mæsia*, *Dacians*;
Thrace, and *Dacia*. *Dio* observes, that the same people
were called *Dacians* by the *Romans* and *Getes* by the *Greeks*;
and *Justin* says expressly, that the *Dacians* were the offspring
of the *Getes*. In the more ancient times, the *Daci* were
known by the name of the *Davi*; for the termination *Dava*
was common to most of their towns and cities, and the
names of *Geta* and *Davus* were, among the *Athenians*, pecu-
liar to slaves who usually bore the name of the nation to
which they belonged. The ancient country of the *Dacians*
comprized the present *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, and *Transylvania*.
The whole nation was afterwards transplanted into *Illyricum*,
and the country they held there is the *Dacia* mentioned by
the authors of the fourth and fifth centuries, the *Goths* being
then masters of ancient *Dacia*. The *Dacians* were deemed
the

their customs and manners; the most formidable of all the barbarous nations, not only on account of their courage and strength, but because one *Xamolxis*, an antient philosopher of their nation, had taught them to look upon death not as the end of the present, but as the beginning of a more happy life. They were governed by their own kings, and agreed in customs, manners, laws, and religion, with the other *Gothic* nations.

Their first king mentioned in history is *Oroles*, in whose reign they made war upon the *Bastarnæ*. Having, in a certain encounter, behaved not with their usual courage, they were ordered by their king, as a punishment, to lay their heads when they slept where their feet used to lie, and to serve their wives in the same manner as they were formerly served, till they should by their bravery retrieve their lost reputation.

their ir-
ruptions
into the
empire.

In the reign of *Augustus*, they broke first into the empire; but upon the approach of *Drusus*, who commanded in *Gaul*, they retired into their own country. In the year 69, when the legions in *Mæsia* were called into *Italy* by *Otho*, the *Dacians* crossed the *Danube*, and made themselves masters of part of *Mæsia*; but were soon after driven out by *Mucianus*, who left *Fonteius Agrippa* to defend the province. He being slain the following year by the *Sarmatians*, the *Dacians*, on that occasion, broke into *Pannonia*, but were driven out with great slaughter by *Rubrius Gallus*. The *Dacians*, about the year 86, having ravaged the provinces in their neighbourhood, *Domitian* the emperor resolved to march against them in person. *Duras*, who was then king of the *Dacians*, by an instance of moderation seldom to be met with in history, of his own accord yielded the sovereignty to *Decebalus*, because he thought him better qualified for it than himself; and, according to *Dio*, *Decebalus* was indeed one of the best commanders of his time. *Tacitus* tells us, when speaking of this war, that several *Roman* armies were destroyed in *Mæsia* and *Dacia*, some through the cowardice, others through the rashness of their leaders; and that the legions and troops of the allies were taken prisoners even in the fortified towns. *Domitian*, roused by the continual bad news, hastened into *Illyricum*, with almost all the forces of the empire; and refusing to treat with *Decebalus*, sent against him *Cornelius Fusco*, who was entirely defeated by the barbarians. *Julian*, who succeeded *Fusco*, was more successful, and obliged *Decebalus* to sue for peace; which *Domitian*, upon no terms, would grant him. *Domitian*, however, instead of improving his victory, turned his arms against the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, and being defeated by the former, he was glad to come to an agreement with *Decebalus*, and accordingly offered him more advantageous terms than he could have expected. *Diegis*, the brother of *Decebalus*, having delivered up to the emperor some arms, and a small number of prisoners, received at his hands the diadem, in his

his brother's name. The emperor, besides, agreed to pay *Domitian* *Decebalus* a yearly sum, and sent him, at his request, a great number of artificers of all professions; such artificers especially as were well versed in the art of contriving and making military engines. This war, according to *Eusebius*, lasted four years. *Decebalus* concludes a shameful peace with *Decebalus*.

The yearly sum which *Domitian* had agreed to pay to *Decebalus* was punctually transmitted to him during the reign of that prince, and likewise during the reign of his successor *Nerva*; but *Trajan* refusing to submit to such a shameful tribute, the *Dacians* began to prepare for war, soliciting the neighbouring nations, especially the *Fazygians*, to join them; but they declining to break with the empire, *Decebalus* attacked them, and seized a considerable part of their country. *Decebalus*, A war be-
soon after, turned his arms against the *Romans*, and began, twixt
to plunder the provinces adjoining to the *Danube*. *Trajan* them and
was no sooner informed of this invasion of the *Dacians*, than *Trajan*.
he marched against them with a powerful army, and passing An. ch.
the *Danube*, ravaged their country. *Decebalus* not scrupling 102.
to hazard an engagement, a bloody battle was fought; in
which the *Romans*, after an obstinate struggle, at last gained
the victory. The emperor, pursuing the advantages of his
victory, harrassed the *Dacians* without intermission, so that
Decebalus was at last obliged to sue for peace. The deputies
who were appointed to negotiate a peace not agreeing, *Tra-*
jan continued his ravages, and advanced to the neighbour-
hood of *Zermizegethusa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. *Maximus*,
one of the emperor's generals, at the same time reducing
several places, and taking the sister of *Decebalus* prisoner,
the *Dacians* were at length forced to submit to the hard
terms which the emperor thought fit to prescribe. *Deceba-*
lus, three years after, renewed the war; but being overcome
by *Trajan* in several encounters, he chose rather to put an
end to his life than live in subjection. Upon the death of *Decebalus*, *Dacia* was reduced to a Roman province, in which
the emperor built several castles; and planted a great num-
ber of colonies. *Adrian*, the successor of *Trajan*, was for
abandoning *Dacia*; but the regard he had for the *Roman* ci-
tizens, who had settled there in great numbers, made him
alter his resolution. The *Dacians*, in the year 138, the first
of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, attempted to shake off the
yoke; but their revolt was soon quelled by the *Roman* gene-
rals. In 168, they joined the *Alemans*, *Marcomans*, *Qua-*
adians, and *Sarmatians*, against the empire; but the emperors
M. Aurelius and *L. Verus* marching against them, they sub-
mitted, though not till after they were defeated. In 180,
twelve thousand *Dacians* being driven out of their country
by other barbarians, marched to join the *Alemans*, then at
war with the *Romans*; but were prevailed upon by the Ro-
man governor to settle in another part of *Dacia*. When
Dacia was conquered by *Trajan*, great numbers of the *Da-*
cians

Dacia, beyond the *Danube*, abandoned by *Aurelian*.

cians took refuge among the neighbouring barbarians; and afterwards, in conjunction with them, made inroads into the empire. In the year 265, the *Goths* and other barbarous nations made themselves masters of *Dacia*. About nine years after, it was in great part recovered by *Aurelian*; but he, finding that the charge of maintaining it would overbalance all advantages received from it, withdrew the troops appointed to defend it, and also removed the inhabitants into *Moesia* and *Dardania*, which he made a new province, and called *Dacia*. This province lay on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and comprized part of the present *Bulgaria* and *Servia*. The antient *Dacia*, abandoned by *Aurelian*, seems to have been seized on by the *Goths* *.

* August. Script. Oros. Fest. Eutrop. Gruter. Goltz. Dio. Tacit. Agr. vit. Sueton. Justin. l. 32. Jornand. rer. get.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Bulgarians.

The origin of the *Bulgarians*.

THE *Bulgarians*, according to *Eunodius*, the most antient writer who mentions them, were a brave and numerous nation, enured to the toils of war, and ever ready to prefer death to slavery. In antient times they dwelt near the *Volga*, on the North side of the *Caspian Sea*, whence their country was called *Volgaria*, and they *Volgari*; which names, in process of time, were changed into *Bulgaria* and *Bulgari*. *Paulus Diaconus* calls the present territories of *Astracan* and *Casan* by the name of *Bulgaria Magna*. The *Bulgarians*, according to some writers, were of *Gothic*, and according to others, of *German* extraction; but as their language differs widely from the languages of both these nations, others, with greater appearance of truth, conclude them descendants from neither, and think that they came originally from *Asiatic Scythia*, and the countries lying North of the *Caspian Sea*.

They break into *Thrace*. An. Ch. 485.

In the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, about the year 485, they arrived on the banks of the *Danube*, under the conduct of their king *Bladinus*. They soon after broke into *Thrace*, under a chief named *Libertem*, with a design to settle there; but were routed and obliged to pass the *Danube* by *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, afterwards king of *Italy*. About four years after, they again made an irruption into *Thrace*, and defeated the *Roman* troops under *Aristus*, with the loss of 4000 men,

men, and all their baggage. Within three years, they again invaded *Thrace*, and great part of *Illyricum*, and carried off an immense booty, without meeting with the least opposition. As they continued quiet after this about thirty-eight years, it is probable they had entered into some agreement with the empire; but in the twelfth year of *Justinian the Great* they passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two kings, *Vulger* and *Draggo*, and laid waste all *Mæsia*, defeating the *Roman* troops with great slaughter, who attempted to oppose them. Not long after, however, they were forced to a battle by one *Acum*, a *Hunn*, who routed them, killed both their kings, and obliged them to abandon their booty; but he being afterwards surprized by a party of them in *Thrace*, and taken prisoner, with *Constantine*, *Justinian* was obliged to ransom the two generals with an immense sum. *Thrace* was again invaded by the *Bulgarians* the year following; but they were totally defeated by *Mundus*, one of the *Gepidæ*, whom *Justinian* had appointed governor of *Illyricum*.

Two of
their
kings slain
An. Ch.
539.

No mention is made of the *Bulgarians* from this time till the reign of *Constantine*, which began in 668. During his reign they committed great ravages in the provinces bordering on the *Danube*, and, by surprizing the *Roman* army on their march, gained a complete victory over them; in consequence of which the emperor submitted to pay them a yearly pension, on condition that they should forbear hostilities against the *Romans*.

Constantine agrees
to pay
them a
pension.
An. Ch.
678.

About this time, *Alczecus*, one of the chiefs of the *Bulgarians*, entered *Italy*, with a body of his countrymen, and offered his service to *Grimoald*, king of the *Lombards*. *Grimoald* thinking this reinforcement might be very serviceable to his son *Romualdus*, duke of *Benevento*, then threatened by the *Greeks*, sent *Alczecus* thither. *Romualdus* allotted the *Bulgarians* several cities; but obliged *Alczecus* to relinquish the title of duke, and content himself with that of gastaldus, or count.

According to some writers, *Constantine* even allowed the *Bulgarians* to settle in *Lower Mæsia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*; but others suppose them to have settled there several years before *Constantine's* reign. However that be, *Justinian II.* not only refused to stand to the articles of the treaty which his father had concluded with the *Bulgarians*, but, entering their country in a hostile manner, laid it waste far and near, and obliged the inhabitants either to submit to him, and pay unreasonable contributions, or to abandon their dwellings. The emperor refusing to hearken to any terms of peace, but those of an entire submission, the *Bulgarians*, in despair, attacked the *Romans*, and having routed them, seized on all the passes, and obliged *Justinian* to restore the prisoners and booty he had taken, and confirm the treaty his father had made with them, to purchase a retreat.

Justinian
is defeated
by the
Bulgarians.

The

The *Bulgarians*, in the year 713, during the reign of *Philippicus*, broke unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Constantinople*, and returned home with a great many captives, and much booty. Six years after, *Anastasius II.* who had been deposed, fled to *Tribelin*, king of the *Bulgarians*, from whom he obtained a considerable army, which he led to *Constantinople*. *Anastasius* had assured the *Bulgarians*, and believed himself, that the inhabitants would gladly receive him; but the citizens making a vigorous resistance, and the emperor *Leo* at the same time raising a numerous army, the *Bulgarians*, provoked against *Anastasius*, seized him, and delivered him up to *Leo*, by whom he was put to death.

Constantine Copronymus put to flight by them.

They are defeated in *Thrace*.
An. Ch. 763.

Constantine outwitted by their king.

The *Bulgarians* from this time continued quiet till the year 750, when having remonstrated to the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, concerning some forts that he had built near their territories, and receiving an insulting answer, they suddenly broke into the empire, and after committing great ravages returned home with an immense booty. The emperor, not long after, ravaged their country in return; but being surprized in a narrow pass by the *Bulgarians*, he was put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter to the very gates of *Constantinople*.

About thirteen years after, a new war was kindled between the same emperor and the *Bulgarians*. The emperor pretended to revenge a rebellion of the *Bulgarians*, who about that time, upon what provocation is uncertain, had put to death all the princes of the blood royal among them, and raised to the throne one *Telesis*, a person of a mean descent. The *Bulgarians* engaged the imperial army on the borders of *Thrace*, and after fighting desperately for eight hours were entirely defeated. The emperor returning directly to *Constantinople*, the *Bulgarians*, upon his retreat, put their new king to death, but on what motive is uncertain. They afterwards sued for peace, which they obtained by submitting to very disadvantageous terms. Two years after they broke the peace, and twelve thousand of them made an irruption into the empire; but were all cut off to a man by *Constantine*. *Elerich*, king of the *Bulgarians*, sensible that the emperor maintained a private correspondence with many of his subjects, and by that means had gained the late victory, pretended to the emperor that he desired to lead a private life at *Constantinople*, and at the same time desired to know what friends the *Romans* had among the *Bulgarians*. *Constantine*, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of his private correspondents, whom *Elerich* caused all to be put to death. The emperor, to be revenged of the *Bulgarians*, spent the winter in warlike preparations, and took the field early in the spring; but before he could execute his designs, he was seized with a fever, of which he died. His son, *Leo III.* having married *Irene*, the daughter of the king of the

the *Bulgarians*, concluded a peace with them in the beginning of his reign, and about three years after granted his protection to *Elerick*, who was expelled by his subjects.

The *Bulgarians* in 791 having made an irruption into the empire, were attacked by *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, the successor of *Leo*; but what was the success of the expedition is uncertain. The following year the *Bulgarians* were again attacked by the emperor, who was assured of success by some astrologers; but omitting the proper means to obtain it, he was defeated with great slaughter. Two years after, *Car-lanes*, king of the *Bulgarians*, demanded a tribute of the emperor, threatening, if it was refused him, to come as far as the golden gate of *Constantinople*, and take it by force. *Constantine* refused the demand, and entered the territories of the *Bulgarians*, with a formidable army, which threw them into such a panic, that they fled in confusion; but the emperor, instead of taking advantage of the consternation they were in, returned to *Constantinople*.

The emperor defeated by the *Bulgarians*.
An. Ch. 792.

In the year 806, the *Bulgarians* cut off a party of the *Romans*, and seized eleven hundred pounds weight of gold, which they were escorting to *Strogmon*. Soon after, under the conduct of their king *Crumus*, they surprized *Sandica*, and put the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword; on which account the emperor *Nicephorus*, the following year, invaded their territories, which he ravaged with great barbarity. *Crumus* having twice sued for peace without any effect, surprized the *Roman* camp; and having forced it in spite of all opposition, cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, whose skull *Crumus* caused to be preserved, and used ever after instead of a cup.

Nicephorus killed by them, and his army defeated.
An. Ch. 811.

A peace followed betwixt the *Bulgarians* and *Romans*; but a few years after some *Roman* prisoners having escaped from the *Bulgarians*, and returned home, *Crumus* threatened to renew the war, if they were not restored. The emperor *Michael* was inclined to gratify the request of the *Bulgarians*; but at the persuasion of the patriarch he gave their ambassadors a denial. *Crumus*, upon the return of his ambassadors, entered the *Roman* territories, which he ravaged, making himself master also of *Mesembria*, and several other towns. The emperor marched against the invaders, and, in consequence of several successful skirmishes, was forced by his troops to risk a battle, in which they were entirely defeated. The *Bulgarians*, elated with their victory, pursued their ravages without controul, destroying all with fire and sword almost to the very gates of *Constantinople*. *Leo*, who, by the resignation of *Michael*, had succeeded to the empire, endeavoured at first to restrain them by fair means; but *Crumus* disdainfully rejecting his overtures for an accommodation, he marched against him, and risked another engagement, in which the *Romans* were defeated. The *Bulgarians* falling in a disorderly manner upon the baggage, *Leo* rallied his troops, and

They gain a victory over the emperor *Michael*.
An. Ch. 813.

They are
defeated
by *Leo*.

and at length gained the victory, killing *Crumus*, according to some writers, with his own hand ; though others say that *Crumus* was wounded only, and escaped. The *Bulgarians* were so disheartened with this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after.

Crumus was succeeded by *Mortagon*, who hearing that the emperor *Michael II.* was besieged by *Thomas*, a rebel, marched to the relief of the city, even though the emperor had declined accepting his assistance. *Thomas* hearing of the approach of the *Bulgarians*, went and attacked them, but was put to flight with great slaughter. *Mortagon*, instead of pursuing the fugitives, returned home with the booty he found in the enemy's camp.

Simeon de-
feats a
Roman
army.
An. Ch.
877.

The *Bulgarians*, probably in virtue of a treaty between them and the *Romans*, continued quiet till the year 877, when a war broke out between them and *Leo V.* *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, complained to the emperor that his subjects who traded in the empire were oppressed with new and grievous impositions, the mart of trade having been lately removed from *Constantinople* to *Thessalonica*. *Leo* paying no regard to the complaint of *Simeon*, he entered the *Roman* territories, at the head of a powerful army, and destroyed all with fire and sword as far as *Macedon*. On the borders of that province he defeated a *Roman* army, and having taken a great many prisoners, sent them, with their noses cut off, to *Constantinople*. *Leo*, highly provoked at this barbarity, prevailed upon the *Ungri*, or *Hungarians*, to break into the country of the *Bulgarians* on one side, while he invaded it on the other. The *Hungarians* being successful in their incursion, *Simeon*, to divert the imperial troops from attacking him, sued for peace ; upon which the emperor withdrew his army. *Simeon* no sooner found the danger removed, than he threw *Leo's* ambassadors into prison, and falling unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*, gave them a total overthrow ; after which he ravaged their country with the utmost cruelty and barbarity. *Leo* remonstrated by another embassy, against the breach of the treaty ; but *Simeon* declaring that he would continue hostilities, unless the *Bulgarians* taken prisoners in the late war were set at liberty, *Leo*, to obtain a peace, agreed to that proposal. *Simeon*, nevertheless, still making new demands, *Leo* sent a powerful army against him ; but his troops being defeated, he was obliged to consent to a peace, upon the best terms he could obtain.

He obliges
the empe-
ror to
grant him
an honour-
able peace
An. Ch.
897.

Upon the death of *Leo*, the *Bulgarians* sent ambassadors to his brother and successor *Alexander*, to renew the treaty concluded in the late reign ; but *Alexander* dismissing the ambassadors in an ignominious manner, *Simeon* invaded the *Roman* dominions with a mighty army, and after ravaging *Thrace*, advanced to *Constantinople*, which he hoped to surprize ; but after several attempts he was repulsed by the inhabitants.

The

The following year the *Bulgarians* broke anew into *Thrace*, and laid siege to *Adrianople*. *Constantine*, the son of *Alexander*, was then emperor, and the whole administration was trusted to his mother *Zoe*, who having concluded a peace with the *Saracens*, sent a powerful army against *Simeon*. The *Romans* being again defeated with great slaughter, *Simeon* resolved to march to *Constantinople*; but two of his detachments being cut off by the imperial troops, he returned home with his immense booty. *Simeon*, about five years after, again invaded the territories of the empire, and defeated the *Romans*, not far from *Constantinople*; soon after which the *Bulgarians* forced *Adrianople* to surrender. *Simeon*, the following spring, laid waste *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and made himself master of most of the strong holds in those provinces. At length he appeared before *Constantinople*; but having some conferences with the patriarch, and *Romanus*, who had caused himself to be acknowledged the colleague of *Constantine*, he was prevailed upon by their pathetic speeches to agree to a peace; and having received many rich presents from *Romanus*, he returned home, not suffering his men to commit the least disorder in the provinces through which they passed. *Simeon*, not long after, turned his arms against the *Chrobati*, a neighbouring nation; but he was by them overthrown, with the loss of his whole army, and was so affected with grief that he died a few days after. His eldest son, *Michael*, whom he had by his first wife, having been compelled by him to take the monastic habit, *Peter*, the eldest of his two sons by his second wife, was declared his successor; and, as he was under age, *George Sufurbulus*, his mother's brother, was appointed guardian.

As *Bulgaria* was at this time distressed with a famine, and the neighbouring nations were threatening to fall jointly on the young king, *Sufurbulus*, being apprehensive lest the *Romans* should also join in the confederacy, advised *Peter* to march directly with the whole strength of his kingdom against them. The king followed this advice, and broke into *Macedon*, at the head of a powerful army; but upon the approach of *Romanus*, he dispatched a monk to him, with proposals of peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, and *Mary*, the grand-daughter of *Romanus*, by his son *Christopher*, was given in marriage to *Peter*, the nuptials being celebrated with great pomp at *Constantinople*.

Peter, soon after his return home, discovering a conspiracy formed against him by his brother *John*, and several other persons of distinction, caused his brother to be confined in a castle, and the other conspirators to be put to death. *John* soon escaped to *Constantinople*, and *Michael*, the elder brother, laid claim to the crown, and was joined by great numbers of *Bulgarians*. Upon his death, which happened soon after, his followers broke into the *Roman* dominions,

nions, and after ravaging *Macedon* and *Greece*, took possession of *Nicopolis*, and settled there. *Peter* dying soon after the emperor *Romanus*, his two sons, whom he had sent as hostages for renewing the peace with the new emperor, returned home, and with much difficulty got the better of a powerful faction.

Bulgaria
subdued
by the
Russi.

In the year 970, the *Russi*, who inhabited the present *Podolia*, broke into *Bulgaria*, and after ravaging the country returned home loaded with booty. The year following they made another incursion, and having defeated the *Bulgarians*, and taken the two sons of *Peter* prisoners, resolved to settle in *Bulgaria*, *Calocyus*, a *Roman* fugitive, engaging to resign that country to them, and to pay them an annual pension, if they would raise him to the imperial throne. This they readily undertook, and having drawn to their assistance, the *Patzinacæ*, a *Sarmatic* nation, with the *Hunns*, and some *Bulgarians* whom they could trust, they broke into *Thrace* with an army of 308,000 men, and sat down before *Adrianople*, where they were, however, entirely defeated by a small body of *Romans*, and afterwards obliged to abandon *Bulgaria*. The *Bulgarians* now readily submitted to their deliver *Zimisces*, the emperor; but upon the news of his death, they revolted from the *Romans*, and vested with the supreme power four brothers, *David*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Samuel*, the sons of an eminent count among them. *David* died soon after he was invested with the sovereign power. *Moses* was killed in the siege of a place called *Serræ*; and *Aaron*, being suspected of favouring the *Romans*, was murdered by *Samuel*, with all his children, *Bladisthlabus* excepted, who was saved by *Gabriel*, the son of *Samuel*.

The *Bulgarians*
submit to
Zimisces.

Samuel,
their king,
ravages
the *Roman*
provinces.

The whole power being now lodged with *Samuel*, who was a warlike and ambitious prince, he made frequent incursions into the *Roman* territories, and not only ravaged *Thrace* and *Macedon*, but likewise *Thessaly*, *Greece*, and the *Peloponnese*, carrying off an incredible number of captives, and among them all the inhabitants of *Larissa*. The emperor *Basilus* having put an end to a civil war in which he was engaged, resolved to punish the *Bulgarians*, entered their country with a powerful army, leaving a strong detachment behind him, under the command of *Leo Melissenus*, to secure the streights. As he was advancing against *Sandica*, *Stephen*, another of his generals, who was an irreconcilable enemy to *Leo*, persuaded the emperor that *Leo* had set out for *Constantinople*, with the design of usurping the purple. *Basilus* giving credit to this calumny, immediately retreated, but was suddenly attacked by *Samuel*, and routed with great loss.

As *Basilus*, the two following years, was prevented from pursuing the war with the *Bulgarians*, by intestine broils, *Samuel* harassed the neighbouring provinces with daily incursions. Tranquility was no sooner restored to the empire, than

than *Basilus* made great preparations for entirely subduing the *Bulgarians*. *Samuel*, in the mean time, by a stratagem, made himself master of *Thessalonica*, and afterwards over-ran provinces not only *Thessaly*, *Bæotia*, and *Attica*, but penetrated into of the very heart of the *Peloponnese*, destroying all with fire and empire in sword. *Nicephorus Uranus* being sent against him with the vanguard by flower of the *Roman* army, came up with them at the river *Spercheus*, and passing the river in the dead of the night, surprized them in their camp, and routed them with great slaughter. *Samuel* and his son *Romanus* were dangerously wounded, and only escaped being taken prisoners by lying the whole day among the dead bodies. When night arrived they stole away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and thence to *Riadus*, and afterwards into *Bulgaria*.

The year following the emperor entered *Bulgaria*, by the *Balgaria* way of *Philippopolis*, and having taken several castles and invaded strong holds, detached part of his army against the *Bulgarian* by *Basilus* cities, beyond mount *Hæmus*, several of which were then *Ilus*; reduced. The year after, *Basilus* made a second inroad into *Bulgaria*, by the way of *Thessalonica*, took some cities, burnt a great number of villages, and laid the country waste far and near. The city of *Beræa* was delivered up to him by the governor *Dobromerus*, and after an obstinate siege he took *Servia* by storm. Upon his return to *Constantinople*, he generously honoured *Nicolas*, the governor of *Servia*, whom he had taken prisoner, with the dignity of patrician, for his gallant defence of that city. But *Nicolas* preferring the service of his master to the honours he received from the emperor, fled from *Constantinople*, and soon after, in conjunction with *Samuel*, laid siege to *Servia*. The emperor hastened to the relief of the place, and defeating the *Bulgarians*, took *Nicolas* a second time prisoner, when he ordered him to be kept in confinement at *Constantinople*. *Basilus* then marched into *Thessaly*, and recovered the places held there by the *Bulgarians*. The spring following he again entered *Bulgaria*, and, after a siege of eight months, took *Bodyna* by storm. In his return he defeated the *Bulgarians* under the command of *Samuel*, at the river *Axius*; after which action a complete victory was gained by *Romanus*, the son of the late king *Peter*, who was now a plebeian vicar, and governor of *Scopia*; surrendered that city to him, for which service he was created a patrician. *Samuel* the *Bulgarian* now applied himself solely to guard the passes, but without success; for the *Romans* took several important places, and made about 15,000 prisoners, whom the emperor treated with great inhumanity, causing their eyes to be put out, and assigning a guide, who had one eye left, to every hundred of them, sent them in that condition to *Samuel*.

The king of the *Bulgarians*, already broken with age, *Samuel* was so shocked at this dismal spectacle, that he fell into a deep swoon, and died two days after, leaving the throne to his son *Gabriel*, whom he had by a captive of *Larissa*. In his succession

He is
murdered.

the beginning of the reign of *Gabriel*, the emperor still pursued his conquests in *Bulgaria*, and made himself master of several places; but a strong detachment of his army being defeated not far from *Strumpitza*, he marched back to *Theſſalonica*, taking ſeveral caſtles in his route. During the winter, *Gabriel* was killed while he was hunting, by *Bladiſthlabus*, the ſon of *Aaron*, whoſe life he had formerly preſerved. *Bladiſthlabus*, being proclaimed king by the *Bulgarians*, immediately acquainted the emperor with his promotion, acknowledging himſelf at the ſame time a ſubject and vaſſal of the empire. *Baſilius*, however, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, returned early in the ſpring into *Bulgaria*, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral fortified towns and caſtles.

Bulgaria
again in-
vaded by
the empe-
ror;

Mean while, *Bladiſthlabus* made an offer of ſubmitting entirely to the terms of *Baſilius*, and the *Bulgarians*, by letters, owned themſelves his ſubjects and vaſſals. But the emperor being informed that neither the king nor his ſubjects were ſincere, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and, having laid waſte the countries of *Oſtrobuz*, *Gofens*, and *Pelagonia*, reduced *Achris*, the place where the *Bulgarian* kings uſually reſided. Leaving part of his army in *Pelagonia*, he marched with the reſt againſt the neighbouring provinces. But he was ſcarce gone when his troops in *Pelagonia* were drawn into an ambuſcade by *Ibatzes*, and entirely cut off. *Baſilius*, irritated by this loſs, laid ſeveral cities in aſhes, ravaged the country, and put out the eyes of a great number of his priſoners, whom he ſent to *Bladiſthlabus*. The *Bulgarians*, on the other hand, by frequent ſallies from the woods, cut great numbers of his men in pieces. Not long after, *Bladiſthlabus*, having drawn together all the forces he could muſter, began his march for the frontiers of the empire; which obliged *Baſilius* to raiſe the ſiege of *Caſtoria*. The *Bulgarians* retreated at the approach of *Baſilius*, who ſending a detachment after them, put many of them to the ſword, and took ſeveral priſoners. Upon his return, in the end of the campaign to *Conſtantinople*, *Bladiſthlabus* immediately laid ſiege to *Dyrrachium*; but the garriſon making a vigorous reſiſtance, he was ſlain in the aſſault.

who
makes an
entire
conqueſt
of the
country.
An. Ch.
1017.

The *Bulgarians*, who had hitherto defended themſelves during a war of upwards of twenty years, againſt the whole ſtrength of the empire, now ſent deputies to *Baſilius*, with offers of a total and unfeigned ſubmiſſion. *Baſilius* haſtening into *Bulgaria* was met on the confines by the governors of thirty-fix caſtles, who delivered up their fortrefſes to him. Their example was followed by moſt of the chief men of *Bulgaria*, and even by the wife of the deceased king, who coming to the emperor, with three of her ſons and her ſix daughters, renounced all claim to the kingdom of *Bulgaria*. The other ſons of hers, who had fled to the *Ceraunic* mountains, being alſo compelled to ſubmit by famine, *Baſilius* received

received them in the most obliging manner, raised *Profranus*, who seems to have been the eldest, to the dignity of *Magister*, and the other five to that of patrician. At *Achris* he was received by the *Bulgarians* with loud acclamations; and having got possession of the immense treasure of the *Bulgarian* princes, he bestowed the gold as a donative upon his soldiers. *Ibatzes*, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who had distinguished himself during the war, still held out against the emperor, and fortified himself in a strong castle in the mountains; but, after some time, he was seized and brought to the emperor. *Basilus* then making a progress through *Bulgaria* caused several castles to be demolished, lest the *Bulgarians*, seizing on them, should attempt to shake off the yoke. The conquest of this country was completed by *Basilus* in the year 1017, being the forty-fourth year of his reign.

The *Bulgarians* bore the yoke patiently till 1032, when they revolted under the conduct of *Deleanus*, and being joined by the *Dyrrachians*, who had also revolted, they defeated the imperial troops, and laid siege to *Thessalonica*. They were, however, soon reduced, and from that time continued subject to the emperors of *Constantinople*, whom they powerfully assisted both against the *Latins* and the *Turks*: on which account they were allowed to chuse a king of their own nation, who, nevertheless, owned himself a vassal of the empire. In 1206, *John*, king of *Bulgaria*, defeated the *Latins* under their first emperor, *Baldwin*, while they were besieging *Adrianople*, and took the emperor himself prisoner. At *Ternova*, the capital of *Bulgaria*, he caused his hands and feet to be cut off, and threw him thus maimed into an adjoining valley, where, three days after, he expired, his body being afterwards devoured by the wild beasts and birds of prey.

About 69 years after, *Cea*, prince of *Bulgaria*, was defeated by *Stephen*, king of *Hungary*, who obliged the *Bulgarians* to acknowledge him for their king. The *Bulgarians*, by the assistance of the *Greek* emperors, shook off the *Hungarian* yoke; and, in 1369, under the conduct of *Sasmenos*, their king, attempted the recovery of *Adrianople* from the *Turks*, but were utterly defeated by *Amurath I.* who soon after obliged *Sasmenos* to purchase a peace by yielding to him the greatest part of his kingdom, and promising to hold the rest as his vassal and tributary. *Bajazet*, the successor of *Amurath*, invaded *Bulgaria* without the least provocation, and, in 1396, reduced it to a province of the *Turkish* empire, in which state it has continued ever since*.

reduced to
a province
of the
Turkish
empire.

* Cedren. Zonar. Curopalat. in Leon. Theophan. ad an. Mic. An. Ch.
II. Camill. Peregrin. dissert. de duc. de Benevent. Payl. Diac. 1396.
Ennod. in Panegyri. Theod.

C H A P. XVIII.

The history of the Ostrogoths in Italy, till their expulsion by Narses,

Theodoric
acknow-
ledged by
the empe-
ror as
king of
Italy.

THEODORIC, upon the death of *Odoacer*, was acknowledged by the *Italians* as their king and deliverer. *Anastasius*, the emperor of the East, not only allowed him to wear the royal ensigns ; but, according to *Procopius*, *Jordanes*, and *Ennodius*, transferred to him all his rights and claims to that country. Though *Theodoric* was master of all *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewise of *Rhætia*, *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, *Istria*, and great part of *Suevia*, *Pannonia*, and *Gaul*, and governed *Spain* as guardian to his young nephew *Amalaric*, he did not, however, assume the title of emperor, but contented himself with that of king. He retained in his new dominions the same laws, the same magistrates, the same polity, and the same distribution of provinces. The *Goths*, as appears from *Cassiodore*, were no less scrupulous in the choice of the magistrates who were to distribute justice in the small towns and villages, than of the greater officers. Of these inferior magistrates some were called *Cancellarii*, others *Canonicarii*, *Comites referendarii*, &c.

His mild
and pru-
dent go-
vernment.

Theodoric also contented himself with the same tributes and taxes which had been levied by the emperors ; but was far more ready than they had ever been to remit them on occasion of any public calamity. He not only forgave those *Italians*, or, as they were still called in his time, *Romans*, who had stood by *Odoacer* to the last, but preferred them to the first employments. Those, however, who, after declaring for him, had revolted to the enemy, he punished according to the *Roman* law, taking from them the power of making testaments ; but in the third year of his reign he was prevailed on by the bishops of *Milan* and *Pavia* to forgive them, and publish a general pardon.

Though he himself held the tenets of *Arius*, he allowed his subjects to profess, without molestation, the faith of the council of *Nice*, and even gave full liberty to the *Goths* themselves to renounce, if they pleased, the doctrine of *Arius*, and embrace the *Catholic* faith. He suffered none to be chosen for the government of the church, but persons of known probity ; and, by several edicts, prohibited and annulled all simoniacal elections and ordinations of bishops. *Theodoric* is commended by his cotemporary writers for his piety, equity, moderation, and the tender regard he had for the welfare of his subjects. He frequently heard and declared causes himself, according to the strictest justice. He took upon himself the trouble of settling the prices of all necessary

necessary commodities, and affizing weights and measures. In imposing tributes he had a particular regard to the condition and circumstances of those who were to pay them. To the poor he was most liberal and generous; and, as *Cassiodore* assures us, made it in a manner his chief study to relieve the widows and orphans.

The first care of *Theodoric*, after he became master of *Italy*, He gene- was to re-people *Liguria*, great part of the inhabitants hav- rously of- ing been carried into captivity by the *Burgundians*, during fers to his war with *Odoacer*. He sent *Epiphanius*, the bishop, to ransom *Gundebald*, king of the *Burgundians*, to treat of ransoming his captive the captives. The prelate being held in the greatest venera- subjects. tion by the king, persuaded him, by his pious exhortations, to set at liberty such of the *Ligurians* as, through fear or famine, had delivered themselves up to the *Burgundians*, and to accept of a small ransom for those who had been taken in battle. The holy prelate, in his way home, passed with his captives through *Geneva*, where he prevailed upon king *Godigiseles* to follow the example of his brother *Gundebald*, and then returned in a kind of triumph to *Theodoric*, who generously relieved the most indigent of the captives, and sent them all back to their respective homes.

Mean while, a war broke out between *Theodoric* and the A war emperor *Anastasius*, on the following occasion: *Pitzia*, one between of *Theodoric's* generals, who resided at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, him and had given assistance to a *Goth*, named *Mundo*, chief of a nu- *Anastasius* merous body of robbers, who had seized a castle on the *Da- An.: Ch.* *nube*, and caused himself to be acknowledged king by his 493. followers. By the assistance brought him by *Pitzia*, he had defeated ten thousand *Romans* in the neighbourhood of *Margus*, now *Galombeez* in *Servia*; and as he acknowledged himself a vassal of *Theodoric*, the emperor, in resentment, sent a fleet the following year with eight thousand men on board to ravage the coasts of *Italy*. These landing in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, were soon driven on board their ships, but, nevertheless, carried off with them a considerable booty. *Theodoric* having formed a design of conquering *Gaul*, and re-uniting it to the empire of *Italy*, was desirous of coming to an accommodation with the emperor, and sending embassadors to *Constantinople*, the peace was again The peace renewed.

His attention was next engaged by the civil dissensions in *Rome*, where, upon the death of pope *Anastasius*, two persons were chosen by two different and powerful factions to succeed him. After both parties were tired of their disputes, in which several persons had lost their lives, they had recourse to *Theodoric*, who ordained that he should be acknowledged as lawful bishop who had been first elected, and had the majority of voices. On this decision *Symmachus* was confirmed in the see; but some of the partisans of *Laurentius*, the other competitor, still holding out, *Theodoric* called a

*Theodoric
visits
Rome.*

council, and, to appease the troubles in *Rome*, went thither from *Ravenna*, the usual place of his residence. He made his entry into *Rome* with such pomp and magnificence as had not been seen for many ages, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Having confirmed to the *Romans* all the privileges they had enjoyed under the emperors his predecessors, and assured them of his protection, he spent several days in viewing the antiquities of the city, when he declared, that, though he had expected to see wonderful things, the stateliness and magnificence of the public buildings had, nevertheless, far surpassed his expectation. He contributed large sums for the repairing of the walls, and of some other decayed buildings. Having composed the affairs both of the church and state, at *Rome*, in the best manner he could, he returned to *Ravenna*; when being informed that the *Bulgarians* had broke into *Pannonia*, and surprized *Sirmium*, he dispatched *Pitzia* with a considerable army against them. That general having, in one campaign, driven them quite out of *Pannonia*, *Theodoric* conferred the government of the province on one count *Colosseus*, who, it appears from his commission in *Cassiodore*, had the chief direction both in civil and military affairs.

His war
with the
*Burgun-
dians*;

and *Clo-
vis*, king
of the
Franks.

Theodoric now began to put in execution his favourite design of conquering *Gaul*; and resolving to begin with the *Burgundians*, he entered into an alliance against them with *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*. He having defeated *Gundebald*, the *Burgundian* king, shared his conquests with *Theodoric*, who, because his troops did not arrive in time to be present at the action, paid a sum of money to his ally. For this sum *Theodoric*, without wasting the blood of his subjects, acquired the city of *Marseilles*, and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Upper Rhine*. Some years after, a war breaking out between *Clovis* and *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*, in *Gaul*, *Theodoric* marched in person to the assistance of the latter. *Clovis*, in the mean time, having killed *Alaric*, and defeated his army, *Theodoric*, jealous of his growing power, ordered the *Ostrogoths* to join him from all parts, and entering *Gaul*, obliged the *Franks* to abandon the siege of *Carcassone*. The city of *Arles* was besieged the following year by the *Franks*; but they were defeated with great slaughter by the army of *Theodoric*, under the command of count *Hibba*. A peace was soon after concluded between *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, by which the *Franks* were allowed to keep the countries which they had taken from the *Visigoths*, *Theodoric* having attempted in vain to recover them. *Theodoric*, however, still held the provinces which he had before possessed in *Gaul*, and appropriated to himself the city of *Arles*, for the charges he had been at in the war which he had undertaken in defence of the *Visigoths*.

Amalaric,

Amalaric, the young son of *Alaric* by the daughter of *The-* He assists
odoric, was at this time their king; but they soon after con- his grand-
ferring the crown on *Gaselic*, the son of *Alaric* by a concu- son *Ama-*
bine, *Theodoric*, who was guardian to *Amalaric*, dispatched *laric*, king
Hibba, or *Ibba*, into *Gaul*, with a numerous army, to drive of the
out the usurper. Upon the approach of *Hibba*, *Gaselic* fled *Visigoths*.
into *Spain*; but hearing that *Hibba* was marching after him,
he crossed over to *Africa*, and took refuge in the court of
Thrasimund, king of the *Vandals*, who, though he had mar-
ried the sister of *Theodoric*, received him in a friendly man-
ner. *Gaselic*, not long after, returned privately to *Gaul*,
was joined by some leading men among the *Visigoths*, and
being supplied with money by *Thrasimund*, levied an army,
and re-entered *Spain*; but being defeated by *Hibba*, he fled
back into *Gaul*, and there died of grief. *Theodoric* having He forces
settled the affairs of his grandson in *Spain*, turned his arms the *Ale-*
against the *Alemans*, whom, in the end, he obliged to sub- *mans* to
mit to an annual tribute. He also subdued the inhabitants pay tri-
of *Suevia*, and appointed one *Fridelad* to be their governor. bute.
Theodoric, not long after, sullied his glorious reign by un-
justly putting to death the celebrated *Boetius*, and *Symmachus*, The phi-
his father-in-law, two of the greatest men of *Rome*. *Boe-* losopher
tius was descended of one of the most antient and illustrious *Boetius*
families of *Rome*, which of late years had lived in the great- unjustly
est splendor. He was still more distinguished by his morals put to
and learning, than by the nobleness of his birth. After death by
studying philosophy eighteen years at *Athens*, he returned to him.
Rome, and became so eminent that he was acknowledged as
the greatest philosopher and greatest divine of his age. By
espousing, against the great men at court, the cause of those
who were unjustly accused or oppressed, he drew upon him-
self many enemies, who, in the end, compassed his ruin, by
suborning three infamous men to accuse him of high trea-
son; namely, of attempting to raise the power of the senate
above that of the king, and preventing an informer from
bringing an impeachment of treason against the senators.
Theodoric, though no stranger to the infamous characters of
the accusers, yet, upon their deposition, ordered, without
further enquiry, the person of whom he had hitherto enter-
tained the highest opinion, to be put under arrest, and soon
after confiscated his estate, and banished him to *Pavia*,
where he wrote that excellent book, *De consolatione philoso-*
phiæ. *Symmachus*, father-in-law to *Boetius*, a man of extra-
ordinary parts and learning, who had discharged the first
employments with an unblemished character, was also ac-
cused of treason, and banished to *Pavia*. Soon after, to the
great surprize of all, an order came from *Ravenna* for their
execution, in consequence of which they were both be-
headed. The cruel and unjust sentence was scarce put in
execution, when *Theodoric*, returning in a manner to him-
self, was affected with such sorrow, that his grief may be
said

Theodoric
dies.
An. Ch.
526.

said to have equalled, if not exceeded, the injustice of the sentence. Not long after, the head of a large fish being served up while he was one night at supper, he fancied it to be the head of *Symmachus*, threatening him in a ghastly manner; and being seized with remorse and horror, was carried from the table to his bed-chamber, and died a few days after of grief; this, according to *Procopius*, being the first and last wrong any of his subjects had ever received at his hands.

He died in the seventy-second year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He had by *Andefleda*, the sister of *Clovis*, three daughters; *Ostrogotha*, *Theodogotha*, and *Amalasuntha*. *Ostrogotha* was married to *Sigismund*, king of the *Burgundians*, and *Theodogotha* to *Alaric II.* king of the *Visigoths*. *Amalasuntha*, the youngest of the three princesses, was married, about eleven years before her father's death, to *Eutharic Cillica*, descended of the family of the *Amali*. *Beremund*, the grandfather of *Eutharic*, leaving *Scythia*, was honourably entertained in *Gaul* by *Vallia*, king of the *Visigoths*, and settled there. *Eutharic* from *Gaul* removed into *Spain*, where he became well known to the officers of *Theodoric*, who governed there during the minority of *Amalaric*. *Theodoric* hearing him much commended, sent for him to *Italy*, and being taken with his engaging behaviour, and extraordinary qualifications, he gave him *Amalasuntha* in marriage, and, two years after, raised him to the consulship; on which occasion the emperor presented him with the *tunica palmata*, and adopted him for his son; an honour conferred by the late emperors upon persons of distinguished merit. *Eutharic* discharged his office with great care, and made it his chief study to oblige both the senate and people of *Rome*. Every one expected to find in *Eutharic* a second *Theodoric*, but, to the grief of all, he died before his father-in-law, leaving behind him a son named *Athalaric*; so that *Theodoric* had at his death two grandsons, namely, *Amalaric*, king of the *Visigoths*, and *Athalaric*, the son of *Amalasuntha*. To the former *Theodoric*, at his death, delivered up all the countries in *Gaul* and *Spain* belonging to the *Visigoths*. The

Athalaric, latter, though the son of the younger daughter, he appointed his grand-son, de-
clared king.

Athalaric being but a boy when his grandfather died, the administration was committed to his mother *Amalasuntha*, a princess highly commended by all the writers of those times for her piety, religion, wisdom, and learning. She was not, however, free from ambition, but strove by all means to maintain, after her son's death, that power which she had exercised during his life. *Amalasuntha*, immediately after the death of her father, wrote, in the name of the young prince her son, to the emperor *Justin*, and to the *Roman* senate, acquainting them with the accession of *Athalaric* to the throne. Two letters were also sent to *Gaul*, the one to *Ti-*
berius,

berius, the governor of the *Gothic* provinces in that country, which were divided from those of the *Visigoths* by the river *Rhone*; and the other to *Victorinus*, their bishop. *Amalasuntha* governed with such prudence that *Theodoric* was scarce admitted either by the *Goths* or *Romans*. Her chief care was to bring up her son after the *Roman* manner, and to have him, from his tender years, instructed, by the ablest men of those times, in religion, virtue, and learning. She was so far from invading the rights and properties of others, that, on the contrary, she restored to the children of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* their paternal estates, which *Theodoric* had confiscated. She was careful to secure the *Romans* against the avarice and rapaciousness of the great men among the *Goths*. To the *Visigoths* she remitted the impositions which had been laid on them by *Theodoric*, and restored the treasure of the kings of the *Visigoths*, which, by her father's order, had been conveyed from *Carcassone* to *Ravenna*.

While *Amalasuntha* was thus governing with the greatest justice, equity, and prudence, and taking all the necessary precautions for the safety of her son, the great men among the *Goths* began to censure her conduct, and to exclaim against learning as an enemy to valour. They therefore desired *Amalasuntha* to dismiss the tutors she had given to her son, and give him such companions of his own age as might, by their conversation make the customs of his nation familiar to him, and incline him to govern according to their own laws. They demanded this with so much vehemence and importunity, that she, apprehending greater evils, thought it adviseable to comply with their request. Her son, now freed from her restraint, was quickly seduced by wicked companions, and abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, adding to his other vices even undutifulness to the best of mothers, and joining against her in a faction, which had the arrogance to command her to retire from court. The queen, however, exerting her authority, picked out three of the ringleaders of the party, and confined them to the most remote parts of *Italy*. These, by maintaining a private correspondence with their friends and relations, so stirred up the people against her, that *Amalasuntha*, apprehending the faction might, in the end, prevail, wrote to the emperor *Justinian*, begging leave to take refuge in his dominions. *Justinian* readily complied with her request, offering a noble palace at *Dyrrachium* for her habitation; but she, in the mean time, having caused the three ringleaders of the faction to be put to death, and by that means checked their arrogance, did not accept of the emperor's offer, but continued in the administration.

Mean while, *Athalaric* having by his debaucheries contracted a lingering distemper, which threatened to be fatal, *Amalasuntha* resolved to save herself from the hatred and animosity of the *Goths* by putting the emperor in possession of *Italy*;

Athalaric
dies.

Amalasuntha takes *Theodotus* for her colleague;

Italy; but her measures were all defeated by the untimely death of her son, which happened in the eighth year of his reign. As she judged that the *Goths* would not now suffer her openly to preside in the administration, she declared *Theodotus*, son of *Amalafrida*, sister to *Theodoric*, as her colleague, hoping that he, out of gratitude, would be contented with the title, and suffer her to enjoy the supreme power. *Theodotus* was a man of great learning, well skilled in the doctrine of *Plato*, and in ecclesiastical disputes, and a perfect master of the *Latin* tongue; but utterly unacquainted with civil and military matters; timorous, indolent, covetous to the greatest degree, destitute of all honour and probity, and capable of committing the vilest actions. Not satisfied with his large possessions in *Tuscany*, where he had hitherto resided, he had encroached on his neighbours, and had even seized some lands belonging to the crown. As *Amalasuntha* had obliged him to restore these lands, and had restrained him likewise from injuring his neighbours, he had become her implacable enemy, inasmuch that he had privately agreed to betray *Tuscany* to the emperor. *Amalasuntha*, however, judged that her present kindness to him would cancel all his former animosity, and he accordingly promised upon oath to suffer her to enjoy and exercise her former power. His ingratitude and perfidy, nevertheless, quickly appeared; for he had scarce mounted the throne when he suffered himself to be wholly governed by the friends and relations of those whom the princess had put to death for their crimes; and because she took the liberty to remind him of what he had promised, he caused her to be confined in an island of the lake *Bolsena* in *Tuscany*, obliging her, at the same time, to write to the emperor, that no injury had been done her. *Amalasuntha*, soon after her confinement, was, with the consent, if not by the order of *Theodotus*, barbarously strangled in the bath by the friends of those whom she had put to death for raising disturbances in the state.

who confines her to an island, and causes her to be put to death.

An. Ch.

. 534.

Justinian, highly provoked against *Theodotus* for the murder of *Amalasuntha*, whom he greatly esteemed; and being also desirous of re-uniting *Italy* to the empire, resolved to make war on the *Goths*, his troops having just then completed the conquest of the *Vandals* in *Africa*. To facilitate the enterprize, *Justinian* entered into an alliance with the *Franks*, to whom he paid a large subsidy; but they, instead of performing their engagements, seized on several cities in *Liguria*, and on the *Alpes Cottiae*, with great part of the province of *Venice*, which their king *Theodebert* held for himself.

The *Goths* attacked by the emperor.

In the first expedition against the *Goths*, the two generals of the emperor were *Mundus* and *Belisarius*. *Mundus*, who commanded the troops in *Illyricum*, entered *Dalmatia*, which was subject to the *Goths*, and without difficulty made himself master of *Salonæ*; and *Belisarius* landing without opposition

in *Sicily*, reduced that island with more expedition than he himself expected. *Palermo*, the capital of the island, held out for some time; but *Belisarius* attacking the place by sea, the *Goths* were forced to surrender upon articles. From *Sicily*, *Belisarius* passed over the straits to *Reggio*, which city opened its gates to him. He then pursued his march to *Rome*; the provinces of *Abruzzo*, *Lucania*, *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Samnium*, readily submitting to him. The city of *Naples* endured a siege, but the troops of *Belisarius* entering through an aqueduct, surprized and plundered the place, putting great numbers of the inhabitants to death. The unexpected success of the emperor's arms greatly alarmed *Theodotus*, who being an utter stranger to military affairs, began underhand to treat of peace; and in a private conference with an ambassador of the emperor, he agreed to renounce all pretensions to the island of *Sicily*, to send the emperor yearly a crown of gold weighing three hundred pounds, to supply him with three thousand men when required, to put no senator or ecclesiastic to death, nor confiscate their estates without the emperor's consent, to advance none to the dignity of senator or patrician, but to petition him to confer such honours on the deserving. *Theodotus*, after he had dismissed the ambassador with these and some other dishonourable terms, recalled him by an express, after he had got as far as *Albania*, to give him farther orders and instructions. These were, to resign the kingdom to *Justinian*, and content himself with a pension suitable to his quality; but he obliged both the emperor's ambassador and *Agapitus*, bishop of *Rome*, whom he sent on his own behalf, to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to mention this proposal till they found that the emperor would not accept of the former. The emperor rejected the first proposals with scorn, but received the second with the greatest satisfaction. The agreement being confirmed by mutual oaths, lands were assigned to *Theodotus* out of the emperor's domain, and orders dispatched to *Belisarius* to take possession of *Italy* in his name.

Belisarius conquers several provinces in *Italy*.

Theodotus proposes terms for an accommodation.

He offers to resign the kingdom to the emperor.

The *Goths*, in the mean time, in two engagements in *Dalmatia* defeated the *Romans*, *Mundus* himself being slain in the latter action. Having quickly recovered all *Dalmatia*, *Theodotus* was so elated with the turn of his affairs, that he haughtily refused to comply with the articles of the treaty which he had lately signed; and because the emperor's ambassador expostulated with him for his breach of faith, he threatened to put him to death, and put a strict guard upon him. *Justinian* being highly provoked, ordered *Belisarius* to pursue the war with the utmost vigour; and sent *Constantianus*, an officer of great valour and experience, into *Illyricum*, with orders to raise forces there. *Constantianus*, in a short time, entered *Dalmatia*, made himself master of *Salonæ*, and obliged the *Goths* to abandon that province, while *Belisarius* recovered all the provinces that compose the present kingdom from the

He changes his mind upon the success of the *Goths*.

Dalmatia recovered from the *Goths*.

Theodotus
deposed,
and *Viti-*
ges chosen
in his
room.
An. Ch.
537.

of *Naples*. The chief men among the *Goths* finding the king took no one step to avert the impending ruin of their nation, assembled without his consent, and dispatched embassadors to *Belisarius*, representing the injustice of the war, the just claim they had to *Italy* by the resignation of the emperor *Zeno*, and the moderation and equity with which they had hitherto governed that country. *Belisarius* paying no regard to their representations, they assembled at *Regeta*, a place about thirty-five miles from *Rome*; and being highly offended with the cowardice and stupidity of *Theodotus*, they unanimously deposed him, and proclaimed *Vitiges* king in his room. *Vitiges*, according to *Jornandes*, had been formerly armour-bearer to *Theodoric*, was not descended from an illustrious family among the *Goths*, but had distinguished himself by his valour in several wars. Upon his accession to the throne he married *Matesuenta*, the daughter of *Amalasuntha*, who was in a manner forced by him to give her consent, and despising him on account of his birth is said to have maintained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, and was even suspected of attempting to betray him into their hands. *Theodotus*, soon after the promotion of *Vitiges*, was put to death as he was flying to *Ravenna*, and his son, not long after, shared the same fate.

Vitiges earnestly applied himself to the re-establishing the affairs of the *Goths*, and by a circular letter exhorted his countrymen to exert their antient courage in defence of their possessions. Not thinking himself strong enough to defend *Rome* against *Belisarius*, he obliged the pope, senate, and people, to take an oath of fidelity; and leaving four thousand *Goths* for the defence of the city, he proceeded to *Ravenna*, with several senators, whom he took with him as hostages.

Belisarius
enters
Rome.

Belisarius, in the mean time, having garisoned *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other strong places in *Campania*, advanced towards *Rome*. The *Romans*, awed by the severity lately shewn to the *Neapolitans*, and by the reputation of *Belisarius*, invited him to come and take possession of their city, which he accordingly entered about the middle of *December*, re-uniting it to the empire, sixty years after it had been taken by *Odoacer*. While *Belisarius* continued at *Rome*, *Pitzas*, governor of *Samnium*, submitted to him, and delivered up great part of that country, with the city of *Benevento*. *Narnia*, *Spoletto* and *Perugia*, with most of the cities of *Tuscany*, also revolted from the *Goths*, and received *Roman* garisons.

Vitiges
raises a
powerful
army.

Vitiges, during these transactions, having raised an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, resolved to march directly against *Belisarius*; but apprehending that the *Franks*, who were in confederacy with the emperor, might fall upon him at the same time, he dispatched embassadors to their three kings, offering to yield to them whatever the *Visigoths* held in *Gaul*, and to pay them a considerable sum, provided they

they joined him against the emperor. The *Franks*, notwithstanding their alliance with *Justinian*, agreed to the terms of *Vitiges*, which he fulfilled without delay. The three princes divided equally among them both the money and the cities yielded to them by the *Ostrogoths*; but instead of executing their part of the treaty, they pretended they could not act in person against the emperor, and the year following sent ten thousand *Burgundians*, who, upon their entering *Italy*, however, declared, pursuant to their private instructions, that they paid no regard to the kings of the *Franks*, but came of their own accord.

The *Goths* who had evacuated *Gaul* reinforced the army of *He Vitiges*, who marched directly to *Rome*, without attempting marches to reduce any of the towns on the road. *Belisarius*, at this time, had only an army of five thousand men, the rest being employed in garisoning the many towns that had submitted. He therefore wrote to the emperor for succours, and ordered *Constantianus*, in *Tuscany*, and *Bessus*, by nation a *Goth*, but of the emperor's party, in *Umbria*, to join him with the troops under their command. *Vitiges* approached *Rome* almost as soon as these troops joined *Belisarius*, who unexpectedly fell in with the *Goths* as he was going with a thousand men to view some ground within a mile of the city. That the courage of the *Goths* might not be heightened by his retreat, he stood his ground, and exposed himself, contrary to his usual prudence and discretion, to the greatest dangers. After a bloody contest, the *Goths* were driven to their camp; but the *Romans* having made an unsuccessful attack upon it, were repulsed to the very gates of the city; which their friends within would not open to them, fearing lest the enemy should enter along with them. In this distress, *Belisarius* encouraged his men to make a last effort; and having forced the *Goths* to retire, he was received into the city with loud acclamations.

Vitiges, a few days after, invested the city on all sides; and, in order to distress the garison and the inhabitants, ordered the aqueducts, that had been built at an immense charge, to be broken down. *Belisarius*, on the other hand, omitted nothing for the defence of the city; but the citizens of *Rome* fearing the consequences of a siege, and beginning to murmur against him, *Vitiges*, in hopes of making the inhabitants revolt, sent ambassadors to the senate, assuring them of his favour and protection, and at the same time offering a safe retreat to *Belisarius*. The ambassadors being dismissed without an answer, *Vitiges* pursued the siege with the utmost vigour, shewing himself an able commander, both in the contriving of his military engines, and the disposing of the attacks. *Belisarius* made a no less vigorous defence; so that by his fallies, *Vitiges* is said to have lost, in seven months, forty thousand men: which provoked him to such a degree that he caused the *Roman* hostages to be put to death.

death. The *Romans*, elated with their success, forced *Belisarius*, much against his inclination, to risk a general engagement; which, however, proving unsuccessful, they afterwards contented themselves with falling out in small parties. *Belisarius* indeed, soon after, marched out his troops as though he had intended a second general engagement; upon which the *Goths* united in one body, and thereby left an open passage to a convoy that entered the city with some treasure, *Belisarius* immediately after retiring again within the walls.

The besieged afflicted with a famine and plague.

Mean while, a famine and plague made a dreadful havock in the city, which rendered the *Romans* very impatient. *Belisarius* quieted them in some measure by assuring them that he would soon be joined by a large fleet and army; and he sent *Procopius*, the historian, to *Naples*, to head the troops, which he pretended had already arrived in that city. Not long after, a reinforcement of five thousand five hundred entered the city by the *Ostian* gate, while the *Goths* were engaged on the opposite side of the city with part of the garrison under the command of *Belisarius*. The *Goths* having also suffered greatly by a famine and plague, began now to despair of reducing the city, and thinking only of retreating upon the best terms they could, they sent three deputies into the city to treat with *Belisarius*. All that he would grant was a cessation of arms for three months, during which they might send ambassadors to the emperor. No further mention is made of the ambassadors; but as the siege was continued after the expiration of the truce, it is plain that they did not succeed in their negotiations.

The *Goths* raise the siege of *Rome*.

An. Ch. 538.

During the truce, *Belisarius* sent out of *Rome* as many of his forces as he could spare, with orders to intercept the enemies convoys as soon as the truce was expired. These troops soon after laid waste the province of *Picenum*, from whence the *Goths* drew their provisions; and having slain *Ulitheus*, uncle to *Vitiges*, made themselves masters of *Rimini*. Upon the news of the loss of *Rimini*, *Vitiges* was so alarmed that he broke up the siege, after it had lasted a year and nine days; and being attacked in his retreat by *Belisarius*, great numbers of his men were cut to pieces, or perished in the *Tiber*. *Vitiges* marched strait to *Rimini*; but before he could invest the place, considerable reinforcements were thrown into it by *Belisarius*. As the *Goths* suffered greatly in the attacks, *Vitiges* resolved to turn the siege into a blockade. *Belisarius*, to oblige the *Goths* to withdraw from *Rimini*, sent a strong detachment into *Liguria*, under the command of *Mundilas*, who made himself master of *Milan*, and all the other cities of that province. *Milan*, soon after, was besieged by *Uraia*, the nephew of *Vitiges*, who was joined by ten thousand *Burgundians*.

During the siege of *Milan*, *Belisarius* marched from *Rome*, and made himself master of *Tudera* and *Clusium*; at which last

last place being informed that a reinforcement of five thousand *Romans* and two thousand *Heruli* were arrived in *Pice-Narſes* *ar-*
num, under the command of *Narſes*, he marched to *Firmo*, *rives* in
 where he was joined by the reinforcement, and from thence *Italy* with
 proceeded to the relief of *Rimini*. He embarked one part of fresh sup-
 his army, sent another division along the shore, and he and plies.
Narſes led the third over the mountains. *Vitiges* seeing a
 great fleet appear, and, at the same time, two armies, which
 he concluded to be very numerous from the many fires they
 had lighted, fled with such precipitation that the greatest
 part of the baggage was left behind.

After this success, jealousies began to arise between *Belisarius* and *Narſes*, which were carried to such an height derstand-
 that the latter refusing to obey the former, required the ing be-
 army to be divided, that each of them might command tween Be-
 a separate body, and have his share in the glory of driving *lisarius*
 the *Goths* out of *Italy*. In consequence of this misunder- and him:
 standing and animosity between the generals, such a division
 arose in the army, that *Belisarius*, having undertaken the
 siege of *Urbium*, *John*, who had lately commanded in *Ri-*
mini, encamped with *Narſes* and great part of the forces, at
 a distance from him, and in the night they withdrew to *Ri-*
mini. *Belisarius* still resolved to continue the siege; and
 when he was marching to an assault, the garrison capitula-
 ted, the fountain that supplied them with water hav-
 ing failed on a sudden. *Narſes* looking upon the reduc-
 tion of the place as a reflection upon himself, to redeem his
 reputation dispatched *John* with part of his forces to the city
 of *Cæsena*; but the garrison making a vigorous defence, he
 withdrew in the night, and surprized *Forum Cornelii*, now
Imola, reducing by degrees all *Æmilia*. Mean while, *Belisarius*,
 after a long and obstinate siege, made himself master
 of *Urbiventum*, after which both he and *Narſes* retired into
 winter-quarters.

The *Goths* and *Burgundians*, all this while, invested *Milan*; *Milan*
 which being reduced to great distress, *Belisarius* sent a rein- taken by
 forcement thither under the command of *Martinus* and *Uliar-* the *Goths*,
is. These generals, however, tarrying at the *Po*, and pre- and the
 tending that they were not strong enough to force their way citizens
 through *Liguria*, *Belisarius* ordered *John* and *Justin* to join massacred:
 them with all expedition; but these two last generals re-
 fused to obey him, till they received the like orders from
Narſes; who, after a remonstrance from *Belisarius*, at last
 gave his consent. The garrison of *Milan*, in the mean
 time, forced *Mundilas*, their governor, to consent to a ca-
 pitulation with the *Goths*, who agreed to let them retire un-
 molested. The *Goths*, in breach of the articles agreed on,
 made the garison prisoners of war, demolished the city, put
 all those to the sword who were able to bear arms, to the
 number of three hundred thousand, and making the women
 slaves, gave them, as a reward, to the *Burgundians*. *Bergan-*
tinus;

tinus, with a few, escaped the slaughter, and passing through *Venetia* and *Dalmatia*, carried the melancholy news to *Constantinople*. *Martinus* and *Uliaris* returned with disgrace to *Rome*, while the *Goths* pursued their good fortune, and recovered all *Liguria*.

Vitiges
stirs up
the king
of *Persia*
against the
emperor.

The emperor ascribing the loss of *Milan* to the disagreement between his generals, recalled *Narses*, and confirmed *Belisarius* in the supreme command. *Vitiges* seeing the hopes he had conceived from the disagreement of the generals thus defeated, endeavoured to draw *Vacis*, or *Varis*, king of the *Lombards*, to his assistance, by the offer of a large sum; but finding him unalterably steady to the alliance he had concluded with the emperor, he resolved to stir up *Chosrhoes*, king of *Persia*, to attack the Eastern provinces of the empire. He found two *Ligurian* priests who undertook the journey to the *Persian* court, and were successful in their embassy.

While these ambassadors were negotiating in the East, *Belisarius* sat down before *Auximum*, the metropolis of *Picenum*, with eleven thousand men; and at the same time sent a strong detachment to reduce *Fesulæ*. Though *Auximum* was strongly fortified both by art and nature, yet *Belisarius* attacked the place so vigorously that the garison dispatched messengers to *Vitiges*, threatening to surrender unless they were speedily relieved. The king accordingly sent a detachment of *Goths* under *Uraia* to their assistance; but he was obliged to encamp at the distance of seven miles from the city.

The
Franks in-
vade *Italy*.
An. Ch.
539.

The treacherous *Franks*, in the mean time, thinking both nations sufficiently weakened by their mutual hostilities, resolved to attack both, and seize on the country for which they disputed. Accordingly an hundred and fifty thousand of them, says *Procopius*, or, according to *Jornandes*, two hundred thousand, entered *Italy* under the command of their king *Theodebert*. As they committed no hostilities in their march through *Liguria*, the *Goths* concluded that they were coming to their assistance, and therefore took care to supply them with what provisions they could spare. The *Franks*, after they had passed the *Po*, were admitted by a detachment of *Goths* into their camp; when they immediately attacked those who received them, and seized on their baggage and provisions. A body of *Romans* that lay at a small distance, concluding that the *Goths* had been put to flight by their friends, marched directly to their camp; when the *Franks* falling upon them unexpectedly, they were thrown into such confusion that they could not recover their camp, but fled into *Tuscany*, and sent an account of their misfortune to *Belisarius*. The *Franks* having soon exhausted the provisions they found in the two camps, were attacked by various distempers, which swept off one third of their army, and forced them to think of returning home. *Theodebert* being reproached

reproached by his own men, and having received a warm remonstrance from *Belisarius*, decamped with such of the *Franks* as were able to march; and in his return through *Liguria* destroyed *Genoa*, and several other places, carrying home with him an immense booty.

Auximum and *Fesulæ*, in the mean time, were reduced to the greatest distress; but still refused to surrender. The garison of *Auximum* having corrupted one of the *Roman* soldiers who were stationed near the walls to prevent them from cutting grass, they sent a letter by him to *Vitiges*, who promised them speedy assistance. The soldier was sent, a few days after, a second time; but *Belisarius* being informed by some prisoners of his treachery, delivered him to his countrymen the *Bessians*, who caused him to be burnt alive. The *Romans*, soon after, making an unsuccessful attempt to destroy an aqueduct which supplied the besieged with water, *Belisarius*, who in the attack had narrowly escaped being slain, caused all the springs to be poisoned. Mean while *Cyprian*, the commander of the *Romans* before *Fesulæ*, forcing that city to surrender, left part of his troops in the place, and with the rest conducted the inhabitants to *Auximum*, by which means the garison of this city was at last prevailed upon to capitulate. Their lives were granted them, and one half of their effects, and the inhabitants consented to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor.

Belisarius, after continuing a short time at *Auximum*, marched with his whole army to *Ravenna*, which he invested on all sides, both by sea and land. The place was defended by a very numerous garison, commanded by the king in person; but *Belisarius* pursuing the siege with great vigour and success, *Theodebert*, and the other kings of the *Franks*, began to be jealous of the good fortune of the *Romans*; and judging that if they should re-unite *Italy* to the empire, they would fall next upon them, they offered to assist *Vitiges* with an army of five hundred thousand men, on condition he would share the country with them. *Belisarius*, on the other hand, put *Vitiges* in mind of the perfidy of the *Franks*, and assured him that the emperor was ready to grant him very honourable terms.

The king rejected the proposals of the *Franks*, and shewed himself inclined to come to an agreement with the emperor, especially as a magazine of corn, which was the chief dependance of the besieged, happened to be burnt; a citizen of *Ravenna*, bribed by *Belisarius*, having set fire to it so secretly that the *Goths* knew not whether they should attribute the loss to chance or treachery. *Vitiges*, upon his rejecting the offers of the *Franks*, dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to negotiate a peace with the emperor; who sent two senators to *Italy*, with offers of peace on the following conditions: That the country on the North side of the *Po* should remain to the *Goths*; but that the rest of *Italy* should

be yielded to the emperor, and an equal division of the treasure of the Goths should be made between him and the king.

He is by the Goths declared emperor of the West;

and is admitted into Ravenna.
An. Ch. 540.

He returns to Constantinople, with Vitiges a prisoner.

These conditions were embraced with joy by *Vitiges*, and the *Goths*; but *Belisarius*, who was in hopes of reducing the city, would not consent to the treaty. The great men among the *Goths* concluding from thence that *Belisarius* designed to revolt from the emperor, privately agreed among themselves to declare him emperor of the West, and accordingly offered to swear allegiance to him. *Belisarius* abhorred in his heart the name of usurper; nevertheless, to forward the surrender of the city, he pretended to accept of the offer, acquainting the chief officers of his army with all that passed, lest they should imagine that he really designed to usurp the kingdom of *Italy*. *Vitiges*, in the mean time, discovering the intrigues of his great men, which he found himself in no condition to oppose, commended their resolution, and even wrote to *Belisarius*, encouraging him to take upon him the title of king. A treaty was accordingly concluded between him and the *Goths*; and he having sworn to treat them with humanity, and maintain them in the enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges, was admitted into the city, where he behaved with great moderation, but seized on the royal treasure; and secured the person of the king.

Chosroes, in the mean time, invading the *Roman* dominions in the East with a mighty army, *Justinian* recalled *Belisarius* to oppose the *Persians*. *Belisarius* no sooner received the emperor's orders, than he began to prepare for his departure, to the great surprize of the *Goths*, who could not persuade themselves that he would relinquish a crown to obey the emperor. Their entreaties to divert him from his resolution were fruitless; for having settled matters in the best manner he could, he set out for *Constantinople*, carrying with him *Vitiges*, and his queen *Matefuenta*, several of the *Gothic* nobility, and the royal treasure, being received by *Justinian* on his arrival without the least tokens of distrust. The emperor conferred on *Vitiges* the dignity of patrician; and he dying two years after, he gave the queen *Matefuenta* to his own nephew *Germanus*. The other great men among the *Goths* whom *Belisarius* brought with him to *Constantinople* attended him to the *Persian* war.

The *Goths* dwelling on the North side of the *Po*, finding themselves deceived by *Belisarius*, upon his departure resolved to raise one of their own nation to the throne; and applied themselves first to *Uraia*, the nephew of *Vitiges*, who, out of respect to his uncle, declined the dignity, at the same time advising them to make choice of *Ildebald*, a man of great experience in affairs, and nephew to *Theudis*, king of the *Visigoths*. *Ildebald* being accordingly proclaimed king, undertook the re-establishing the *Gothic* affairs in *Italy*. He had at first only a thousand men; but his army quickly

quickly became very considerable, from the great numbers not only of *Goths* that flocked to him, but also of discontented *Romans*. The latter found themselves cheated by *Alexander*, whom the emperor had sent into *Italy* to state the accounts of the army; and on that account had fled over to the *Goths*, full of resentment. *Bessas*, *John*, and *Constantianus*, whom *Belisarius* had appointed to command in *Italy*, disagreeing among themselves, undertook nothing of moment. *Vitalis*, governor of *Venetia*, however, having joined a considerable body of *Heruli* to his other forces, gave *Ildebald* battle near *Tervisum*, but was totally defeated, and most of his men cut in pieces. *Ildebald*, after this victory, made himself master of the whole province of *Venetia*; but did not live long to enjoy his good fortune. A contest arising between his queen and the wife of *Uraia*, he gave ear to the complaints of his wife; first accused *Uraia* falsely of maintaining a private correspondence with the emperor, and afterwards, with the utmost injustice and ingratitude, caused him to be murdered. By this base action he incurred the displeasure of the whole nation, and he was soon after, as he was sitting at table, slain, by *Vilus*, one of his guards, a *Gepid* by nation, whom he had disoblged.

He gains a victory over the *Romans*.

He is murdered

Upon the death of *Ildebald*, *Eraric*, by birth a *Rugian*, was immediately chosen his successor. As the *Rugian* tribe of *Goths* differed in manners and customs from the *Ostrogoths*, the people and soldiery made some difficulty of acknowledging *Eraric* for king, though they knew him to be a man of valour and experience in war. *Eraric* sent an embassy to the emperor, pretending to sue for peace on the terms formerly offered to *Vitiges*; but his ambassadors had private instructions to acquaint the emperor, that *Eraric* was ready to deliver up *Italy* to him, if he would pay him a certain sum, and raise him to the dignity of patrician; which private negotiation was not discovered till after *Eraric's* death. The *Goths* were soon discontented with the government of their new king; and, after he had reigned five months, they murdered him, and declared *Totila* king, who was nephew to *Ildebald*, and a person of extraordinary merit.

Eraric chosen king. An. Ch. 541.

He is murdered and *Totila* proclaimed king.

The emperor being informed of the distracted state of the *Goths*, and reprimanding his officers in *Italy* for not taking advantage of their confusions, his generals thereupon assembled in *Ravenna*, and, in a council of war, agreed to lay siege to *Verona*, a citizen of the place having privately engaged to betray one of the gates to them. Their army, which consisted of about twelve thousand men, having encamped within seven miles of the city, they began to hesitate about the dangerous enterprize of seizing the gate, the safety of the detachment sent thither depending entirely upon the person who had promised to put them in possession of it. The *Romans*, to their great disgrace, having declined the service, it was undertaken with joy by one *Artabanes*, an *Armenian*, who

An. Ch. 542.

who marched thither with an hundred men, and having secured the place, acquainted the generals with his success, entreating them to hasten their march. The generals having advanced within five miles of the place, ordered the army to halt till they had settled among themselves in what manner they should divide the booty, and employed the whole night in warm debates. The *Goths*, in the mean time, upon hearing that the *Romans* were masters of one of the gates, fled out at the other; but discovering from an high rock whither they had retired the small number of *Romans* in the city, they immediately returned, and, after an obstinate struggle, overpowered them. *Artabanes* leaped from the wall, and, with a few others, escaping safe to the camp, he upbraided the commanders with their ill conduct and want of courage. The *Romans*, after this disappointment, marched to *Faventia*, or *Faenza*, where they were met by *Totila*, at the head of five thousand men, whom they suffered, without opposition, to pass the river *Lamone*.

While the two armies stood in order of battle, a *Goth* of a gigantic size, and proportionable strength, advanced before the ranks, and challenged any *Roman* to single combat. *Artabanes* accepted the challenge, and at the first encounter ran his adversary through the side with his lance; but in giving him a second wound in the belly, the head of the *Goth's* lance, when he was falling, unfortunately wounded *Artabanes* in the neck, and cut one of the arteries. The brave champion rode back to the army, not apprehending any danger; but, as the blood could not be stopped, he died three days after. The single combat was followed by a general engagement, in which the *Romans*, confiding in their numbers, behaved at first with great bravery; but being attacked in the rear by three hundred *Goths*, they were thrown into confusion, and routed with great slaughter.

The *Romans* defeated by the *Goths*.

Totila gains great advantages over the *Romans*.

Totila marched directly to *Florence*, and invested that city; but an army approaching to its relief, he withdrew about a day's journey from thence. The *Romans* marched after, and *John*, with a considerable detachment, was ordered to advance, and keep them in play. The troops commanded by *John* accordingly attacked the *Goths*; but a report being brought to the army that he was killed, disputes immediately arose among the other generals, who neglected to support him, so that he was entirely defeated; which struck the *Romans* with such a panic that they all dispersed. As *Totila* treated his prisoners with great humanity, most of them entered into his service; so that his army being greatly increased, the following spring he made himself master of all the strong places in *Tuscany*, and marching into *Campania* and *Samnium*, he reduced and dismantled *Beneventum*, and laid siege to *Naples*. During this siege, several detachments from his army took *Cumæ*, and recovered all *Brutium*, *Lucania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, where they seized on the tributes and

and money raised to pay the emperor's troops; who being thus deprived of their pay, refused to take the field. The emperor, informed of the bad situation of his affairs in *Italy*, ordered a large body of troops to be embarked on board a considerable fleet, and sent them to *Italy*, under the command of *Maximinus*; but he being a man quite unacquainted with military affairs, naturally timorous and indolent, *Demetrius*, who had served under *Belisarius*, was appointed to command under him. *Demetrius* proposed first to relieve *Naples*, already reduced to great straits; and sailing with part of the fleet to *Sicily*, he there assembled a great number of vessels, in hopes of terrifying the enemy; but after he had put to sea, his heart failing him, he sailed to *Rome*, in order to raise soldiers, and then return to *Naples*. The *Romans*, however, refusing to serve against the victorious king of the *Goths*, he was obliged to attempt the relief of *Naples* with the few troops he had brought with him; but *Totila* having notice of his design, surprized his fleet, and took or sunk every vessel, *Demetrius* and a few only escaping in their boats. *Maximinus*, who lay at *Syracuse*, with the rest of the fleet, could not be prevailed upon to sail to the relief of the besieged; but, at length, sent the fleet to *Naples*, under the command of others. This fleet being driven on shore by a storm, near the camp of the *Goths*, was entirely destroyed. The *Neapolitans* now despairing of relief, accepted of the honourable terms offered them by *Totila*, and were treated by him with the utmost humanity. *Conon* and the garison proposing to return to *Constantinople*, he supplied them with ships; and discovering that their real design was to sail to *Rome*, which city he intended, in the next place, to besiege, he was so far from punishing them, as they expected, or even upbraiding them, that, on the contrary, he furnished them with horses, waggons, and provisions, and ordered a body of *Goths* to escort them to *Rome*.

The Roman general defeated by sea.

Totila recovers *Naples*.

Totila not chusing to weaken his army by garisoning the many strong-holds that submitted to him, dismantled *Naples*. He then wrote a letter to the senate of *Rome*, to persuade them to declare for him, assuring both them and the people of his favour and protection. *John*, the governor of *Rome*, would not suffer the senate to answer this letter, or receive any others from *Totila*, who, nevertheless, found means to convey other papers into the city, which were posted up by night in the most frequented places. *Totila*, soon after, marched towards *Rome*, and the city of *Tibur*, or *Tivoli*, being betrayed to him, he put all the citizens to the sword, together with their bishop. Having taken several other strong-holds in that neighbourhood by storm, he in a manner blocked up the city of *Rome* by land.

The emperor, greatly perplexed with the bad news from *Italy*, recalled *Belisarius* from the East, notwithstanding the success that attended him against the *Persians*. *Belisarius*, sent again upon into *Italy*.

A GENERAL HISTORY.

upon receiving an order from the emperor to return into *Italy*, immediately left *Commagene*, in his way through *Thrace* raised above four thousand men at his own expence, and arriving with them at *Salonæ*, he dispatched from thence a body of men, which relieved *Otranto*, then besieged by a detachment of *Totila's* army. By sea *Belisarius* arrived at *Ravenna*, whence he sent several parties against the cities of *Æmilia*, but without much success. *Totila*, in the mean time, laid siege to *Auximum*; and finding that *Belisarius* was not in a condition to take the field, he sent out detachments to besiege *Firmum* and *Asculum*. *Belisarius*, chiefly concerned for *Rome*, appointed *Bessas* governor of that city, and sent *Artasiris*, a *Persian*, and *Barbation*, a *Thracian*, to command under him. At the same time he dispatched *John* to *Constantinople*, to inform the emperor, that as he was destitute of men, arms, and money, it was impossible for him to carry on the war. *Justinian* immediately ordered new levies to be made for the war in *Italy*; but before these joined *Belisarius*, *Totila* made himself master of *Firmum*, *Asculum*, *Auximum*, *Spoletum*, and several ether cities, and, at length, invested *Rome* on all sides. *Belisarius*, soon after, hearing that some reinforcements had arrived at *Epidamnus*, went thither and joined them; and sending part of them, under the command of *John*, to recover *Calabria*, he, with the rest, sailed to the port of *Rome*, which city was then greatly distressed by famine. The miserable citizens having consumed the grass that grew about the walls, were, in the end, even constrained to feed on their own excrements. *Belisarius* used his utmost endeavours to relieve the besieged, but all his attempts, however well concerted, proved unsuccessful; which gave him so much uneasiness that he was seized with a fever, and was thought, for some time, in great danger. *Bessas*, notwithstanding all the intreaties of the besieged, still refusing to surrender, four of the *Isaurians* who were placed to guard the *Porta Asinaria*, letting themselves down from the wall by ropes, went to *Totila*, and undertook to admit his army into the city. The king embraced their proposal with great joy, and silently advancing to the city with his whole army, was admitted within the walls. Upon the first alarm *Bessas*, with the other commanders, and most of the garison, fled out at another gate. Such as remained behind, took sanctuary in the churches, whither the inhabitants also fled. *Totila*, at the intreaty of *Pelagius* the deacon, forbade his *Goths*, under the severest penalties, to put any of the citizens or soldiers to death. He gave them, however, full liberty to plunder the city, which they did for several days together, stripping the inhabitants of all their wealth, and leaving nothing in their houses but the naked walls. *Totila*, after reproaching the *Roman* senate with their ingratitude to the *Goths*, threatened to make them all slaves; but, at the intercession of *Pelagius*, he pardoned them, and dismissed

Totila
reduces
several
cities, and
besieges
Rome;

which city
is betray-
ed to him;

and plun-
dered by
his army.

missed them untouched. Soon after he dispatched *Pelagius* and one *Theodorus*, a *Roman* orator, as his ambassadors to *Justinian*, desiring to live in peace and amity with him, as *Theodoric* had done with *Anastatius*, promising in that case, to respect him as his father, and to assist him when wanted with all his forces. If his offers were rejected, he threatened to level *Rome* with the ground, to put the whole senate to the sword, and carry the war into *Illyricum*. The *Emperor* referring the ambassadors to *Belisarius* for an answer, *Totila* was so highly provoked, that, he resolved to demolish *Rome* so as not to leave one stone upon another. *Belisarius* however, representing to him in a letter, the fatal consequences of such a proceeding, he laid aside his intention of destroying the city, and marched with his army into *Lucania*. The senate he carried with him, and the rest of the inhabitants, with their wives and children, he sent under a strong guard into *Lucania*, before him, not leaving a single inhabitant in *Rome*. Having reduced *Lucania*, he marched with his army towards *Rome*. He carries off all the inhabitants.

Belisarius, who had continued all this time near *Rome*, marched thither and found the city quite destitute of inhabitants, and a third part of the walls levelled with the ground. He cleared the ditch round the city, which had been filled up by the *Goths*, and repaired the breaches in the wall, with heaping huge stones one upon another. The whole work being finished in the space of twenty five days, and the city supplied with great store of provisions, the antient inhabitants, who had been dispersed up and down *Italy*, returned in flocks and were kindly received by *Belisarius*. *Totila* being informed of these proceedings, hastened back to *Rome*, not doubting but at his approach *Belisarius* would abandon the place; but finding, contrary to his expectation, that the *Roman* general was determined not to quit the city, he encamped at a small distance from the walls, and next morning early, attacked the place with the greatest fury. The fight continued with great obstinacy, from morning to night, when the *Goths* who had lost a great number of men, retired to their Camp. The assault was renewed the three following days with no better success, which obliged *Totila* to withdraw his forces. *Belisarius* soon after completing the fortifications of *Rome*, sent the keys of the city to the emperor. and repulses Totila.

Totila's imprudent conduct in leaving *Rome* without a garri-
son, and his late bad success before it, filled his army with dis-
content, so that he was obliged to make an apology for his
conduct in a set speech. He soon after sat down before *Pe-
rgia*, but *John* in the mean time routing a party of *Goths* in
Campania, and setting at liberty the *Roman* senators and their
wives, *Totila* on this news withdrew from *Perugia*, and hast-
ened over mountains and bye-ways into *Appulia*. *Totila* at-
tacking the *Romans* in the night, they thereby found means
making their escape, with the loss of no more than one hun-
dred

dred men and got safe into *Otranto*. While *Belisarius* sailed with a small force, to *Sicily*, *Totila* without making an attempt upon that island, as he had expected, invested *Rusciana*, a city of great strength in *Calabria*. *Belisarius* having received a reinforcement of two thousand men from *Constantinople*, and being joined by the troops commanded by *John*, made an attempt to relieve *Rusciana*, but finding that impossible, he returned to *Rome*, sending *John* and *Valerian* with part of the forces, to lay waste *Picenum*, and by that means oblige *Totila* to raise the siege. *Totila* nevertheless continued before *Rusciana*, and sent two thousand into *Picenum*, which being joined by the *Goths* in that province obliged the *Romans* to retire. Not long after *Rusciana* surrendered to *Totila*, who treated the garison with great humanity, receiving such of them as were willing to serve under him, into his army, and suffering the rest to retire unmolested.

Belisarius
recalled.

During these transactions the *Persians* having gained great advantages over the *Romans*, *Justinian* recalled *Belisarius* to employ him anew against that nation. *Belisarius* during the five years years that he had now commanded against *Totila*, rather lost the reputation he had acquired than gained a greater. *Procopius* in his books of the *Gothic* war, which were published while *Justinian* and *Belisarius* were yet alive, lays the whole blame on fortune; but in the *Anecdota* or secret history, he or some other writer, charges *Belisarius* with several mistakes, and besides accuses him of rendering the inhabitants of *Italy* and *Sicily* disaffected to the emperor, by levying vast sums upon them, on pretence of punishing them for having sided with the *Goths*, but in reality to gratify his own avarice. Soon after the departure of *Belisarius*, *Totila* took *Perugia* by storm; but according to his custom spared both the inhabitants and garison.

The
Franks in-
vade *Italy*

In the beginning of the war, the *Ostrogoths* as we have mentioned, attempted to gain over the *Franks* to their party, by yielding to them the provinces they held in *Gaul*; but *Justinian* by confirming the *Franks* in these new possessions, prevailed with them, not to perform their engagements to the *Goths*. The *Franks* having thus enlarged their possessions in *Gaul*, were very attentive to the proceedings in *Italy*, and concluding that the *Romans* and *Goths* by their long war, had mutually weakened each other, they now with a great army entered the province of *Venetia* and seized it for themselves.

Totila in the mean time having received a reinforcement of six thousand *Lombards*, commanded by *Ildiges*; again invested *Rome*, which was a second time betrayed to him by the *Isaurians*, many of the inhabitants, and of the garison being slain by the *Goths*, as they were endeavouring to escape to *Centumcellæ*. *Paul* a *Cilician* with four hundred horse under his command, possessing themselves of the bridge leading to

Rome besieged by *Totila* and betrayed to him a second time.

to *St. Peters Church*, defended that post post for some time, An. ch with the greatest bravery, and when their provisions failed 550. them they formed a desperate resolution of breaking thro' the *Goths*, which *Totila* being informed of, he offered them terms. They chose at first to return to *Constantinople*; but afterwards changing their mind, they listed themselves among the troops of *Totila*. About three hundred more of the garrison who had taken sanctuary in the churches, abandoning their asylum, submitted to *Totila*, upon his promising to spare their lives.

Having now recovered the possession of *Rome*, he made it his chief study to embellish the city, repairing at a great expence, what he had formerly destroyed. He restored the senate to their antient rank and splendor, invited the citizens to take possession of their estates, and peopleing the city with *Goths* and *Italians* exhibited the *Circenian* games, after the manner of the *Roman* emperors. About the same time he sent another embassy to *Constantinople*, with proposals for a peace, offering upon the emperor's relinquishing *Italy* to him, to assist him as a faithful ally, against his enemies; but *Justinian* would not admit his ambassadors to his presence.

Here repairs what he formerly destroyed.

Totila upon the return of his ambassadors, resolved to pursue the war with the utmost vigour, and leaving a garrison in *Rome*, he invested *Centum Cellæ* now *Civita Vecchia*. The garrison making a vigorous defence. *Totila* agreed to give the governor leave to acquaint the emperor with his situation, on condition that if he did not receive relief by a time prefixed he should deliver up the place, giving in the mean time thirty hostages. *Totila* after this agreement made himself master of *Tarentum* and passed over to *Sicily*, but not being able to reduce *Messina*, he ravaged the country in its neighbourhood.

Rhegium, in the mean time surrendering to the *Goths*, *Justinian*, alarmed at the progress they made in *Italy*, named his nephew *Germanus*, General against them, allowing him a large sum of money to raise troops in *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*. At the same time he pardoned *Artabanes*, who had lately conspired against him, and sent him into *Sicily*. *Germanus* being of a generous temper, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, soon raised a formidable army; the news of which greatly dispirited the *Goths*, and encouraged the *Romans*, who, assembling in a body on the borders of *Istria*, waited his arrival there: But, a few days before *Germanus* intended to begin his march for *Italy*, he was seized with a violent distemper which put an end to his life. Upon the news of his death the Emperor ordered *Justin*, the son of *Germanus* and *John*, who had married his daughter, to lead the army into *Italy*. *Totila*, in the mean time having laid waste great part of *Sicily*, sat down before *Syracuse*, which he made himself master of; the fleet which *Artabanes* was conducting to its relief, having been dispersed on the coast of *Calabria* by a violent storm. Not long after, *Totila* entirely reduced the island, and

Totila reduces the island of *Sicily*

and rava-
ges the
coasts of
Greece.

The *Goths*
defeated
before *An-*
cona and
obliged to
raise the
siege,

Narses ar-
rives with
a great ar-
my in *Ita-*
ly

and leaving four strong garrisons in it, to awe the inhabitants, he returned to *Italy* loaded with booty. *Justin* and *John*, having passed the winter in *Salonæ*, early in the spring set out on their march to *Ravenna*; but in the mean time the *Sclavi* passing the *Danube*, and breaking into the *Roman* Provinces, the *Roman* generals were obliged to send strong detachments against them, which in the end forced them to return home. This irruption delayed their march for some time, and, when they were upon the confines of *Italy*, they were ordered to stop till they should be joined by *Narses*. *Totila*, in the mean time, having equipped a fleet of three hundred galleys, sent them to pillage the coasts of *Greece*. This fleet having ravaged the island of *Corfu*, surprised the cities of *Nicopolis* and *Anchialus*, and took upon the coast of *Epire*, many ships, some of which were laden with provisions for the army of *Narses*. *Totila*, in the mean time, blocked up the city of *Ancona* by sea and land, which *John* being informed of by *Valerian*, who commanded in *Ravenna*, he ventured to disobey his orders, and putting the flower of his army on board forty vessels, sailed from *Dalmatia*, and upon his arrival before *Ancona* was joined by *Valerian* with twelve ships more. The *Goths*, having manned forty seven of their best ships, ventured an engagement, in which they were utterly defeated, thirty-six of their ships being taken or sunk with all the men on board, and the rest driven on shore, where they were set on fire by the *Goths* themselves. After this defeat the *Goths* raised the siege with great precipitation, and left their camp, and part of their baggage, to the *Roman* generals, who having reinforced the garrison, returned, *Valerian* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salonæ*. About the same time *Artabanes*, having refitted his fleet, landed in *Sicily*, and soon recovered all the castles held by the *Goths* in that island. These losses disheartened the *Goths*, and *Totila* himself to such a degree, that he once more dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*; but *Justinian* would not grant them an audience. *Totila* being thus disappointed renewed his preparations by sea and land, and made himself master of the islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*. *Narses* in the mean time, prepared to enter *Italy*, with a formidable army, and an immense treasure, to supply the wants of the troops, and to pay the emperors forces in *Italy*, their arrears, which had been due, ever since the beginning of the war; Besides the *Romans* levied in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, *Narses* was joined by five thousand *Lombards*, and three thousand *Heruli*, commanded by *Philimuth*, one of their princes. *Aruth* another prince, of the same nation. came to his assistance, at the head of a chosen body of veterans; and, a great number of *Gepidæ*, *Hunns*, *Persians*, and others, cheerfully followed his banner, some in acknowledgement of his former favours, and others, in expectation of spoil and booty. *Narses* being joined by *John* and the troops under his command, after a long march, arrived safe with his army at *Ravenna*.

venna. After continuing nine days at *Ravenna*, to refresh his army, he proceeded towards *Rome*. *Totila*, in the mean time, marched to the *Appennine* mountains, and had scarce formed his camp, when *Narses* came and encamped at a small distance a general from him. *Narses* dispatched a messenger to *Totila*, to advise battle be- him not to contend with the whole strength of the empire, twixt him but if he was bent for war, desiring him to fix a day for a and the pitched battle. *Totila*, without betraying the least fear, told *Goths*. the messenger, that the dispute must be decided with the sword, and that eight days after, he would not fail to meet the *Roman* general. *Narses* suspecting some design, in delay. made the necessary preparations as if he was to fight the day following ; and acted therein very wisely, for the next day *Totila* advanced with his whole army, in order of battle, when some skirmishes immediately ensued. While both armies stood in battle array, a *Goth* named *Cocas*, who had formerly served in the emperors army ; advancing before the ranks, challenged any on the *Roman* side to single combat. The challenge was readily accepted by one *Anzelas*, an *Armenian*, who at the first encounter slew his insulting adversary. *Totila* about noon drew off his troops, and ordered them to refresh themselves, as if he had laid aside his intention of charging that day ; but soon after he suddenly led them out against the enemy, hoping by so unexpected an onset to surprise them. *Narses* however, having suspected his design, had kept his men in battle array, and received him with great resolution. After a most obstinate and bloody engagement, the *Goths* The *Goths* were defeated, with the loss of six thousand men killed on the defeated spot. *Totila* upon finding the day irrevocably lost, fled, at- and *Totila* tended only by five horsemen, but was pursued and mortally slain. wounded by a commander of the *Gepidæ*. He continued his flight, and soon after his wound was dressed, he died, and was privately buried by those who had attended him. This is the account of *Procopius*. ; but *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* relate, that *Totila* was mortally wounded in the engagement, that he died while his wound was dressing, and that his men missing him, concluded he was killed, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight. *Totila* reigned eleven years, and is commended by all the writers of those times, not only for his valour, but for his humanity, temperance, moderation, and above all, for his justice and equity.

The *Goths* who escaped from the battle, assembled at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, and chose *Teia* for their king, he being deserved- *Teia* cho- ly esteemed as one of the most valiant men of their nation. sen king. *Teia* having seized the treasure which his predecessor had left in *Pavia*, endeavoured to draw the *Franks* to his assistance, by the offer of a large sum and by representing to *Theobald* their king, the formidable power of the emperor ; but he could not however prevail with them to espouse his cause. *Narses* in the mean time, detached *Valerian* to prevent the *Goths* from assembling under *Teia*, and he himself proceeded to *Rome*

Narses recovers
Rome.

Teia marches to the relief of
Cumæ.

He is slain

The *Goths* submit to the emperor

Rome, reducing *Narnia*, *Spoletum*, and *Perugia* on his march. The *Goths* having retired into the citadel, *Narses* made himself master of *Rome* without opposition, and soon obliged the *Goths* in the castle to surrender. The *Goths* now despairing of being able to maintain themselves in *Italy*, vented their rage on the *Roman* senators, killing them wherever they fell into their hands. *Teia* also caused three hundred children of the principal *Romans*, whom *Totila* had sent as hostages, beyond the *Po*, to be put to the sword. At the same time *Ragnaris* a *Goth* who commanded in *Calabria*, cut in pieces fifty *Roman* soldiers, who had been delivered to him as hostages. *Narses* continued at *Rome* to repair the ruins in the walls; but sent a detachment to besiege *Cumæ*, and another to attempt the reduction of *Centumcellæ*. As *Teia* had conveyed the royal treasure to *Cumæ*, he was very anxious to relieve that city, and marched from the *Po* thro' *Tuscany* into *Campania*, *Narses* followed him thither, and encamped near him at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, where the two armies continued in sight of each other for two months. The *Goths* were at length obliged to retire to a neighbouring mountain, the avenues of which being blocked up by *Narses*, they were soon compelled to hazard an engagement, which according to *Procopius* was one of the most bloody that ever was fought. The *Goths*, like men in despair, exerted their utmost efforts, and the *Romans* chose rather to die, than to yield to an enemy so much inferior in number. During the action *Teia* gave the most surprising proofs of his valour, and conduct. At the head of his troops he sustained the whole shock of the enemy, and when his shield was so loaded with darts that he could not easily wield it, he called for another, and renewing the fight made a great slaughter of the *Romans*. Thus he shifted his shield three times, but in the third change having left his breast exposed he was in that moment wounded with a javalin, and instantly expired. The *Goths*, notwithstanding the death of their king, continued the fight, till night coming on, both armies were obliged to retire. Early next morning they renewed the battle and fought with unparelled bravery till night again parted them. The third day, despairing of being able to overcome the *Romans*, who so far outnumbered them, they sent deputies to *Narses*, offering to lay down their arms, provided such of them as chose to live in *Italy*, were allowed freely to enjoy their estates and possessions, as subjects of the empire, and those who chose to retire elsewhere, were suffered to carry with them all their goods and effects. These terms being readily agreed to, by *Narses*, the *Goths* laid down their arms and submitted. Thus ended the dominion of the *Goths* in *Italy*, in the twenty-sixth year of *Justinian's* reign, the eighteenth of the *Gothic* war and of the christian æra five hundred and fifty three, after they had reigned sixty-four years in that country. Such of the *Goths* however as were in garrison, refusing to stand to the agreement made by their countrymen, had recourse to the *Franks*, who

promised to assist them against the *Romans*, to the utmost of their power. Accordingly notwithstanding, their alliance with the emperor; they entered *Italy* to the number of sixty-thousand men, under the conduct of two brothers, *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus*, giving out, that they were come to assist the *Goths*; but designing in reality to make themselves masters of *Italy*.

Narses resolved to reduce, if possible such towns as were still held by the *Goths*, before the arrival of the *Franks*. Having therefore left part of his army to invest *Cumæ*, he marched into *Tuscany*, where the cities of *Volaterræ*, *Pisæ*, *Fæsulæ* and several others submitted to him. *Lucca*, after an obstinate siege of three months, at last surrendered. About the same time *Aligern* the brother of *Teia*, delivered up *Cumæ*, judging that if the *Franks* should drive the *Romans* out of *Italy*, the *Goths* would be no gainers by their victory. *Regnares* with seven thousand *Goths* still holding out in *Monte Cassino*, near *Capua*, *Narses* marched against him with his whole army, but finding, that he could not storm the place without great loss of men, he resolved to reduce it by famine. The *Goths* held out all winter, but the following spring they were obliged to surrender to *Narses*, who spared their lives but sent them all to *Constantinople*. The numerous army of the *Franks*, after it had entered *Italy*, was entirely destroyed, partly by the sword and partly by sickness. Most of the *Goths* remained in *Italy*, and enjoyed their possessions as subjects of the empire.

Narses governed *Italy* as a province of the empire to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants for fifteen years till he was recalled by the emperor *Justin* the second. at the instigation of his wife *Sophia*. *Longinus* who was sent to govern *Italy* in his room, introduced a new form of government. He suppressed the *Consulares*, *Correctores*, *Præsides*, who had been first appointed by *Constantine* and had been even continued by the *Goths*. In room of these magistrates, he placed in every city of note, a governor with the title of duke. He abolished the name of senate and consul in *Rome*, and appointed one to govern that metropolis with the title of duke, common to the governors of other cities. He himself resided at *Ravenna*, and took the title of exarch, which by the *Greeks* was given to those who presided over a diocess, comprehending several provinces. In the first year of the government of *Longinus* part of *Italy* was seized on by the *Lombards*, whom *Narses* had invited thither in resentment for his being recalled. These invaders after a long contest during the government of seventeen exarchs at length made themselves masters of *Ravenna* and drove the *Romans* out of *Italy**.

* Procop. bell. Goth. Agath. l. 1. 82. Evagr. l. 4. Nicep. l. 17. Eutrop. l. 3. Marcellin. Jornand. Avent. Chron. Greg. Tour. Baun. Annal. Cassiodor. Ennod. in Panegy. Zosim Sal-
vian. de gubern. Dei.

C H A P. XIX.

The history of the Lombards

The origin of the Lombards

THE *Longobards*, *Langobards*, or *Lombards* are first mentioned in history by *Prosper Aquitanus*, in the year 379. He relates that the *Lombards* then abandoned the most distant coast of the ocean and their native country *Scandinavia*, and attacked and defeated the *Vandals* in *Germany*. They were headed by two chiefs named *Iboreus* and *Aionus*, upon whose death, which happened about ten years after, they created *Agilmund*, son to the latter, their first king, who reigned thirty three years. Long before the time of *Prosper* mention is made of a people named *Longobards* who inhabited between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, and in the reign of *Tiberius* entered into an alliance with the *Cherusians* and made war upon *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomans*, from whom they had revolted. But these *Longobards* were, according to *Grotius*, a german nation and a quite different people from those mentioned by *Prosper*.

whence they received their name

According to *Paulus Diaconus* and the most credible writers, the latter were originally a *Gothic* nation and the same with the *Gepidæ*, who when they left *Scandinavia*, stopped first at the mouth of the *Vistula*, but proceeding afterwards up that river, settled on the banks of the *Danube*, and infested the *Roman* territories. The *Gepidæ* in process of time fell out among themselves, and from this division sprung the *Longobards*, who are therefore called sometimes *Gepidæ* and sometimes *Longobards*. As they often changed their seats they were thence called *Winili*, that is, *Wanderers*; but were nevertheless a distinct nation from the *Vandals*, who had sometimes also the appellation of *Winili*. Some think that they were called *Longobards* from the long halberts which they are supposed to have used, called in the german language *langen borden*; but *Paulus Diaconus*, who was himself a *Lombard*, tells us, that they were called *Longobards* from the length of their beards. After they had continued about forty-two years in *Pannonia*, they marched into *Italy* and in a short time made themselves masters of the greatest part of that country. According to *Paulus Diaconus* no violence or oppression, no treachery or compulsion was practised among the *Lombards*, every man being suffered to enjoy his property undisturbed, and to follow his profession without the least apprehension of danger. *Procopius* however writes that those *Lombards* who had served under *Narses* in *Italy*, were sent back to their own country on account of the disorders they committed, and *Gregory the great*, in several parts of his works, calls them a most wicked nation. But perhaps the reproaches of the pope and the encomiums of

Paulus

Paulus were both exaggerated. Their cloaths according to *Diaconus*, were loose and for the most part of linnen, from some antient paintings it appears that they shaved the back part of their heads, but that their hair was long before and their locks parted and laid on each side their foreheads.

Paulus Diaconus gives the following account of their mi- their seve-
grations. When they left *Scandinavia* in three ships, one of ral migra-
these sailed slower than the other two and on that account, tions
those on board of it were called *Gepidæ* from a word in their
language which signifies *slow*. The *Gepidæ* remained for
some time in an island formed by the mouth of the *Vistula*,
but when their numbers increased they sought for new seats
and having quarreled among themselves a part of them sepa-
rated from the rest, under the conduct of *Iboreus* and *Aion* two
brothers. These two leaders first settled with their follow-
ers in a country which he calls *Scoringa*, bordering on that
which was then held by the *Vandals*; whom in a pitched
battle they entirely defeated; having risked an engage-
ment rather than submit to pay tribute to them. The *Gepi-
dæ* or *Lombards* notwithstanding this victory abandoned *Scor-
ringa*, where they were distressed with famine, set out for
Mauringa, and, upon their arrival in that country, to increase
the number of their warriors they set all their slaves at liberty
who became one nation with them. From *Mauringa* they
proceeded to *Gothland*, and there made themselves masters of
Anthabet, *Baitbaib* and *Urgundiab*, which our historian con-
jectures to be names of towns. The two leaders *Iboreus* and
Aion dying in *Gothland*, the *Lombards* chose *Agilmund* the son
of *Aion* for their king, who is said to have been killed by the
Bulgarians after he had reigned thirty three years. He was
succeeded by *Lamiscus* or *Lamissio* the son of a harlot. He is
said to have gained a victory over the *Amazons* and to have be-
haved on several other occasions with such resolution and in-
trepidity that the *Lombards* with one voice proclaimed him
king. The *Lombards* soon after his accession were led by him
against the *Bulgarians* whom they entirely defeated. The
successor of *Lamissio* was *Leta*, or *Lechus*, who after a reign of
near forty years was succeeded by *Ildeock* or *Hildebock*, after
whom reigned *Gudeoc*, in whose reign the *Rugians* being
extirpated by *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, the *Lombards* came and
settled in their country which lay beyond the *Danube*. *Gu-
deoc* dying in *Rugiland* was succeeded by his son *Claffus* after
whom reigned *Tatus*, in whose time the *Lombards* left *Rugi-
land* and settled in the champain country bordering on the
Danube, were they defeated the *Heruli* and killed their king
Rodolphus. The victorious *Lombards* divided the rich plunder,
Tatus taking for his share only the helmet of *Rodolphus* and
his standard called *Bandum*. Not long after *Tatus* was slain
by *Wacho*, son to his brother *Zuchilo*, who defeated *Aildichus*
the son of *Tatus*, and forced him to take refuge among the
neighbouring

neighbouring *Gepidæ*. *Wacho* is said to have subdued the *Sueves*, and to have had three wives, by one of whom he had *Walterius*, who succeeded him in the kingdom and reigned about seven years. After *Walterius* reigned *Audoinus*, in whose reign the *Lombards* gained a compleat victory over the *Gepidæ*, which was chiefly owing to the bravery of the king's son *Alboinus*. A few years after, the *Lombards* were allowed by the emperor *Justinian*, to settle in *Pannonia**.

they settle
in Panno-
nia, A.C.
256.

Alboinus
kills the
king of
the *Gepi-
dæ* with
his own
hand.

Alboinus succeeding his father *Audoinus*, married *Clodisvinta*, daughter to *Clotharius* king of the *Franks*, by whom he had but one daughter. *Cunimund* about this time succeeding to the crown among the *Gepidæ*, he, to revenge the death of his brother whom *Alboinus* had slain in single combat in the late battle between the two nations, now made war on the *Lombards*. *Alboinus* entering into an alliance with the *Hunns*, then known by the name of *Avars*, took the field and in the first battle, killed the king of the *Gepidæ*, with his own hand, and so totally cut off the army of the enemy, that they ceased to be a nation. Having caused the deceased king's head to be cut off, he made a cup of his skull, and used it in all public entertainments. The late king's daughter, being among the number of his prisoners, he married her upon the death of his first wife *Clodisvinta*.

The *Lom-
bards* assist
Narses
against
the *Goths*.

Alboinus by this victory gained great fame and reputation, not only among the *Gothic* nations, but likewise among the *Romans*; insomuch that *Narses*, who had been sent by *Justinian* to drive the *Goths* out of *Italy*, entered into an alliance with him, and received from him a body of men, who greatly distinguished themselves in that battle in which *Totila* was killed. When the war was ended, they were sent home says *Paulus Diaconus*, with rich presents, but according to *Procopius*, the *Roman* general was obliged to send them home before the conclusion of the war, on account of the disorders which they committed.

Narses while he governed *Italy* maintained a strict friendship and correspondence with *Alboinus*, so that it was not a hard matter for him, to persuade that warlike and ambitious prince to invade that country, in resentment of the slight put upon himself by the successor of *Justinian*, *Justin* the second and his empress *Sophia*. *Justin* suspecting that he aimed at the imperial dignity, recalled him from *Italy*; and as he was a eunuch the empress *Sophia* in contempt of him said, that his future employment should be to distribute in the apartment of her

* The names of the various countries in which the *Lombards* are said by *Paulus Diaconus* to have settled, have occasioned great debates among modern historians and geographers; but all we know with any foundation is, that the countries mentioned by that writer, lay between the mouth of the *Vistula*, and *Pannonia*, where the *Lombards* settled in *Justinian's* time.

women; the portion of wool which each of them was to spin. *Narses*, stung with this insolent reflection, said, *I will begin* They are such a web as she shall never be able to finish; and immediately invited by dispatched messengers to the *Lombards*, inviting them into him into Italy.

Alboinus eagerly embraced the invitation, and solicited the assistance of his allies the *Saxons*, who sent him twenty thousand men, with their wives and children. He also received powerful succours from the *Gepidæ* then his subjects, from the *Bulgarians*, *Sarmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Sueves*, *Noricans* and others. Before he set out, he entered into a strict alliance with the *Hunns*, to whom he left *Pannonia*, on condition that if the expedition he was going upon did not succeed, the *Lombards* should be allowed to enter upon their former possessions.

The whole nation of the *Lombards* began their march for The *Lom-*
Italy, with their wives, children, and most valuable effects, *bards en-*
in the month of *April* of the year 568, and, meeting with *ter Italy*.
no opposition, advanced through the province of *Venetia* to *Aquileia*, which city opened its gates to them, most part of the inhabitants, both of the city and the country, having abandoned their habitations upon their approach. *Alboinus* passed the winter in *Friuli*, quartering his troops in its territory, which he formed into a dukedom, conferring the title of duke on his nephew *Gisulphus*, whom he appointed to guard and govern those territories. The following spring, *Alboinus* moved forward, and made himself master of *Trevigi*, *Oderzo*, *Monte Selce*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Trent*; in each of which cities he left a strong garison under the command of an officer whom he distinguished with the title of duke, who retained his title, however, no longer than he held his command. *Alboinus* left *Padua* and several other cities behind him, either because they lay too much out of his way, or were too well garisoned to be easily reduced. In the third campaign, *Alboinus* entered the northern part of *Liguria*, and made himself master of *Bressia*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Como*, and the other towns of that province, the greatest part of the inhabitants having fled to the mountains at his approach. *Milan*, the capital of *Liguria*, after a short siege, surrendered, great numbers of the inhabitants having retired, with their bishop *Honoratus*, to *Genoa*. The *Lombards*, *Alboinus*
upon the reduction of *Milan*, proclaimed and saluted *Alboi-* proclaim-
nus king of *Italy*, lifting him up upon a shield, in the midst ed king of
of the army, and presenting him with a lance, which among *Italy*.
them was the ensign of royalty.

An. Ch.

570.

From *Milan*, *Alboinus* marched against *Pavia*; but meeting there with a vigorous resistance, he left part of his army to push on the siege, and, with the rest, reduced *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and the other inland cities both in *Æmia* and *Tuscany*. Having next reduced *Spoletto*, he formed the city and its territory into a dukedom, and gave the govern-

ment

Alboinus
murdered
An. Ch.
575.

ment of it to *Feroaldus*, with the title of duke. The other cities of note were also erected into duchies, which title most of them retain to this day. *Alboinus* returning from *Umbria*, at length made himself master of *Pavia*, after a siege of three years and some months. He pardoned the inhabitants, and, as the city was strongly fortified, and conveniently situated, he chose it for the place of his residence; and his successors also residing there, it became the metropolis of the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and was raised above all the other cities subject to them. *Alboinus*, before he extended his conquests, resolved to establish peace and good order in the countries he had already reduced; but was, in the mean time, slain, by the treachery of his wife *Rosamund*, whom he had exasperated by desiring her one day, when he was feasting with his chief favourites, to drink merrily with her father, and at the same time presenting her with the cup made of his skull. She discovered her intention of murdering the king to *Helmichild*, his shield-bearer, a youth of great boldness and intrepidity; but he absolutely refusing to embue his hands in the blood of his sovereign, she, by a shameful stratagem, forced him to a compliance. Knowing that he carried on an intrigue with one of her ladies, she placed herself one night in her bed, and, after she had indulged the youth in his amorous desires, she discovered herself to him, and told him, that he must now either put the king to death, or be put to death by him. *Helmichild*, to avoid the danger that threatened him, engaged in the treason; and making some others privy to the design, they broke in upon the king, while he was reposing in his chamber after dinner, and dispatched him with their daggers.

Rosamund, after the king's death, married *Helmichild*, and had promised to bestow upon him also the kingdom of the *Lombards*; but instead of being able to fulfil her promise, she and her new husband were obliged to save themselves by flight. She fled with her husband and her daughter *Albifvinda* to *Longinus* the exarch, residing at *Ravenna*, carrying with her all the jewels and treasure of the late king. *Longinus* received her with great marks of kindness and respect, and proposing to marry her if she could get rid of *Helmichild*, she, to satisfy her ambition, prepared a strong poison, which she gave to her husband, mixed with wine, as he came out of the bath and called for drink, according to his custom. *Helmichild* had not half emptied the cup when, by the sudden and strange operation he felt in his bowels, he concluded what it was, and, with his sword pointed at the queen's breast, compelled her to drink the rest. The poison took effect on both of them, and in a few hours they died. *Longinus*, upon the death of *Rosamund*, laid aside the design he had formed of attacking the *Lombards*, and sent the treasure of *Alboinus*, and his daughter *Albifvinda*, to *Constantinople*.

The

The *Lombards*, after paying the last duties to their deceased king, chose *Clephis*, a man of great distinction among them, as successor to *Alboinus*. *Clephis* extended his conquests to the very gates of *Rome*; but as he treated not only the *Romans*, but his own subjects, with great cruelty, he was murdered, with his wife *Messana*, by one of his people, after a short reign of eighteen months. His cruelty gave the *Lombards* such an aversion to royal power, that, for the space of ten years, they chose no king, but allowed their dukes, who were in number thirty-six, to act as sovereigns each in their respective territories. Though the *Lombards*, during the interregnum, were attended with success in their wars with the *Romans*, and took *Sutri*, *Bomarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luceoli*, and several other cities, yet they soon perceived that their kingdom thus divided could not long subsist; and therefore assembling in *Pavia*, they chose *Autharis*, the son of *Clephis*, for their king, who, by his valour and prudence, so established their kingdom, that it lasted for the space of near two hundred years.

Clephis
chosen
king by
the *Lom-*
bards.

They are
governed
by dukes.

The royal
authority
restored.
An. Ch.

586.

The *Lombards*, as we have mentioned, dissatisfied with the administration of *Clephis*, upon his death were governed by thirty-six dukes, who acted as sovereigns in their respective territories. The most powerful among these dukes uniting their forces, invaded *Gaul*, and defeated an army of *Franks* sent against them by *Gontran*, king of *Orleans*. After this victory the *Lombards* ravaged *Burgundy* without controul, made a dreadful slaughter of the *Burgundians* who attempted to oppose them, and returned home with an immense booty. They soon after invaded the country a second time; but near *Ebrodunum*, or *Ambrun*, they were almost wholly cut off by a body of *Burgundians*.

The *Lom-*
bards
break into
Gaul.

About this time the *Saxons*, who had assisted the *Lombards* in the conquest of *Italy*, and were, by an agreement with *Alboinus*, to share with him his future conquests, falling out with their old friends and allies, resolved to return to their own country, because the *Lombards* would not consent to their living independent of them in a distinct body. They were repulsed in their first attempt to pass through *Gaul*; but having purchased a passage with a considerable sum, they returned to their antient seats, which they found possessed by the *Suani*, who, rather than retire, risked an engagement, in which twenty thousand of the *Saxons* were killed. The *Saxons*, being defeated in a second battle, were obliged to submit to the terms granted them by the *Suani*.

The *Sax-*
ons, their
allies, re-
turn home

The *Lombards*, notwithstanding their late defeat in *Gaul*, made a new incursion into that country, but were defeated by the *Franks*, who followed them to *Italy*, and made themselves masters of a strong-hold in the neighbourhood of *Trent*; which, however, they were soon obliged to abandon with great loss. Mean while, the *Lombards* extended their conquests in *Italy*, and reduced the cities of *Sutri*, *Bomarzo*,

The *Lom-*
bards de-
feated in
Gaul.

They
choose
Autharis
king.

His con-
duct to-
wards the
dukes.

He em-
braces the
Christian
religion.

The
Franks
invade
Italy.

Orta, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luceoli*, and several others of less importance. The emperor *Mauritius*, alarmed at their progress, and dissatisfied with *Longinus*, recalled him, and sent *Zamaragdus* in his room, a person of great prudence, and well skilled in military affairs. *Zamaragdus* landing at *Ravenna* with a considerable army, in the beginning of the year 584, soon after made himself master of *Brissello*, a place of great strength on the *Po*. *Mauritius*, in the mean time, by a large sum of money, prevailed on *Childeric*, king of the *Franks*, to engage in the war against the *Lombards*; who being alarmed at this confederacy, and reflecting on their own weakness while disunited, assembled the following year, and as we mentioned above, chose *Autharis*, the son of *Clephis*, for their king. *Autharis* was no sooner invested with the supreme power, than he undertook the recovery of *Brissello*; and, after an obstinate siege, having made himself master of it, he caused it to be dismantled, and then put his troops into winter-quarters. During the winter, he employed himself in settling the affairs of his kingdom; and, in the first place, he took upon him the name of *Flavius*, and ordered it to be used by all the *Lombard* kings, his successors. Next, he allowed the dukes to continue in their governments, but obliged them to contribute one half of their revenues towards the maintenance and support of his royal dignity, and took an oath of them, that, in time of war, they should readily assist him to the utmost of their power. When the male issue of any of the dukes failed, he reserved to himself a power of conferring their dukedoms on others: and this was the origin of fiefs in *Italy*. About the same time he enacted several wholesome and seasonable laws against theft, rapine, murder, adultery, and other crimes, which at that time prevailed among his subjects. Having renounced Paganism, and embraced the Christian religion, his example was followed by most of his subjects: but as they were all instructed by Arian bishops, they retained those doctrines for a long while.

Autharis, the following spring, being informed that *Childebert* had passed the *Alps*, with a powerful army, ordered his dukes to provide their cities with strong garisons, and to wait on their walls the arrival of the enemy; sending, at the same time, ambassadors to *Childebert*, with rich presents, to sue for peace. *Childebert*, accepting the presents, returned home; but *Mauritius* insisting that he should restore the money he had received from him, if he did not perform his engagements, the king of the *Franks*, that he might seem to do something for the subsidy he had received, sent a numerous army under his best generals into *Italy*. *Autharis* now altering his conduct, resolved to meet the enemy in the open field, in hopes of crushing them effectually, and deterring other invaders from disturbing him. A bloody battle was accordingly fought betwixt him and the *Franks*, in

in which he gained a complete victory. The *Frauks* who They are escaped from the battle took refuge among the mountains, defeated where most of them perished with hunger. *Childebert*, to by *Authar* revenge the loss of this army, sent another of twenty thou- ris. sand men into *Italy*, under three experienced generals, who took and burnt several places of no great importance; but distempers beginning to rage among their troops, occasioned by the hot season, and want of provisions, they returned home in the utmost distress.

After their departure, *Autharis* resolved to employ his whole strength against the *Romans*. He had already made himself master of all the *Hither Italy*, except the dukedom of *Rome*, and the Exarchate, which composed the present *Bolognese*, *Romagna*, the duchy of *Urbino*, and great part of *Picenum*, now *la Marca*, and was governed by *Romanus*, who had succeeded *Zamaragdus*. As the provinces which make up the present kingdom of *Naples* were almost without any troops to defend them, *Autharis*, in the spring of the year 589, assembled his army at *Spoletum*, and pretending to The *Lom-* march elsewhere, he suddenly entered *Samnium*, which pro- bards ex- vince, together with the city of *Beneventum*, he reduced al- tend their most without opposition. He soon after over-ran all *Cala-* conquests *bria*, and advancing as far as *Rhegium*, he rode into the sea, in *Italy*. and striking with his lance a pillar that stood near the shore, Thus far, said he, shall the bounds of the Lombards extend. *Autharis*, on his return, reduced *Samnium* to a province, appointing *Zotto* first duke of *Benevento*, which he declared the capital of the province. As he now intended to carry the war into the exarchate, and the dukedom of *Rome*, he dispatched ambassadors to *Guntran*, uncle to *Childebert*, hoping by his mediation to conclude a lasting peace with the *Franks*. *Guntran* readily interposed, but before the treaty could be concluded, *Autharis* died of poison in *Pavia*, after he had *Autharis* reigned about six years. dies.

Autharis had married *Theudelinda*, the daughter of *Gari-* An. Ch. bald, king of the *Baiarians*; but as he had no children by 590. her, the *Lombards*, upon the news of his death, assembled to choose a new king. Not being able to agree among themselves, they referred the whole affair to *Theudelinda*; who, to shew herself worthy of the confidence they reposed in her, consulted the wisest men of the nation, and, by their advice, bestowed herself and the kingdom on *Agilulf*, duke *Agilulf* of *Turin*, a person of extraordinary merit, and nearly re- chosen lated to the late king. *Zotto*, the first duke of *Benevento*, king. dying in the first year of the reign of *Agilulf*, the king appointed *Arechis*, cousin to *Gilulphus*, duke of *Friuli*, to succeed him in the dukedom of *Benevento*. As many of the dukes began to attempt to shake off all dependancy, *Agilulf* suppressed several dukedoms; and his successors following his example, and declining to appoint new dukes in the room of those who died without issue male, thereby in time reduced

reduced the dukedoms to a very small number. During the government of *Arechis*, which lasted fifty years, the *Lombards* were very successful in the South of *Italy*, and extended the bounds of the dukedom of *Benevento* on one side to the city of *Naples*, and on the other to *Sipantum*, at the foot of mount *Garganus*.

Some of
the dukes
rebel,
but are
punished.

Agilulf, soon after his election, was persuaded by *Theudelinda* to embrace the Catholic faith, his example being followed by great numbers of his subjects. In the third year of his reign, *Agilulf* was forced to turn his arms against his own countrymen; for *Minulf*, duke of the island of *St. Julian*, and *Gaidulf*, duke of *Bergamo*, revolting from him, claimed an absolute authority in their respective districts. *Agilulf* having got *Minulf* into his power, put him to death, because he had formerly acted in concert with *Childebert*, when he invaded *Italy*. *Gaidulf*, upon his submission, was received into favour, and *Ulfaris*, another duke, but of what place is uncertain, who had also revolted, obtained his pardon, and was confirmed in his dukedom.

Hostilities
betwixt
the *Lom-*
bards and
the *Ro-*
mans.

Romanus, the exarch, encouraged by the civil dissensions among the *Lombards*, broke the truce which he had concluded with them, and surprized several of their cities; but *Agilulf* quickly marching against him, obliged him to return to *Ravenna*, and soon after recovered the cities he had seized. *Mauritius*, duke of *Perugia*, having betrayed that city to the *Romans*, made an obstinate defence for some time; but being taken as he was endeavouring to escape, he was put to death, and the city was recovered. *Agilulf*, immediately after recovering *Perugia*, ravaged the *Roman* dukedom with fire and sword, for several months, and encamped at a small distance from the city; but *Theudelinda*, at the earnest request of *Gregory the Great*, then bishop of *Rome*, prevailed on her husband to grant a peace to the *Romans*, and retire. The officers of the emperor, both in *Italy*, in *Sicily* and *Corfica*, contributed greatly to the success of the *Lombards*, by grievously oppressing the people with heavy taxes, which they exacted with the utmost rigour, being averse to a peace, which they knew would take away all pretence for their extortions. A peace, however, was soon after concluded, by means of *Gregory*, between *Agilulf* and the exarch *Callinicus*, who came to *Italy* upon the death of *Romanus*. At the same time, *Theodebert*, the successor of *Childebert*, not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with the king of the *Lombards*. *Agilulf*, nevertheless, was far from enjoying repose; but was obliged to march against *Zangrulf*, duke of *Verona*, *Gaidulf*, duke of *Bergamo*, and another duke, named *Warnecaut*, who had revolted. Having totally defeated their troops, and taken them prisoners, he ordered them all three to be put to death.

A peace
concluded
at the in-
tercession
of the
pope.

While

While he was engaged against the rebels, the exarch *Cal- The ex-*
linicus, in violation of the treaty, surprized *Parma*, where arch
 he took the king's daughter and *Godescalc*, her husband, pri- breaks the
 soners. *Agilulf* was so provoked at this breach of faith, that peace.
 he resolved to renew the war, and not to lay down his arms
 till he had driven the *Romans*, if possible, quite out of *Italy*.
 Having accordingly made an alliance with the *Chagan*, or king
 of the *Auares*, who was to make a powerful diversion in *Thrace*,
 he marched with his army against *Cremona*, which he in-
 vested on all sides, and, after a month's siege, made himself
 master of the place. His army being then reinforced by a
 body of *Sclavi*, he marched against the cities of *Padua* and
Mantua, which were both taken, plundered, and laid in
 ashes. *Chagan*, in the mean time, after ravaging *Thrace*
 and *Mæsia*, approached *Constantinople* with his numerous
 army, which so greatly alarmed the inhabitants, that they
 thought of quitting *Europe*, and retiring, with their best ef-
 fects, to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Asia*. A plague,
 however, breaking out among the *Auares*, *Chagan* was ob-
 liged to return; and, at his departure, offered to release all
 his prisoners, of whom he had twelve thousand, at a crown
 a-head. *Mauritius*, who was of a narrow parsimonious dis-
 position, rejecting this offer, *Chagan* caused all the captives
 to be put to the sword.

Agilulf re-
 duces se-
 veral Ro-
 man cities.

Callinicus, in the mean time, dying, *Zamaragdus* came as
 his successor a second time into *Italy*, with orders to set the
 daughter of *Agilulf* and her husband at liberty, and to re-
 store the treasure that had been seized at *Parma*; for which
 obliging behaviour *Agilulf* granted the *Romans* a truce from
September to the *April* following. During the truce, *Agilulf*
 assembled the chief *Lombards* at *Milan*, and in their presence
 declared his son *Adalwald*, or, as others call him, *Aldonald*,
 yet an infant, his colleague, causing him to be solemnly
 crowned in the open circus. Having, soon after, concluded
 a perpetual league with the *Franks*, he, upon the expiration
 of the truce, seized on *Orbitum* and *Balneoregium*, two very
 important posts; but the exarch, upon paying twelve thou-
 sand *Solidi*, prevailed on the king to restore them, and to re-
 new the truce for a whole year, which, when it expired, was
 again renewed for three years longer.

The *Lom-*
bards en-
 large their
 territories

During this truce the *Hunns*, under *Cacanus*, made an ir-
 ruption into the dukedom of *Friuli*, destroying all with fire
 and sword. Having defeated and slain duke *Gilulf*, they laid
 siege to *Forum Julii*, the metropolis of the dukedom, which
 was betrayed to *Cacanus* by *Romilda*, the deceased duke's
 widow, upon his promising to marry her; but he, instead
 of performing his promise, caused her to be put to an igno-
 minious death, after he had abused her himself, and caused
 her in like manner to be abused by several of his followers.
 The *Hunns*, upon their departure, carried with them all
 the inhabitants who had fallen into their hands; and when
 they

Friuli in-
 vaded by
 the *Hunns*.

they reached the confines of *Pannonia*, they put the men to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity.

The
exarch
murdered

The duke
of *Naples*
revolts,

but is put
to death.

Adaluald
succeeds
Agilulf.
An. Ch.
615;

Eleutherius, the

Mean while, great disturbances happened in *Ravenna*, where *Joannes Lemigius*, who had succeeded *Zamaragdus*, endeavouring to increase the taxes and burthens of the people was suddenly attacked in his palace by the multitude, and torn in pieces, together with the judges, whom he had called together for the administration of justice. Upon the news of this mutiny, *Joannes Compositus*, duke of *Naples*, renounced his allegiance to the emperor, and caused himself to be acknowledged by the inhabitants as their prince, providing the city with a strong garison, that he might be able to defend himself against the emperor's forces. Soon after, *Eleutherius*, the emperor's chamberlain, a person highly esteemed for his prudence and valour, arriving as exarch at *Ravenna*, caused such as he found guilty of the murder of his predecessor to be punished with death; and having thus quelled the rioters, he marched immediately, with all the forces he could assemble, to *Naples*. After an obstinate siege, having made himself master of the city, he put the duke to death, and having appointed another in his room, returned to *Ravenna*.

Before these disturbances were quieted, *Agilulf* died, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Adaluald*; and he, being then very young, suffered himself to be entirely governed by his mother *Theudelinda*, who applied herself wholly to works of piety and religion; so that during his reign the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity. Great disturbances, however, happened in the exarchate; for *Eleutherius*, elated beyond measure with the success that had attended him against the duke of *Naples*, began to entertain thoughts of usurping the sovereignty of *Italy*, as the emperor was then engaged in a war against the *Saracens*, which, he hoped, would prevent him from being able to check his revolt. Having gained the affection of the soldiery, by several popular acts of condescension, but, above all, by paying them their arrears, he resolved to set out with his whole army for *Rome*, and cause himself to be acknowledged there king of *Italy*. As he had just received news of the death of *Deusdedis*, the bishop of *Rome*, he thought that while the people were busied in the election of a successor, he might, with great ease, seize on the city, and then influence the election so as to have one of his own friends raised to that see. Being informed on his march, however, that *Boniface*, the fifth of that name, was already elected, he was obliged to alter his measures; and having ordered the army to halt, he made them a plausible speech, inveighing against the abuses and disorders which then prevailed, and promising to redress them to their satisfaction. Having, as he imagined, by this speech attached them to his interest,

interest he openly assumed the title of king: but his soldiers detesting his treachery, slew him a few days after, and sending his head to the emperor *Heraclius*, returned to *Ravenna*. exarch, re-
volts, but
is mur-
dered.

Isaacius, a patrician, soon after arrived as exarch at *Ravenna*. In the beginning of his administration, *Tato*, who had succeeded his father *Gilulf* in the dukedom of *Friuli*, was persuaded by *Gregory*, a Roman officer who commanded in those parts, to visit him at *Optigerium*, in hopes of being adopted for his son. *Tato*, with his second brother *Caco*, and several persons of distinction who attended him, had no sooner entered *Optigerium*, than they were attacked by the *Romans*; and, after they had defended themselves for a long time with great gallantry, were all cut off. *Gregory* hoped by this treachery to have made himself master of the whole duchy; but *Grafulf*, the uncle of the two surviving princes, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, taking upon himself the administration, defeated the designs of the traitor. *Grafulf* kept the dukedom to himself; and the two brothers, his nephews, not thinking themselves safe while in his power, fled to *Arechis*, duke of *Benevento*, by whom they were kindly received.

In the eighth year of *Adaluald*'s reign, one *Eusebius* arrived at *Pavia*, as ambassador from the emperor, to conclude a lasting peace with the king of the *Lombards*. Having gained the confidence of the king, he presented him, as he came out of the bath, with a draught which soon deprived him of the right use of his senses, and brought him to a kind of melancholy madness. While he was in this condition, by the advice of *Eusebius*, he put twelve of his chief nobles to death, under a false suspicion that they had formed a conspiracy against him. The other nobles immediately taking arms, removed him and his mother *Theudelinda* from the government, and raised to the throne *Ariovald*, duke of *Turin*, who had married *Gundiberg*, the sister of *Adaluald*. *Ariovald* was supported by the nobles who had deposed *Adaluald*, and by all the bishops beyond the *Po*: but *Honorius*, bishop of *Rome*, espoused with great zeal the cause of the deposed king; being prompted thereto by the regard he had for *Theudelinda*, and by his aversion to *Ariovald*, who held the tenets of *Arius*. He prevailed upon *Isaacius*, the exarch, to join the friends of *Adaluald* with all the troops under his command; and likewise, with severe menaces, obliged the bishops who had espoused the cause of *Ariovald*, to abandon that prince. *Ariovald*, however, in spite of the utmost efforts both of the pope and the exarch, maintained himself on the throne, as *Adaluald* died unexpectedly, some say by poison. *Theudelinda* was so affected with the misfortunes of her son, that she fell into a consumption, and died soon after. On account of her exemplary piety, and the excellent endowments of her mind, she justly deserves to be ranked among

Adaluald
deposed,
and *Ario-
vald* cho-
sen king.

Adaluald
dies.

Ariovald among the most illustrious women mentioned in history. *Ariovald* reigned nine years after the death of *Theudelinda*; during which time the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad.

An. Ch.
636.

Rotharis
chosen
king.

He gives
written
laws to
the *Lom-
bards*.

He ex-
tends the
conquests
of the
Lombards;

and de-
feats the
exarch.

A rebel-
lion in
Rome.

The dukes, upon the death of *Ariovald*, who left no issue male behind him, not being able to agree in the choice of a successor, resolved to pay the same regard to *Gundeberg* which they had formerly paid to *Theudelinda*, allowing her to choose whom she pleased for her husband, and their king, *Gundeberg* made choice of *Rotharis*, duke of *Brescia*, a person qualified in every respect for that sublime station, but tainted with the Arian heresy, whence, in his time, there were two bishops in most cities of *Italy*, the one Catholic and the other Arian. *Rotharis* is no less commended for his equity and moderation, than for his valour and prudence. He was the first who gave written laws to the *Lombards*; and his example being followed by his successors, in process of time a new volume of laws appeared, called *The Longobard laws*. *Rotharis* did not, like the *Roman* emperors, frame the laws by his arbitrary authority, but convened an assembly of his nobles, by whose advice and consent three hundred and eighty-six laws were enacted, and published in an edict in the year 644, the eighth of his reign, through all the provinces of his dominion, especially in the dukedom of *Benevento*, which was now reputed the best part of the dominion of the *Lombards*.

The reign of *Rotharis* was also memorable for the conquests he made. Not thinking himself bound by the treaty which his predecessor had concluded with the exarch, he broke on a sudden into the *Alpes Cottiae*, and having made himself master of that province, he led his army against the cities of *Opitergium*, now *Oderzo* and *Trevizo*, which he easily reduced, with all the cities in the province of *Venetia*, till that time held by the *Romans*. *Isaacius* having assembled his forces, broke into the dominions of the *Lombards*, which he ravaged with fire and sword. *Rotharis* was then before *Perugia*, which soon submitting to him, he marched against the exarch, and offered him battle. The exarch accepting the challenge, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were defeated, with the loss of eight thousand men, killed on the spot.

About this time, *Mauricius*, who had been appointed duke of *Rome*, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire; occasioned by the usurpation of *Heracleon*, and the invasion of the *Saracens*, usurped the sovereignty of the city committed to his charge. *Isaacius* immediately dispatched against him a considerable body of troops, under one of his best officers; who, when he approached the walls of *Rome*, caused a declaration to be read, wherein *Mauritius* was proclaimed a rebel, and not only a pardon, but a considerable gratuity, promised to all who should quit the traitor, and return

return to their duty. *Mauritius* being immediately abandoned, was dragged from a church where he had taken sanctuary, and soon after beheaded. Not long after, on the death of *Isaacius*, *Theodorus Calliopa* arrived at *Ravenna* as exarch, and governed the *Roman* dominions in *Italy* for seven years, with great applause. *Olympius*, who succeeded him in 650, gained several advantages over the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, and, at last, drove them out of that island; but died in the third year of his exarchate, when *Theodorus Calliopa* came again into *Italy*, as his successor.

In the second year of the exarchate of *Olympius*, died king *Rotharis* Rotharis dies. *Rotharis*, after he had governed the *Lombards* for the space of sixteen years, with great prudence, equity, and moderation. *Arechis*, duke of *Benevento*, having died in the fifth year of *Rotharis*, after he had governed that dukedom fifty years, was succeeded by his son *Aio*. This prince was a man of very weak parts, and, as *Paulus Diaconus* insinuates, distracted in his mind, which that writer ascribes to a potion given him by the *Romans*. *Arechis*, sensible of the incapacity of his son, recommended him, on his death-bed, to *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, the sons of *Gilulf*, duke of *Friuli*, whom he appointed, by his last will, to succeed to the dukedom, in case *Aio* should die without issue male. Soon after the death of *Arechis*, *Apulia* being invaded by the *Sclavonians*, who had landed at *Sipontum*, *Aio*, without waiting till he was joined by *Rodoald* and his brother, marched against them; but falling into an ambush, was slain by the enemy, after he had governed about a year. *Rodoald* having quickly after driven the *Sclavonians* from *Italy*, he and his brother took possession of the dukedom, pursuant to the last will of *Arechis*. These two princes governed jointly for the space of five years, during which they made an unsuccessful attack upon *Surrento*. *Rodoald* died in *Benevento* in the year 647; but his brother *Grimoald* held the dukedom sixteen years after his death, and in that time is said to have gained several victories over the *Neapolitans* and *Romans*.

King *Rotharis* was succeeded by his son *Rodoald*, who was *Rodoald* killed in the second year of his reign by a *Lombard*, whose succeeds wife he had debauched. As he left no children by his wife his father *Gundeberg*, the daughter of *Agilulf* and *Theudelinda*, the *Rotharis*. *Lombards* chose, as his successor, *Aribert*, the son of *Gundo-* An. Ch. *ald*. According to *Paulus Diaconus*, he reigned nine years, 652. and left behind him two sons, *Partharit* and *Gundebert*, be- *Aribert* tween whom he, with the greatest imprudence, divided his chosen kingdom. *Partharit*, the eldest, fixed his residence at *Mi-* king. *lan*, while *Gundebert* remained at *Pavia*. The latter soon *Partharit* being dissatisfied with the part allotted him, resolved to drive and *Gundebert* his brother from the throne, and make himself master of the *debert* whole kingdom. He sent *Garibald*, duke of *Turin*, to pre-joint vail with *Grimoald*, duke of *Benevento*, to assist him, promis- kings, ing him his sister in marriage if he succeeded in the under-taking.

taking. The duke of *Turin*, however, acted quite contrary to his instructions, and, by representing to *Grimoald* the fatal consequences of the dissention between the two princes, persuaded him to lay hold of the opportunity to seize the sovereignty for himself. *Grimoald* accordingly marched to *Pavia*, at the head of a numerous army; and the duke of *Turin* alarming him with a false accusation of treachery on the part of *Gundebert*, he caused the prince to be killed when he came out to meet him; after which he seized on the royal palace, and caused himself to be acknowledged king. *Gundebert* left a son named *Rambert*, or *Reginbert*, who was privately conveyed away, and brought up with great care by the friends of the deceased king. *Partharit* no sooner heard of his brother's fate, than, abandoning *Milan* in the utmost confusion, he fled to the *Chagan*, or king of the *Avars*, leaving his queen *Rodolind*, and his son *Cunibert*, yet an infant, to shift for themselves; who falling into the hands of *Grimoald*, were sent to *Benevento*, where they were kept under strict confinement. *Milan* opening its gates to *Grimoald*, he returned from thence to *Pavia*, where he was unanimously proclaimed king of the *Lombards*. To gain the affection of the people he married *Gundebert*, sister to the two unhappy princes, after which he distributed considerable sums among his troops, who returned to *Benevento*. He kept with him some of his most trusty friends, whom he raised to the first employments of the kingdom. *Grimoald* being afraid lest *Partharit* should, some time or other, renew his pretensions, sent ambassadors to the *Chagan*, threatening to make war upon him if he did not banish his rival from his dominions. The king of the *Avars*, though affected with the misfortunes of the unhappy prince, yet, to avoid a war, commanded him to quit his territories.

Grimoald,
duke of
Benevento
seizes on
the sove-
reignty.
An. Ch.
662.

Partharit *Partharit*, not knowing where to find an asylum, threw himself upon the honour and generosity of *Grimoald*, who received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and kindness. But soon after, reflecting that the multitude attended his entry into *Pavia* with unusual marks of joy, and that persons of distinction flocked to him night and day, he became jealous of him, and placed a guard upon him. Not long after, he gave private orders to the guard to put him to death; which being discovered by *Unulf*, a trusty friend of *Partharit*, he prevailed with the prince to change cloaths with him. *Partharit*, by this disguise, deceived the centinels, and escaped to *Gaul*; and *Grimoald*, next morning, when the deceit was discovered, was so far from punishing *Unulf*, that, on the contrary, he bestowed the highest commendations upon him, and left it to his choice, either to stay at home, or follow the prince. *Clotaire III.* king of the *Franks*, was so touched with the misfortunes of *Partharit*, that he sent a powerful army, the following year, into *Italy*, to replace him on the throne. *Grimoald* finding him-
self

He flies to
France.

He, in
vain, en-

self unable to face the enemy, had recourse to a stratagem, deavours and pretending to fly, left his camp well stored with provisions, especially wine. The *Franks*, as he had expected, the throne upon seizing this camp, indulged themselves to excess; and An. Ch. being attacked by him in the dead of the night, were 663. slaughtered before they could betake themselves to their arms.

Grimoald, though now delivered from his apprehensions of the *Franks*, was soon involved in another war. The emperors hitherto had neglected the affairs of *Italy*; but now *Constans*, the grandson of *Heraclius*, having settled the affairs of the empire, rent into parties and factions, resolved to employ his whole strength in driving the *Lombards* quite out of *Italy*. Having caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out The emperor *Constans* in *Sicily*, he left *Constantinople*, and putting himself at the head of his troops, landed at *Tarentum*, in the spring of the year 663. The *Lombards* were so terrified at this unexpected comes invasion, that they abandoned several places in *Apulia*, and, with an among the rest, *Luceria*, which the emperor destroyed. army into *Constans*, soon after, marched to *Acerenza*; but not being *Italy*. able to take it by storm, on account of its strong situation, he proceeded directly to *Benevento*, and invested the place with his whole army.

Grimoald no sooner heard that *Benevento* was besieged, than he marched with the utmost dispatch to its relief. *Romuald*, his son, in the mean time, repulsed the *Romans* in their repeated attacks with great vigour, and killed great numbers of them. *Gesuald*, who had been sent by the besieged to *Grimoald*, was taken, in his return, by the *Romans*, to whom he declared that the king was approaching with a powerful army. His information greatly perplexed the emperor, who resolved immediately to conclude a peace with *Romuald*; but, that he might obtain better conditions from him, he ordered *Gesuald* to go to the walls, and, under pain of immediate death, to declare to the besieged that they could expect no relief. *Gesuald* seemed to acquiesce; but he no sooner came within hearing of *Romuald* than he boldly called out, *Take courage; for your father is near at hand to relieve you. I earnestly recommend to you my dear wife and children; for I am in the hands of a perfidious enemy, who this moment will put me to death.* The emperor, provoked at this generous and bold action, instantly caused his head to be cut off, and to be thrown by an engine into the town.

Constans finding himself disappointed, raised the siege in He is great haste, and began his march for *Naples*; but the duke defeated of *Capua* opposing him at the river *Calone*, obliged him and by the his troops to save themselves by a precipitate flight. Not *Lombaras*. long after, *Romuald* obtained permission from his father to march against *Sabirrus*, a *Roman* general, who had undertaken with twenty thousand men to defeat the *Lombards*. The two armies engaged with the utmost fury at the pass of *Formia*,

Formiae, when the victory continued a long time doubtful; but a *Lombard*, after killing a *Roman* horseman, lifting him up on his spear, and holding him over his head, in sight of the *Roman* army, they were struck with such terror that they began to give ground, and at length abandoned the field of battle. *Romuald*, after pursuing them with great slaughter, returned to *Benevento*.

He visits
Rome.

Constans, in the mean time, arriving at *Rome*, was received there with extraordinary marks of honour, no emperor having set his foot in that city for a long time. He spent twelve days in visiting, or rather plundering, that metropolis, carrying off the most valuable ornaments in gold, silver, brass, and marble, and not sparing even the coverings of churches, which he caused to be shipped on board his vessels. *Constans* returned by land to *Naples*, and from thence to *Rhegium*, where his army was a third time defeated by the *Lombards*. From *Rhegium* he crossed over to *Sicily*, and fixed his residence at *Syracuse*, where he was murdered by his own people; the treasure which he had brought from *Rome* being soon after seized by the *Saracens*, and carried to *Alexandria*.

The *Lombards* extend their conquests in the South of *Italy*.

The *Lombards*, upon the departure of the emperor from *Italy*, made themselves masters of *Bari*, *Tarento*, *Brindisi*, and all the places in the country now known by the name *Terra d'Otranto*. *Grimoald*, to reward the duke of *Capua*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and also conferred upon him the dukedom of *Spoletto*. *Lupus*, duke of *Friuli*, while *Grimoald* was absent in *Benevento*, oppressed his people with the most grievous exactions, and breaking into the territories of the *Venetian Lombards*, plundered the church of *Aquileia* of all its rich ornaments. Upon the return of *Grimoald*, he openly revolted; but was soon defeated and slain by *Chagan*, king of the *Hunns*, who had been invited to march against him by *Grimoald*. *Chagan* afterwards refusing to abandon the country, *Grimoald* was forced to assemble his troops, in order to attack him. He mustered his army in the presence of the ambassadors of the *Hunns*, and making the same men pass thrice before him, in different cloathing, the ambassadors represented the great number of his forces to *Chagan*, who thereupon, in great fear, retired to his own dominions. *Warnefrid*, son to the deceased duke, attempted, by the assistance of the *Sclavonians*, to possess himself of his father's dukedom, but he was defeated and slain by *Grimoald*, who conferred the dukedom of *Friuli* on one *Welcar*, and, at the same time, married *Theodorata*, the daughter of *Lupus*, to his son *Romuald*. About this time, a body of *Bulgarians* arriving in *Italy*, several cities were allotted them by *Grimoald* in the dukedom of *Benevento*.

Grimoald
corrects

Tranquility being now restored among the *Lombards*, *Grimoald* applied himself to the arts of peace, and assembling a general diet in the sixth year of his reign, repealed some of the

the laws of *Rotharis*, and enacted others in their room, publishing a new edict, containing eleven chapters, which is still preserved in the monastery of *Cava*, in the kingdom of *Naples*. *Grimoald* died about three years after, to the great grief of the *Lombards*, by the following accident. He had been let blood in one of his arms; and as he was, nine days after, bending a bow, the vein opened, and all possible means for closing it proving ineffectual, he bled to death. 672.

Having, some time before, renounced the tenets of *Arius*, and embraced the Catholic religion, his example was followed by the kings his successors; so that *Arianism* was, in a short time, forsaken by the whole nation of the *Lombards*.

Grimoald, on his death-bed, bequeathed the kingdom of the *Lombards* to *Garibald*, his second son, though yet very young; whence authors conclude *Romuald* to have been his but illegitimate son. *Garibald* had scarce mounted the throne, when *Partharit* hastened from *Gaul* into *Italy*, and was conducted by great crowds to *Pavia*, where he was acknowledged as king, *Garibald* having retired to his brother at *Benvenuto*. *Partharit* recalled his wife and son, and having reigned in great peace and tranquillity for eight years, he took his son *Cunibert* for his partner in the kingdom, and reigned with him ten years more. During their joint reign, *Alachis*, duke of *Trent*, revolted, and assumed the title of king of the *Lombards*; but being besieged by *Partharit*, was obliged to submit; when he was pardoned at the intercession of *Cunibert*, who having a great friendship for him, prevailed with his father to create him duke of *Brescia*. *Partharit* died some time after, and is commended by *Diaconus* for his piety, justice, and moderation, and, above all, for the great care he took of the poor. Three years before his death, *Deodorus Calliopa*, the exarch, was recalled, and one *John* sent to govern *Italy* in his room.

Alachis, duke of *Trent* and *Brescia*, no sooner heard of the death of *Partharit*, than he revolted anew, and while *Cunibert* was absent, seized on the royal palace of *Pavia*, and took upon himself the title of king. *Cunibert*, who little thought of the ingratitude and treachery of the duke, fled to an island in the lake *Larius*, now *Lago di Como*, where he fortified himself in the best manner he could. The usurper, by his despotic and tyrannical behaviour, quickly disobliterated all his subjects; so that even those who had procured him the crown agreed among themselves to seize on the city of *Pavia*, and recal their lawful sovereign. Accordingly, the first time that *Alachis* went out to take the diversion of hunting, they put their design in execution, to the great joy of the inhabitants, especially of the clergy, whom the tyrant had disobliterated. *Alachis*, upon his return, finding the gates shut against him, and *Cunibert* in possession of the royal palace, fled to *Istria*, and soon after appeared at the head of an army. *Cunibert* marched out against him, and challenged

Partharit dies, and is succeeded by *Cunibert*.
An. Ch. 690.

He is driven from the throne by *Alachis* duke of *Trent*.

Cunibert restored.

him to a single combat; but *Alachis* refusing the challenge, the two armies engaged, when the rebels were defeated, and *Alachis* slain.

He dies.
An. Ch.
703.

Ragum-
bert, duke
of Turin,
seizes the
throne,
and is suc-
ceeded by
Aripert.

Cunipert having thus happily suppressed so dangerous a rebellion, reigned in great peace and tranquillity till the year 703, when he died universally lamented; for he was a prince, says our historian, of a most comely aspect, of a sweet temper, engaging behaviour, great courage, and extraordinary piety. He bequeathed his kingdom to his son *Luitbert*; but as he was then an infant, he committed him to the care of *Asprand*, a person of eminent rank and great wisdom. In the eighth month of *Luitbert*'s reign, *Ragumbert*, duke of *Turin*, assumed the title of king, and having defeated *Asprand*, caused himself to be acknowledged by the whole nation. *Ragumbert* dying the same year, was succeeded by his son *Aripert*; who having defeated *Luitbert*, and taken him prisoner, ordered him, soon after, to be stifled in a bath. *Asprand*, after the defeat of *Luitbert*, took refuge in the island of the lake *Larius*, from whence he fled to *Ravenna*, and afterwards to *Theudebert*, duke of the *Boiarii*, with whom he continued nine years. *Aripert* being disappointed in his expectation of seizing *Asprand*, vented his rage against his son *Sigibrand*, whose eyes he ordered to be put out, at the same time causing the nose and ears of his wife *Theuderata*, and daughter *Aurona*, to be cut off. *Asprand* had another son, named *Luitprand*; but as he was a child, the tyrant spared him, and sent him to his father; providence, as *Diaconus* observes, reserving him for great things. *Aripert*, notwithstanding his barbarity in the beginning of his reign, is said to have ruled afterwards with great prudence and equity. He was a great friend to the ecclesiastics, and very liberal to the churches. To the church of *Rome* he restored the patrimony, or estate which it held in the *Alpes Cottiae*, which had been seized on by king *Rotharis*. In the ninth year of his reign, *Asprand* returned into *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, raised by the duke of the *Boiarii*, who espoused his cause with great warmth, and resolved to support him with all his strength. *Aripert* marched against him with a numerous army, and a bloody battle was fought between both parties, which continued with great obstinacy till night parted them. Though *Aripert* had not lost so many men as his adversary, yet next morning he declined an engagement, and retired to *Pavia*. Being pursued by *Asprand*, he abandoned *Pavia*, with a design to pass into *Gaul*, and there hire a new army, carrying with him, for that effect, the best part of his treasures; but in attempting to swim cross the *Tesino*, he was drowned in that river. The throne being vacant by the death of *Aripert*, *Asprand* was placed on it by the unanimous consent of the whole nation. *Asprand* enjoyed his new dignity only three

Aripert
drowned,
and *As-*
prand cho-
sen king.

three months, and, at his death, left the kingdom to his son *Luitprand*.

In the beginning of the late contests for the crown of *Lombardy* died *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*, leaving his dukedom to his son *Grimoald* the second. *Grimoald* governed, with his brother *Gisulf*, not quite three years, and *Gisulf* upon his death, held the dukedom alone fourteen years more. *Gisulf* was succeeded by his son *Romuald* the second, who ruled twenty six years, during which time he greatly harrassed the *Neopolitans*, and by a stratagem made himself master of *Cumæ* belonging to them. *Gregory* the second, then bishop of *Rome*, jealous of the power of the *Lombards*, did all that lay in his power to persuade the duke to restore *Cumæ*, but his solicitations proving ineffectual, he thundered against him the sentence of excommunication. The duke still keeping possession of the city, *Gregory* advised the duke of *Naples* to attack it by surprise, which he did accordingly, and succeeded in the attempt. He afterwards sold the city to the bishop for seventy pounds weight of gold. *Romuald*, in the year 720, was succeeded by his son *Adelai*, who governed only two years, and performed nothing worthy of notice. In the dukedom of *Friuli*, *Welcar* was succeeded by *Landar*, and he by *Rodoald*, in whose absence one *Ansfrid* seized on the dukedom, and soon after he aspired to the crown, but his design was defeated by *Cunibert*; who however spared his life, and sent him into banishment; after he had caused his eyes to be put out. *Alda*, the brother of *Rodoald*, succeeded him, and held the dukedom, according to *Diaconus*, only one year and seven months. After *Aldo* ruled *Ferdulf*, who was killed by the *Slavonians*; *Gorvulus* was then appointed duke by king *Aribert*, but being soon after deposed the dukedom was conferred on *Pemmo*.

Luitprand, from the very beginning of his reign, gave great instances of his courage and prudence. Being informed that *Rotharis*, one of his kinsmen intended to murder him at a banquet, he sent for him to his palace, where the traitor finding himself discovered, suddenly drew his sword with a design to kill the king, but he defended himself with great bravery, not shewing the least tokens of fear or surprise, till his guards coming in at the noise, dispatched *Rotharis*. Having won his enemies at home by his kindness, and strengthened his interest abroad by marrying the daughter of the duke of the *Boiarii*, who had entertained him in his distress, he applied himself to the making of new laws for the better regulation of his kingdom, having, for that purpose, assembled, in the first year of his reign, a general diet in *Pavia*. In the following years he published many other laws, as occasion required; so that, next to *Rotharis*, he is justly accounted the chief law-giver of the *Lombards*.

He published a new edict of laws

However the wisdom *Luitprand* shewed in publishing excellent laws, and his other extraordinary endowments, were not a little eclipsed by his unbounded ambition. He formed a design of driving the *Romans* quite out of *Italy*, which, in the end, occasioned the ruin of the kingdom of the *Lombards*, for the popes, growing jealous of their too great power, had recourse to the *Franks*, who being invited by them into *Italy*, soon made a conquest of that country. In the fifth year of the reign of *Luitprand*, *Leo Isauricus* emperor of the East, published an edict forbidding the worship of images, and ordering them every where to be pulled down, which so provoked the people, that in several places, they openly revolted, and falling upon the emperors officers drove them out of the cities. In compliance with the imperial edict, *Scholasticus*, then exarch, began to pull down the images in all the churches and public places in *Ravenna*, which incensed the superstitious multitude to such a degree, that, taking arms, they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor, than the worship of images.

He in-
vades the
exarchate.

A kind of civil war being thus kindled in the city, *Luitprand* thought the opportunity favourable for putting his ambitious design in execution, and unexpectedly appeared before *Ravenna*, with a numerous army. The exarch, who little dreamed of being attacked by the *Lombards*, was greatly alarmed; but defended the city with such courage and resolution, that *Luitprand*, despairing of success, broke up the siege, and led his army against *Classis*, at a small distance from *Ravenna*, which he soon plundered and levelled with the ground. The loss of this place threw the citizens of *Ravenna* into the utmost consternation, and *Luitprand* being informed of their confusion and terror, returned before that city, and by his frequent attacks tired the inhabitants and garrison to such a degree that the exarch despairing of relief, privately withdrew. *Luitprand*, informed of his retreat, attacked the town more vigourously than ever, and having carried it by storm, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who found in it an immense booty. The reduction of *Ravenna*, was followed by the surrender of several cities, of the exarchate, which *Luitprand* reduced to a dukedom, and conferred on his grandson *Hildebrand*: but as he was then an infant, he appointed *Pereedus* duke of *Vicenza* as his guardian.

He takes
and plun-
ders *Ra-
venna*.
An. Ch.
722.

Gregory the second bishop of *Rome* was greatly alarmed at the success of the *Lombards*: but as he was then at variance with the emperor, on account of his edict against the worshipping of images, he disdained to have any friendly intercourse with him, and applied himself to *Ursus* duke of *Venice*, the *Venetians* making already no inconsiderable figure; *Ursus* and the *Venetians*, moved by the letter which they received from the pope, and at the same time greatly alarmed at the growth of so powerful a neighbour, fitted out a considerable fleet for the recovering of *Ravenna*, pretending however that

that their armament was designed against the *Saracens*. The exarch in the mean time leaving *Venice*, as tho' he had despaired of relief from that republic, raised what forces he could in the places still subject to the emperor, and after making a feint to besiege *Imola*, turned suddenly towards *Ravenna*, which he invested by land while the *Venetians* recovered blocked it up by sea. *Peredeus* defended the place with great courage; but in a short time, before *Luitprand* could assemble his troops, the city was taken by assault, and *Peredeus* slain. *the Venetians*

The pope hoping that the emperor would have some regard to the eminent service he had done in recovering *Ravenna*, renewed his admonitions and remonstrances against the edict concerning images: but *Leo* was rather more provoked against him, and being resolved to have his edict observed even in *Rome* itself, he sent three officers thither, with private orders either to dispatch the pope, or to take him prisoner and convey him to *Constantinople*. He soon after sent *Paul* a patrician to succeed *Scholasticus* in the exarchate, giving him private instructions to encourage the above mentioned officers. The plot however was in the mean time discovered, and two of the conspirators were put to death, the third having escaped into a monastery, where he took the monastick habit, and ended his days. The exarch, by the emperor's orders, now resolved to proceed by open force, and set out for *Rome*, at the head of a body of troops with a design to seize on the pope. *Luitprand*, tho' highly provoked against *Gregory*, yet resolved to assist him and the citizens of *Rome* against the exarch, that by keeping the balance even between them, and by assisting sometimes one and sometimes the other, he might weaken both. He accordingly ordered the *Lombards* of *Tuscany* and of the dukedom of *Spoleio*, to join the inhabitants of *Rome*, by which means the exarch was disappointed in his intention.

The emperor in the mean time persisting in his design, of suppressing the worship of images, ordered *Paul* to put his edict in execution, and wrote to the pope, promising him his favour and protection if he submitted, but if he continued to oppose the edict, declaring him a rebel and no longer vested with the papal dignity. *Gregory* however, instead of paying regard to the emperor's letter, solemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution, and at the same time wrote circular letters to the *Venetians*, to *Luitprand*, to the *Lombard* dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to oppose the detestable innovation. *The pope*

These letters produced a kind of association in *Italy* in behalf of the pope, and the citizens of *Rome*; and the inhabitants of *Pentapolis*, now *la Marca*, openly revolted from the emperor, and pulling down his statues, elected, by their own authority, magistrates to govern during the interregnum.

Great
commoti-
ons in Ra-
venna

The Nea-
politans
put their
duke to
death

The ex-
arch and
Luitprand
enter into
an alliance
and be-
siege Rome

So far were they transported with a blind zeal, that they were even for choosing a new emperor and conducting him to *Constantinople*; but the pope thinking this resolution unreasonable, opposed it, so that it did not take place. In *Ravenna* the people rose against the exarch and his officers, who attempted to pull down the images, and after several skirmishes the people prevailing made a dreadful slaughter of the opposite party, and slew the exarch himself. The city of *Ravenna* however continued faithful to the emperor; but most of the cities of *Romagna*, and all those of *la Marca*, abhorring the emperor as an heretic, submitted to *Luitprand*, who pretending a zeal for the catholic religion, took care to improve the discontent of the people to his advantage. *Exhilaratus* duke of *Naples*, did all that lay in his power to persuade the people to receive the imperial edict; but finding all his endeavours thwarted by the bishop of *Rome*, he hired assassins to murder him. The *Neapolitans* discovering the plot, tore the duke and his son to pieces, and likewise put to death one of his chief officers, who had composed a libel against the pope. *Luitprand* and *Gregory* endeavoured to improve this opportunity to their advantage; but the *Neapolitans* bearing an irreconcilable hatred to the *Lombards*, continued stedfast in their allegiance to *Leo*.

Mean while the emperor attributing all the disturbances in *Italy* to the intrigues of *Gregory*, ordered *Eutychius*, whom he sent to *Ravenna* as exarch, to get the pope dispatched by some means or other. The exarch's design, however, being discovered, the *Romans* guarded the pope with the greatest assiduity, and *Gregory* denounced a sentence of excommunication against *Eutychius*. The *Romans* were so exasperated against *Leo*, that they now revolted from him, and appointed their own magistrates, keeping themselves united under the pope, acknowledging him as their head; but not yet as their temporal prince.

Eutychius having brought with him to *Italy* a good number of troops, quelled the rebellion in *Ravenna*, and severely punished the authors of the late disturbances. That he might be revenged of the rebellious *Romans*, he employed all his art and policy to take *Luitprand* from their party and bring him over to his own. *Luitprand* withstood all his offers for some time, but *Grasimund* duke of *Spoletto*, happening to revolt, the exarch offered the king his assistance against the rebellious duke, provided he would in like manner assist him against the pope and the *Romans*. A league being concluded between *Luitprand* and the exarch on these terms, the two armies joined, and began their march towards *Spoletto*. The rebellious duke coming out and submitting to the king, *Luitprand* not only pardoned him, but confirmed him in the dukedom. From *Spoletto* the two armies marched to *Rome* and encamped in the meadows of *Nero*, between the *Tiber* and the *Vatican*. Tho' *Gregory* had caused the city of *Rome* to be fortified

fortified in the best manner he could ; yet upon the approach of the enemy, he judged it most prudent to imitate the conduct of the duke of *Spoletto* ; and accordingly, taking with him some of the clergy and the principal inhabitants of the city he went to wait on the king in his camp. The pope so far prevailed on *Luitprand*, by a pathetic speech, that the king threw himself at his feet, in the presence of the whole army, begged pardon for entering into an alliance against him, and assuring him of his protection for the future, went with him to the church of *St. Peter*, and laid his girdle, his sword, his gauntlet, with his royal mantle, his crown of gold, and cross of silver, on the pretended sepulchre of the apostle. He then reconciled the pope with the exarch, who was thereupon received into the city, where he continued for some time, maintaining a friendly correspondence with the pope. As the emperor however continued to insist on the execution of his edict in *Rome*, the *Romans* soon after, at the instigation of *Gregory*, publicly renounced their allegiance to *Leo*, and withdrew for ever their obedience from the emperors of the East. *Leo* concluding that the pope was the cause of this revolt, immediately caused all the patrimonies of the *Roman* church, in *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and his other dominions, to be confiscated. He at the same time caused warlike preparations to be carried on throughout the empire, with a design to chastise the *Romans*, and recover the revolted cities. *Gregory* suspecting his intention, did not think of overtures for a reconciliation with his lawful prince, but had recourse to the *Franks*, who were then the most powerful nation in the western parts of *Europe*, not thinking it safe to sollicit the protection of *Luitprand*, lest he should only exchange one master for another. The *French* nation was then governed by the celebrated *Charles Martel*, who had eminently distinguished himself in many battles, and was reputed the best commander and the greatest hero of his time. The ambassadors of *Gregory*, who carried with them a great number of reliques, were received in *France* with extraordinary marks of honour, and a treaty was soon concluded between them and *Charles*, who engaged to march into *Italy* in person, at the head of a powerful army, in defence of the *Romans* and the church, if they should be attacked either by the emperor or the *Lombards*. The *Romans* on the other hand were to acknowledge *Charles* for their protector, and confer on him the honour of the consulship. *Gregory* dying the same year, was succeeded by *Gregory III.* Some authors place the above mentioned embassy in the pontificate of the latter, and tell us that *Luitprand* having defeated *Thrasimund*, who had revolted a second time, laid close siege to *Rome* ; because *Gregory* had offered his protection to the rebel duke and that the pope finding that his entreaties had no effect on the king, had recourse to *Charles Martel*, who persuaded the *Lombards* to raise the siege, and content themselves with four cities only.

Luitprand is persuaded by the pope to raise the siege
An. Ch. 729.

The pope asks the protection of the *French* against the emperor and *Luitprand*.

Mean while the emperor *Leo* dying was succeeded by his son *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronimus*, who renewed his father's edict against images, and even forbad the invocation of saints, especially of the *Virgin Mary*, not suffering any holydays to be kept in her honour, or her assistance to be implored. This edict occasioned new disturbances in *Italy*, and confirmed the *Romans* in their resolution of separating themselves entirely from the empire. They therefore drove out of their city such of the imperial officers as they had hitherto suffered to continue there. *Gregory III.* dying soon after the emperor *Leo*, was succeeded by *Zachary*, who immediately after his promotion, dispatched a solemn embassy to *Luitprand*, entreating him to restore the four cities that had been lately yielded to him. He afterwards in person waited on *Luitprand* at *Terni*, and obtained from the king not only the restoration of the four cities, but also of the patrimony of the *Roman* church in *Sabina*, which had been confiscated thirty years before. *Luitprand* also concluded a peace with the *Romans*. A few years after he again invaded the exarchate and having taken *Cesena*, was making the necessary preparations for besieging *Ravenna*, but at the interposition of *Zachary*, *Luitprand* laid aside his design and even restored *Cesena* and some other places which he had taken.

Luitprand
dies and is
succeeded
by *Hildebrand*
A.C. 743.

Rachis
chosen
king

he invades
the *Roman*
dukedom

He abdi-
cates the
throne
and turns
monk

Luitprand died not long after, in the year 743, the thirty second of his reign. He was succeeded by his grandson *Hildebrand* whom he had some years before taken for his partner in the kingdom. The *Lombards* however finding him unequal to so great a charge, deposed him, after a short reign of seven months, and in his room raised to the throne *Rachis* duke of *Friuli*, a person highly esteemed for his piety and eminent virtues. *Rachis*, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed the peace with *Zachary* and the *Romans*. A few months after he convened the states, and, with their consent and approbation he published a new edict, which he ordered to be observed throughout his dominions. Not long after, tho' naturally inclined to peace, he on a sudden turned all his thoughts upon war, and pushed on by an ambition of enlarging his dominions, he put himself at the head of a considerable army, with which having retaken several places in *Pentapolis* that had revolted from him, he entered the *Roman* dukedom, and laid close siege to *Perugia*. *Zachary* came in person to the camp of *Rachis*, and being received by that prince with great marks of respect and veneration, he so strongly represented to him the punishment that is reserved for those who unjustly invade the property of others, that *Rachis* not only raised the siege of *Perugia*, but restored all the places he held in *Pentapolis*. The following year he went to visit the pope at *Rome*, with his wife *Tasia* and his daughter *Ratruda*, and while he was in that city being overcome with the secret force of religion, he renounced his kingdom, took the habit of St. *Benedict*, and retired to the monastery of *Monte Cassino*, where he

he spent the remainder of his days and was honoured after his death by those monks as a saint. *Tasia* his wife and *Rutrud* followed his example, retiring into a monastery of virgins founded by them at a small distance from *Monte Cassino*.

The *Lombards*, upon being informed of the resignation of *Astulphus Rachis*, assembled in *Pavia*, and chose his brother *Astulphus* chosen or *Aistulphus* in his room, a man remarkable for his prudence king. and bravery. In the beginning of his reign, he confirmed An. Ch. the peace concluded between his brother and *Zachary*, who 751. died the following year. His successor *Stephen II.* died on the fourth day after his election, and *Stephen III.* who succeeded him, and is by the moderns reckoned *Stephen II.* three months after his promotion sent legates to *Astulphus*, who not only renewed the peace with the *Roman* see but extended it to forty years more. This he did with no other view than to divert the pope from thwarting the design he had upon the exarchate, which he soon after invaded, laying close siege to He in- the city of *Ravenna*. *Eutychius* the exarch defended the place vades the for some time, with great valour, but finding it impossible to exarchate oppose the enemy, and despairing of relief, he at last aban- and takes doned the city and returned by sea to *Constantinople*. *Astul- Ravenna. phus* after taking possession of *Ravenna*, reduced with great An. Ch. ease the other cities of the exarchate, which he added to his 752 kingdom, and by that addition raised the power of the *Lombards* to an higher pitch than any of his predecessors had done. Thus ended the exarchate of *Ravenna*, which was now changed into a dukedom, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, being in no condition to engage in a contest with the *Lombards*, as he was then embarrassed with a war against the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*, and all *Asia* and *Greece* were miserably wasted by a dreadful plague.

Astulphus now master of the exarchate, thought that he had *Astulphus* a just title to all the places that had depended upon it, and invades therefore dispatched a messenger to *Rome*, requiring the inha- the *Roman* bitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign. When he dukedom had advanced with his army to *Narni*, and taken possession of that city, he sent from thence to acquaint the pope that he was determined to plunder *Rome*, and put all the *Romans* to the sword, if they refused to acknowledge him, by paying him yearly a golden *solidus* a head. The pope attempted to divert the king by a solemn embassy; but *Astulphus* rejected the presents brought him by the two legates, and insisted upon his being acknowledged by the pope and the *Romans* for their sovereign. As the pope had in vain solicited the emperor to protect *Ravenna*, and his other dominions in *Italy*, he now resolved after the example of *Zachary* and the two *Gregories* to recur to the protection of the *French*, who were at The pope this time governed by *Pepin* son to *Charles Martel*. solicits

As *Pepin's* father had been confirmed in his usurpation of the the assis- crown of *France*, by pope *Zachary*, *Pepin* had promised to tance of protect his see against all its enemies, especially against the *Pepin* king *Lombards* of *France*

Lombards. Stephen now acquainted *Pepin* with his distress, and desiring to have a conference with him in person, the *French* king immediately sent two persons of distinction to *Astulphus*, to beg leave in his name for *Stephen* to come out of the city, and to go with them into *France*. *Astulphus*, who was then in possession of all the castles and strong holds in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, willingly complied with the request of the ambassadors. *Stephen* accordingly proceeded to *France*, where, being received by *Pepin* with the greatest marks of esteem and veneration, he laid before him the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the *Lombards*. *Pepin* assured him of his assistance, and *Stephen* continuing in *France* during the winter, consecrated *Charles* and *Carloman*, *Pepin's* two sons, king's of *France*, with great solemnity, *Pepin* hoping thereby to satisfy those malcontents who still scrupled to acknowledge him as lawful king.

Astulphus
publishes
a new
edict.

Astulphus in the mean time, looking upon the conquest of *Italy* as secure, by the departure of the pope, assembled his nobles, and published a new edict of laws, which is still preserved in the monastery of *Cava*, and contains twenty-two chapters.

Pepin en-
ters *Italy*,

Stephen finding the king of *France* ready to gratify him in all his requests, represented to him, that as the emperor, by neglecting *Italy*, had forfeited all right to it, the exarchate therefore, when taken from the *Romans*, ought to be conferred on the *Roman* see. *Pepin*, accordingly, not only promised to put the pope in possession of the exarchate, and *Pentapolis*, if he should recover them from the *Lombards*; but confirmed his promise with a solemn oath; which was likewise taken by his two sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*. The pope and *Pepin*, before they set out for *Italy*, solicited *Astulphus*, by frequent letters and messages, to restore the territories that he had taken, and content himself with such countries as had been held by his predecessors: but *Astulphus* being deaf to their entreaties, *Pepin*, attended by the pope, began his march for *Italy*, and sent a chosen body of men to open the passes of the *Alps*, who defeating the troops of *Astulphus*, obliged the king of the *Lombards* to retire with precipitation to *Pavia*.

besieges
Pavia and
obliges
Astulphus
to sue for
peace.

Pepin soon after investing *Pavia*, obliged *Astulphus* to sue for peace, which was granted him, upon his engaging, by a solemn oath, to restore the places he had seized in the *Roman* dukedom, the exarchate, and *Pentapolis*, not to the emperor, but to the pope. Forty hostages being delivered to *Pepin*, for the performance of these articles, he returned home with his whole army, though in the depth of winter. *Stephen* proceeded with great joy to *Rome*, in hopes of being soon put in possession of the territories ceded to him by *Astulphus*. But the king of the *Lombards* no sooner thought the storm blown over by the departure of *Pepin*, than he broke unexpectedly into the *Roman* dukedom, and laid siege

to *Rome*. The pope again had recourse to *Pepin*, who with great expedition assembling his forces, set out for *Italy*. On this news *Astulphus*, who had already besieged *Rome* for three months, instantly retreated towards *Lombardy*; but not being able to appear in the field against *Pepin*, he threw himself into *Pavia*, where he was again besieged.

While *Pepin* was engaged in the siege, an ambassador arrived in his camp from the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, who remonstrated against the donation of the exarchate to the pope, offered to reimburse the *French* all the expences they had been at in their war with the *Lombards*, on condition that the territories they had conquered in *Italy* were restored to the empire. *Pepin* replied, "that as he had acquired a right to those territories by his sword, and had thought proper to bestow them on the pope, nothing would make him alter his resolution." Soon after, by vigorously prosecuting the siege, he obliged *Astulphus* to sue for peace, which was granted him, upon his promising to perform immediately the treaty made the year before, and over and above, to deliver up to the pope, the city of *Commacchio*, a place of great importance. This promise being confirmed by a solemn oath, and hostages being given, *Pepin* renewed his donation, whereby he yielded to *St. Peter* and his successors, the exarchate, *Æmilia* now *Romagna*, *Pentapolis* now *la Marca*, with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever. Having caused a new instrument of the donation to be drawn up, he delivered it, signed by himself, his two sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, and by the chief barons and prelates of France, to *Fulard* abbot of *St. Denis*.

Fulard having received this instrument, went, together with the commissaries named by *Astulphus*, to all the cities of the exarchate, *Æmilia*, and *Pentapolis*; and taking possession of them in the pope's name, he received hostages, with whom he repaired to *Rome*, carrying with him the keys, and *Pepin's* instrument, which were laid by the pope on the sepulchre of *St. Peter*, who, in all probability, if he had been alive, would have rejected the donation. *Pepin* having thus fulfilled his engagements with the pope, returned with his army to France. The pope committed the government of the exarchate to the archbishop of *Ravenna*, who thereupon took the title of exarch, not as archbishop, but as an officer of the pope, now a temporal prince. The popes, from this time, left off taking notice of the years of the emperors in their bulls and letters, as they had done hitherto, and depending upon the protection of France, they entirely withdrew their obedience to the emperor. It would appear, however, that the popes now held of the *French* monarchs, and that *Pepin* and his descendants exercised the sovereignty all over *Italy*, for upwards of a century. The authority of the western emperors declining in *Italy* about that time when

Charles

Astulphus
again be-
sieges
Rome;

he is again
besieged
in *Pavia*
by *Pepin*.

The exar-
chate and
Pentapolis
given to
the pope.
An. Ch.
756.

Charles the bald then yielded the sovereignty of *Rome* to the pope.

Astulphus
dies.

Astulphus finding himself constrained to surrender the exarchate, and other territories, above-mentioned, to one who by his profession ought not to have intermeddled with temporal affairs, began to make vast preparations to retake what he had been obliged to give up : but before he could accomplish his designs he was killed, according to some by a wild boar, according to others by a fall from his horse. *Erchempertus*, however, writes that he was killed with an arrow.

Desiderius
causes
himself to
be pro-
claimed
king.
An. Ch.
756.

While the *Lombard* lords were assembling in order to proceed to the election of a new king, *Desiderius* duke of *Tuscany* caused himself to be proclaimed king by his *Tuscan Lombards*. *Rachis*, in the mean time, being urged by several persons of great authority among the *Lombards*, to resume the purple, *Desiderius* was greatly alarmed, and offered the pope the cities of *Faenza*, *Ancona*, *Secchia*, and *Ferrara*, which had not been restored by *Astulphus*, provided he assisted him, and by his authority maintained him on the throne. The pope readily closed with the proposal ; and having persuaded *Rachis* to continue in the state he had embraced, received the above-mentioned cities from *Desiderius*. *Stephen* dying soon after, was succeeded by his brother *Paul*, who renewed the alliance with *Desiderius*, but died in the third year of his reign. In his room was chosen *Stephen III.* or *IV.* according to the moderns, between whom and *Desiderius* great jealousies arose, which at last came to an open rupture. *Desiderius* by his interest having procured the see of *Ravenna* for *Michael*, one of his intimate friends, the pope, who did not approve of the election, expelled him ; and the king, to be revenged, caused the eyes of two of his legates to be put out. The king, in order to secure the friendship of *Charles* and *Carloman*, *Pepin's* two sons, who then reigned in *France*, offered them his two daughters in marriage. *Stephen*, on the other hand threatened the *French* monarchs with excommunication, nay, and damnation, if they consented to marry those princesses ; but *Desiderius* having gained the mother of the two princesses, the marriages were by her means concluded. This alliance however was but short-lived ; for *Charles* soon after divorced his wife, on a pretence that she was incapable of bearing children, and married in her room *Ildegarda*, a princess of *Suevia*. *Carloman*, about the same time, dying, *Berta*, his widow returned, with two sons she had by him, to her father, who being highly incensed against *Charles*, for divorcing his daughter, received his two grandsons with great joy, not doubting but he should be able, by their means, to raise disturbances in *France*.

a misun-
derstand-
ing be-
tween him
and
Carloman.

Pope *Stephen* dying in the mean time, was succeeded by *Adrian I.* who immediately after his elevation entered into an

an alliance with *Desiderius*, who proposed to him the anointing of the sons of *Carloman* as kings; which, however he would not consent to, being well apprised that it would draw upon him the resentment of *Charles*, who had seized their inheritance. *Desiderius* finding that he could not draw the pope into his measures by fair means, resolved to employ force, and accordingly, breaking unexpectedly into the exarchate, made himself master of *Ferrara*, *Commachio*, and *Faenza*, and threatened *Ravenna* itself with a siege. *Adrian* remonstrated against these hostilities, but, refusing to treat in person with the king, till he had made restitution, *Desiderius* marched his army into *Pentapolis*, and destroying all with fire and sword, and making great numbers of captives, approached with his army to *Rome*. The pope sent the abbot of *St. Vincent*, attended by twenty monks of great sanctity, to the camp of the *Lombards*, in hopes to prevail with the king to desist from hostilities, but nothing being effected by this embassy, *Adrian* sent one *Peter* by sea, to acquaint *Charles*, the brother of the deceased *Carloman*, with the danger he was in, and not only to implore his assistance, but to invite him to the conquest of *Italy*, almost entirely ruined by the *Lombards*.

Charles (*Charlemagne*, as he is commonly called) being desirous of revenging himself on *Desiderius* for keeping his two nephews, received the invitation made him by *Adrian* with incredible satisfaction, and began to make such preparations as plainly shewed that his design was not only to assist the pope, but to make an entire conquest of the kingdom of the *Lombards*. *Desiderius* having intelligence of the motions of the *French* king, sent some troops to guard the passes of the *Alps*, and making numerous levies through all his dominions, raised a mighty army, at the head of which he marched to *Turin*, with the design of engaging *Charlemagne*, with the first opportunity. *Charlemagne*, it is said, before he entered *Italy*, offered fourteen thousand solidi to *Desiderius*, if he would restore the cities he had taken; but the king of the *Lombards* would hearken to no proposals.

Part of the *French* army having crossed the mountains by an uncommon road, fell unexpectedly upon those who guarded the passes, and driving them from thence in great confusion, opened a free passage for the rest of the troops. When the *French* had entered *Italy*, *Desiderius* found himself obliged to retire into *Pavia*, which was immediately besieged by *Charlemagne*, who being determined not to withdraw his troops till the place had submitted, sent for his wife and sons. After the festival of *Christmas* he left his uncle *Bernard* to pursue the siege of *Pavia*, and went with part of his army to invest *Verona*, whither *Desiderius* had sent his son *Adalgise*, and his daughter *Berta*, with her two sons. *Adalgise* defended the town for some time with great bravery; but in the end, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, he withdrew

drew in the night, and after having wandered a long time about the country in disguise, at length made his escape by sea to *Constantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with great kindness. Upon his departure *Verona* surrendered to *Charles*, who having got *Berta* and her sons into his power, sent them to *France*; but what became afterwards of these unfortunate princes was never known. *Verona* being reduced, all the other cities on the same side of the *Po*, submitted to the conqueror, who returned before *Pavia*.

Hegoesto
Rome and
confirms
the dona-
tion of Pe-
pin.

As the feast of *Easter* was then approaching, *Charles* committed the siege a second time to *Bernard*, and proceeded to *Rome*, where he arrived the day before the festival. He was received, in all the places through which he passed, with the greatest marks of honour imaginable, and was conducted to the *Vatican-church* in a kind of triumph. Some days after *Easter*, when the rejoicings, feasting, and congratulation were over, *Charles* renewed the donation of his father to the *Roman* church, and according to *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, added to the former grants, the island of *Corfica*, and that large country extending from *Luna* to *Sorano*, and *Monte Bordane*, comprehending the cities of *Vercetri*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*, and *Monfelice*. The generosity of *Charles*, according to that writer, did not even stop here; for he tells us that the new instrument comprehended the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleto*. Several other territories are supposed, by some authors, to have been also comprehended in this donation; but as no copy of the original instrument is to be found, either in the archives of the *Vatican* or in the annals of *France*; and it is also manifest, that *Charles*, as king of *Italy*, held the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, though he never made an entire conquest of them, we may conclude that *Charles* only renewed the donation made by his father *Pepin*. *Charles* indeed caused the patrimonies which the church of *Rome* possessed in the *Alpes Cottiae*, and in the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleto*, to be restored; and hence, according to the judicious and learned historian *Pietro Giannone*, arose the mistake of those writers who will have *Charles* to have given that province, and those dukedoms, to the pope.

Hereturns
to the siege
of *Pavia*,
and

oblige
Desiderius
to surren-
der.

An. C h.
774.

Charles, after staying eight days at *Rome*, and satisfying his own curiosity, and the desires of the pope returned to the camp before *Pavia*, which city he in a short time reduced to the utmost extremity. *Desiderius*, nevertheless, resolutely defended the place; but a violent plague beginning to rage within the walls, the unhappy prince was in the end obliged to surrender the city, and deliver up himself, with his wife, and children, to *Charles*, who sent them all to *France*. Thus ended the kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, after they had held that country for the space of two hundred and six years. Though they were at first a fierce and barbarous nation, yet, after they embraced Christianity, they governed with

with great equity and mildness. Under their government, says *Paulus Diaconus*, no violence was committed, no one unjustly dispossessed of his property, none oppressed with taxes; theft, robberies, murder, and adultery, were seldom heard of, every one went, without the least apprehension of danger, whither he pleased. They were the only power in *Italy* capable of defeating the ambitious views of the bishops of *Rome*; and hence arose the inveterate hatred which the popes bore them: but their many wholesome laws, which are still extant, are at the same time convincing proofs of their justice, humanity, and wisdom, and a full confutation, as *Grotius* observes, of the many calumnies with which the popes and their partizans have endeavoured to asperse them.

Desiderius being taken captive, and the city of *Pavia* reduced, all the other cities submitted of their own accord to *Charlemagne*, who thereupon claiming the kingdom of the crowned *Lombards*, by right of conquest, caused himself to be crowned king of *Lombardy*, with an iron crown, by the hands of the archbishop of *Milan*, at a place called *Modastia*, about twelve miles from that city. *Charles*, after his coronation, proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received by the pope and the *Roman* people with the greatest marks of respect and esteem. *Adrian* usurped the authority of the emperor, and created the king a *Roman* patrician, and ordered, that throughout the provinces he should institute all bishops and archbishops, who were not to be consecrated, unless instituted by him; and that he should appoint the bishop of *Rome*, and be declared protector of the apostolic see.

Charles, upon his return to *Pavia*, allowed every one full liberty to live under the same *Roman* or *Lombard* laws to the same which they had been accustomed; but to the latter he added, as king of the *Lombards*, some of his own. He did not disturb the emperors in the possession of the dukedom of *Naples*, and other places which they still held in *Italy*. He allowed the dukes of *Friuli*, *Spoletto*, and *Benevento*, the same power and authority which they had enjoyed under the *Lombard* kings, upon their acknowledging him for their sovereign. The lesser dukes were continued by him in their dukedoms; but were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to him annually. Unless they broke this oath, or died without male issue, he never transferred any of the dukedoms to another family. He committed the limits of the kingdom, and the towns to the care of counts, who were vested with great authority. As the borders were called *Marchæ*, or *Marches*, those who had the superintendency of them were styled counts of the marches and *marquises*, and hence the title of marquis had its rise. On extraordinary occasions *Charles* appointed temporary magistrates or commissaries, who had greater authority than the counts, and were called *Missi*. He obliged the cities to take an oath of allegiance to him, and

tribute
imposed
by him.

The duke
of Friuli
revolts,
but is put
to death.

Arechis
duke of
Benevento
renounces
his depen-
dence on
the
French,

he is redu-
ced.

and imposed upon them as well as upon the fiefs, churches, and monasteries, a kind of tribute called *Foderum, parata, and mansionaticum*, which was to be paid him when he came into *Italy*; but this tribute he generously remitted. As the *French* had two states, namely, the ecclesiastical and nobility, *Charles* joined the former order to the states of *Italy*.

Charles having thus settled the affairs of *Italy*, left a strong garrison in *Pavia*, and returned to *France*. Soon after, while he was engaged in a war with the *Saxons*, being informed, that *Rotgand*, duke of *Friuli*, had revolted; and caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign in his dukedom; he returned to *Italy* in the depth of winter, after having reduced the *Saxons*. *Rotgand* being defeated in an engagement, and taken prisoner, was, soon after, publickly beheaded. *Charles* did not appoint another duke, but nominated counts to govern the cities of which the dukedom had been composed. *Hildebrand*, duke of *Spoleto*, had also revolted; but the king, upon his submission, pardoned him, and received him into favour.

Charles being engaged in his wars with the *Saxons*, appointed *Pepin* his eldest son, king of *Italy*, in 781. *Arechis*, duke of *Benevento*, who had married *Adelperfa*, daughter to *Desiderius*, took that opportunity of renouncing his allegiance to the *French*, and laying aside the title of duke, assumed that of prince, causing himself to be anointed and crowned with great solemnity, by his bishops, and thenceforth dating all his writs and diplomas, *from our most sacred palace*. He coined money with his own image, made what alterations he thought fit, both in civil and military affairs, and enacted several laws, which are still extant. *Charles* finding that his son *Pepin* was not able to reduce the *Beneventan Lombards*, returned in 786, with a powerful army, into *Italy*, when *Arechis* sued for peace, which he obtained, on condition, that he paid to *Pepin* a yearly tribute, and delivered up to him his treasure, and with it his son *Grimoald*, and daughter *Adelgisa*, as hostages. Some years after, a civil war being raised among the *Beneventans*, by two competitors for the principality, one invited the *Saracens* of *Africa*, and the other those of *Spain*, to their assistance; who, after a twelve years war, compleated the ruin of both; so that to get rid of their troublesome auxiliaries, they were forced to have recourse to *Lewis*, king of *France*, who being acknowledged by them, as their sovereign, made a division of the principality into two, giving that of *Benevento* to one of the competitors, and that of *Salerno* to the other*.

* Sigon de regn. Ital. Camill Peregrin. ap. Murator. Ughel. Ital. Sacra. Gruter in Ligurin. Paul Diac. hist Long. Giannon. hist. Civil. di. Napol. Anast. Biblioth. Leo ostiens. Tom. 7. Concil. Baron. Annal. Greg. Mag. dial. l. 2 and 4. Abb. de Nuce Chron. Cassin.